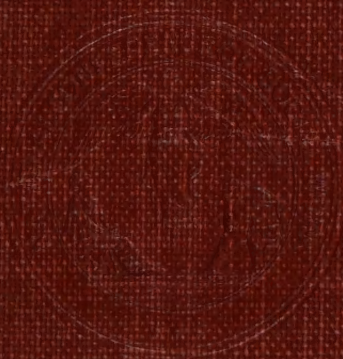
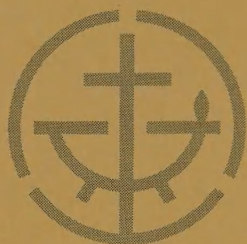


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF SOCIAL WORK









Grace L. Coyle.



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*Social welfare forum.*

*on social welfare.*

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

SELECTED PAPERS  
SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN  
MAY 26-JUNE 1, 1940



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## FOREWORD

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THE 1940 PROCEEDINGS of the National Conference of Social Work presents in this permanent document fifty-nine papers read at the Annual Meeting in Grand Rapids this year. Successive volumes of like nature, containing manuscripts of merit in timeliness and in quality of subject matter, continue as milestones of social work experience for the membership. The papers this year reflect with significant appropriateness the background of conspicuous international events against which they were presented. The Editorial Committee elected by the Executive Committee and charged with responsibility for the selection of the manuscripts to be included in this volume comprised the following persons: Arthur Dunham (Ann Arbor), Robert P. Lane (New York City), and Florence R. Day, chairman (Cleveland); and included ex officio the President of the Conference, Grace L. Coyle (Cleveland), Editor of the *Social Work Year Book*, Russell H. Kurtz (New York City), and the General Secretary and Editor of the *Proceedings*, Howard R. Knight.

The Editorial Committee reviewed with thorough care each manuscript submitted for publication by the authors which had been read at the general sessions, section meetings, and special committee meetings of the Conference. In accordance with previous executive action, papers presented before the associate groups affiliated with the Conference were not examined for publication, which action had been made necessary in order to keep the volume within usable size. Determinants for selection are established by two factors, namely, criteria formulated as guiding principles for the Editorial Committee and limitation of space set by the size of the volume. The omission of a paper in no way reflects on the merit of its content or its value when presented. The criteria for selection takes into account an evaluation of the content of each paper from the point of view of the

newness of the data, its practical value to the membership, its applicability beyond a local setting, its historical significance, its timeliness and provocative nature.

It is essential to re-emphasize the known fact that the Conference is an open forum for the presentation and discussion of varying points of view and developments taking place currently in the field of social work. Publication of a manuscript chosen from the much greater number presented does not imply endorsement of a particular point of view by the Editorial Committee or by the Conference, which does not act as a legislative body, nor does its exclusion imply suppression or rejection.

The new departure formulated last year for the cover design and for the arrangement of contents according to the foci of reader interest brought forth such favorable comment as to merit continuance. In abandoning the traditional method of grouping papers according to the order in which they were given in the Conference program, the locating of a paper in reference to the original program setting is facilitated by the publication of the 1940 program in full in the Appendices.

The Editorial Committee wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness to the authors who submitted manuscripts and to the section chairmen who assisted in the evaluation of papers for inclusion; also to Mr. Stanley Lawrence who rendered valuable editorial service in preparing the manuscripts for publication.

FLORENCE R. DAY

*Chairman, Editorial Committee*

*Cleveland, Ohio*

*September 24, 1940*

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PART ONE

SOCIAL OBJECTIVES IN A TIME OF WORLD CRISIS



## SOCIAL WORK AT THE TURN OF THE DECADE

*Grace L. Coyle*

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WE MEET IN THE SHADOW of a world tragedy. In the face of the destruction of human life and of the very foundation of the Western World, our concerns, both individual and collective, seem dwarfed into insignificance. We are oppressed not only by the weight of the present, but by the threat of the future. In such a time we are assembled to discuss our concerns as social workers, and in such an hour to find courage in collective effort and in the hope which makes effort possible.

The surrounding terror and hate seem to heighten for us the value of every island of peace, every stream of good will, every evidence that men are capable of generosity, of consideration, of mutual respect, of deliberative and intelligent coöperation. One of the greatest evidences of this capacity is the existence and extent of social work today. It is itself one proof of the gains made by the humane and the intelligent forces among us, and its accomplishments in the protection and enhancement of life are themselves a rampart against the engulfing barbarism which produces and which accompanies war.

I am, therefore, going to discuss the contribution as I see it which social work and social workers may make to the preservation of our democratic heritage. At the risk of seeming to deal with the trivial, I am going to be concrete by way of illustration; but always with the assumption that we are but one part of a struggle which must embrace the entire nation, and that the great streams of human endeavor must have their rise in individuals, in small groups, in local communities, in specific social proposals, in the innumerable immediate problems which make up our daily lives.

The year 1940 may well mark a turning point in our history.



Behind us lie the thirties—a decade whose significance to our national life can hardly be exaggerated. Before us stretch the perilous forties with whose potentialities and dangers we must deal. In the whirlpool of events through which we move it is difficult to get or to keep the necessary perspective which can give meaning and direction to our immediate task as social workers. Great issues are at stake in the world in which we live. Social work as an organized function of our society is assuming increasing importance with every year. What is our part in the dynamic stream of life by which our generation moves on into history?

The decade of the thirties began with the great depression and ended with the beginning of a greater war. Between lie the years of mass unemployment and lowered standards of living, with all the human ills accompanying them so familiar to social workers. Such widespread human suffering, such dislocation of family and community relations cannot go on without exacting a toll, not only from the individuals involved, but also from the total society in which they occur. The depth and scope of the depression, like a social earthquake or the erosion and destruction of a great flood, have changed the national landscape.

The impact of this disaster has threatened some of the most cherished possessions of the American people. It has undermined the belief in the opportunity for economic achievement on which America has based its dreams. It has threatened with disillusion and despair the 4,000,000 youth who find all doors closed against them. It has produced a generation of old people without resources or the security necessary for a serene old age. It has uprooted farm families by the thousand and turned them into depression refugees in their own land. In addition to the lack of physical necessities essential to health and decency, this situation shatters profoundly the underlying unity of a people moving forward with hope and determination toward its common good. It raises basic questions about the soundness of our economic system and the capacity of a political democracy for dealing with its ills.

Then, as the decade closed, Europe broke into flames. Not only are human life, property, and the priceless treasures of

European culture being destroyed in this conflagration, but there is also in it a deeper conflict. The slowly achieved humane impulses which gave rise to democracy itself, the values of objective truth upon which both science and human justice rest, the attempt to order relations between nations on the slowly emerging foundations of international law—all these hang in the balance.

The United States is the child of European civilization. We cannot be indifferent to the issues involved in this conflict. But if, as we hope, we may escape at least its worst effects, it puts upon us, I believe, a tremendous responsibility that here we bring to fruition the promise of Western civilization. I cannot but hope that on this continent, at least, with its rich resources, its technological skill, its relatively flexible institutions, and its democratic traditions, there may be preserved the best of the inheritance which we brought with us from all parts of Europe. More than that, I still believe that we can and will build here a society in which every individual can develop his powers to the fullest, and in which the fruits of civilization, science, philosophy, art, human companionship can flourish and expand.

What is there in the thirties which gives us hope that this can be achieved? What developments already evident can be seized upon and used to ward off the dangers that threaten us and to strengthen the weakened forces of human progress?

Social work, if it has insight and determination, is in a position to make a more extensive and more definite contribution to our national life than ever before. In 1930 there were approximately forty thousand social workers. In 1940 there are, according to reliable estimates, double that number. The funds, both public and private, now invested in social work have probably increased in even greater proportion. Inadequate though our resources may be in the face of constantly unmet needs, this enlarged scope of social work gives new weight to our efforts. If we recognize the significance of this, it will perhaps sharpen our sense of social responsibility. Not only are we responsible as practitioners or as laymen to the individual client and to the individual agency, but also we must, whether we will or not, have some part in the

dynamic interplay of great social forces in our society. It is important for us, therefore, to grasp their meaning in order to use our strength with wisdom and foresight in desirable directions. I do not wish to underestimate the seriousness of the liabilities which have accrued to us from ten years of depression, nor the new difficulties which may follow in the train of war. But in such times we need also to husband our resources and to use to the utmost every source of strength and courage. Out of the stress and strain of the thirties can be discerned, I believe, certain new developments which can be regarded with hope and which can be used to reinforce the humane and democratic forces within our national life.

One of the most encouraging developments is the new sense of social responsibility which has expressed itself in the assumption by the community of the care of the victims of the depression. Until the mass unemployment of this period developed there was a lingering belief born of our pioneer individualism that if people were out of work or were paid low wages, it was a sign of individual shiftlessness or incompetence. That belief was largely washed out in the flood of the depression. True, it still remains here and there. It reappears in WPA jokes and comes openly into the budget hearings on relief appropriations. But the bulk of our citizens, I believe, has accepted the fact that the mass of personal misfortunes arising out of the depression is socially caused. Our first response to this understanding is the recognition that the misfortunes, therefore, must be met by the combined resources of the community. It is the widening acceptance of this conviction so long familiar to social workers which may provide a new impetus for the development of adequate social services.

The extension of government services is the chief answer which we have given to our new sense of social responsibility. We shall not have fully accepted it until we are providing for such services by adequate taxation on a permanent and equitable basis. But the steps taken in the direction of government responsibility, not only for social security and public assistance, but also for such areas as agricultural policy, flood and erosion control, and public housing are not likely to be retraced. They are, of

course, not a new development. Such use of government to do for us collectively what we cannot do individually is one of the oldest ways the democratic state has found to express its basic concern for the good of all. Under our eyes during the thirties we have seen this expand with great speed and into new areas of our social life.

Arising also out of the depression experience is a new conviction slowly dawning on the American people. We are beginning to see that disasters which are socially caused must be socially cured. While we must obviously give immediate relief to the victims of a disaster, we are coming to ask whether prevention rather than relief is not a more adequate social policy. During recent years the social origins of many individual misfortunes and inadequacies so long apparent to social workers have become increasingly clear to the general public both through studies of undoubted accuracy and, more powerfully, through the widespread experience of the depression. The conviction that undernourished children, unemployed young people, and demoralized adult workers are a social liability is, I believe, slowly growing among us. It is a shortsighted as well as inhuman policy which only picks up the debris of a social flood and does nothing to prevent the disaster by adequate measures upstream.

One result of the appearance of this conviction during the decade can be found in the new attitude toward social planning. American culture is typically unplanned, chaotic, disjointed. This is in part rooted in the characteristics of the pioneer period just past. In part it is the very essence of free enterprise, and our conviction that if each pursues his own interest the invisible hand which guides our destiny as a nation will in some way work the separate strands into a harmonious whole. But within the thirties this faith had a rude jolt. Some of us, no doubt, remember that winter of 1933 when the idea of planning seemed to break over the American public like the crest of a wave. Some of its manifestations were crude and unsound, but the basic strength which it developed and has kept in succeeding years grew out of profound causes. The depression had given us a vivid and forceful lesson in the results of our unplanned eco-

conomic order. That experience has made us ask how by foresight and planning we can forestall such disasters. Moreover, the extension of government services into various areas of our life is producing the practical necessity for extensive planning. In public housing, in soil conservation, in erosion control, in rural resettlement, in public health, in social security, and in other areas here and there in experimental fashion we are learning how to apply scientific method to human situations. One of the wholesome aspects of this present trend is its limited and concrete character. This is no utopian blanket proposal for a planned economy. This is not the regimentation of a totalitarian dictatorship by which a few plan the lives of the many for their own interest. This is the experimental, slow-moving, cautious, and often fumbling process by which a free people deals with its problems. Out of this experience we are just beginning to see our problems in country-wide and century-long terms and to envisage the preventive measures essential to the intelligent development of both the human and the material resources of this continent.

Born of our recent experience, there may be seen also, I believe, the dawn of another widespread conviction, namely, the belief that every American should have at least the essential minimum for health and decency. The appearance of this idea shows itself in the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the extension of state minimum wage laws, the provisions of the Social Security Act, and the pressure to pull up the levels of public assistance. There is obviously plenty of evidence that such a standard is far from acceptance and that powerful groups and forces stand in the way of such developments. The concept of such provision as a right, not a charity, is still farther from actuality. But it seems fair to say that out of the mass unemployment of the thirties there is beginning to crystallize the belief that every member of the community should have as his right at least the minimum basis of life.

This belief has been given some realistic underpinning by two related developments. At the very depth of the depression when standards of living were spiraling downward, several groups of



economists and engineers, notably the Brookings Institute, announced that the abolition of poverty had become technically a possibility. Our resources and our technological skill are now sufficient to provide an adequate standard of living for all our population. The startling paradox of starvation in the midst of potential plenty was dramatically revealed against the contrasting blackness of the depression.

Almost equally important in its effect on the public mind was the belief which appeared from many sources at about the same time that mass production could be kept at its full capacity only if it were complemented by mass consumption. Wider mass purchasing power was hailed as the clew to stabilizing production. This belief does not have the undisputed support among economists accorded to the fact of potential plenty, but it has accumulated powerful popular influence. These two developments gave sanction and impetus to the demand for a universal minimum standard of living for all as an economic foundation.

These gains, for I believe them to be gains, have been hardly won out of ten years of depression. Flickering and insecure some of them admittedly are, but they give a certain ground for confidence in our capacity as a people to deal with our problems. "We have met the enemy," and while we have no resounding victory to our credit, we have held our ground. We have not turned our backs on our social responsibility nor have we resorted to wholesale repression and dictatorship.

The significance of these small and hardly won gains of the great depression rests not in their emergence alone, but in the fact that they are the latest expression of the underlying stream of our democratic life. It is obvious that our American culture is not now and never has been an adequate expression of our democratic traditions. Much of it is thoroughly autocratic; some of it is feudal; in parts we have a kind of limited monarchy where dominating powers are restrained only by laws in the common interest. A culture must, however, be judged not only by its attainments, but by its direction, by the ferment that works within it, the dream that guides it. We can claim to be a democracy, I believe, by virtue, not of a legal framework of repre-

sentative government, although that is essential, but more by a deeply rooted conviction that is held among us. This is our traditional belief that each individual is of value and should have an opportunity to develop his powers and fulfill himself within the framework of the same need on the part of others and, moreover, that the government and other social institutions exist primarily for the benefit of the citizens. This, in turn, implies a responsibility for and participation in the control of government by all its citizens in the interest of the common good.

This is a simple belief so familiar to us as to appear trite, and yet in fact it is a conviction of extraordinary power if actually held—a ferment of remarkable potency for those who believe it. We all know how far our practice falls short of such assumptions, but it is this ideal, as Lincoln said, which is “constantly looked to, constantly labored for and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life.”

Whether our democratic institutions and the traditions from which they spring can survive the economic dislocations of the thirties is the major issue that confronts us. We are not at present threatened as other countries are by the imposition of despotism from without. The “fifth column” which has penetrated within our gates is the malnutrition of our population, the frustration and despair of our unemployed, the racial inequalities and antagonisms heightened by economic tensions, and the inhuman cynicism of those among us who can realize these conditions without attempting to remedy them. European experience should teach us that the despair of the people is the opportunity of the dictator.

The basic issues of the forties arise, therefore, at two points. In the first place, we must preserve and strengthen the underlying attitudes essential to a democracy—attitudes of fraternal consideration for every individual, of respect for the rights of all of us to freedom of thought and speech, and of active responsibility for the public concerns of vital importance to our national life. This, however, will be insufficient unless, in the second place, we



look to the economic inadequacies and inequalities which not only weaken the stamina of our people, but which also cynically refute our democratic pretensions. Beyond that we cannot be content until we have provided out of our rich resources not only the minimum essentials for health and decency, but also the opportunities for the higher attainments of a civilized people in education, recreation, and the other arts of life.

Against this social backdrop what part can we play as social workers in the strengthening of democratic attitudes and in the provision of the conditions of life which are the only convincing proof of the value of our democratic institutions?

We have as social workers, three major relationships: to our clientele, to our immediate community, and to the larger social scene. I wish to suggest in concrete terms some of the opportunities in each of these areas by which we may contribute to the extension of democratic relations and to the development of a more adequate basis for human life. Such an attempt can at best be merely illustrative. It is limited, obviously, not only by the scope of this paper, but also more seriously by the necessarily limited powers of one person.

The essence of social work lies in what happens through the contact of social worker and client whether that client be an applicant for public relief, a child in an institution, or a youth in a settlement club. Treatment and education are but aspects of the same process. When health is restored, or the family becomes self-supporting, or the dependent child is placed in the foster home, there still remains the question of whether life can be made rich, interesting, satisfying. This is often dependent on opportunities for further education, companionship, for creative expression during leisure time. Some of us work at one end of the scale, some at the other, but the common purpose is the growth and enhancement of the individual life. What has this, our primary purpose, to do with the preservation and development of a democratic society?

As we look back over the way in which we have done social work since its origin some seventy years ago, it is clear that our relation to our clients has been affected by two dominant factors:

the social climate in which we moved and the state of the social sciences on which we were dependent. Our earliest predecessors at times seem to us to have been motivated by a complacent sense of social superiority and a moral fervor for the reform of the unworthy poor, now as outdated as the barouche which brought the Lady Bountiful to their door. We have only to step back a moment to recognize the enormous change in the practice of social work. You remember Tennyson's advice to Lady Clara Vere de Vere, which carries so clearly the early atmosphere of well-intentioned Victorian philanthropy:

If time be heavy on your hands  
Are there no beggars at your gate,  
Nor any poor about your lands?  
O teach the orphan boy to read  
O teach the orphan girl to sew  
And let the foolish yeoman go.

Lady Clara, as you may remember, was suffering from a frustrated love affair with a member of the lower classes. While this form of sublimation may have been sound treatment for her, one hesitates to think of the effect on the beggars and orphan boys. The sincere desire to help, which was present then as now, clothed itself inevitably in the social condescension and moral reformism of that period. Slowly the ferment of democracy has undermined such remains of feudalism, and modern scientific knowledge has made us skeptical both of the motives of the reformer and of methods associated with such reform. In that transformation, philanthropy has become social work and "uplift" has yielded to understanding.

This democratization of social work practice appears in every aspect of the field. In case work it has substituted understanding of each individual for individual reform and high-pressure methods. In the leisure-time agencies it replaces superimposed programs artfully designed by adults for the building of character, especially in the so-called underprivileged, by self-governing groups and programs growing out of the interests of the members. It develops in the field of relief the attempt to avoid the stigma of charity and to replace it by self-respecting work or by the con-

cept of rights established through social insurance. Everywhere the ferment of democracy has been at work among us, and while its effect is still incomplete, the accomplishments to date give us hope that the transformation may continue.

Equally significant for the practice of social work has been the effect upon us of the developing science of personality and of society. There is no doubt that the most significant event of the twenties for social work was the application to case work practice of the growing knowledge gained from psychiatry and psychoanalysis. As powerful in the area of recreation and informal education was the similar impact of the newer educational ideas formulated especially in the progressive education movement. The effect on the two fields of work has been, I believe, similar in many ways. The application of the new psychological knowledge has deepened our understanding of the uniqueness of each individual. It has enhanced our understanding of the emotional factors in experience. It has made clear the unity of personality and the necessity for dealing with the whole person. It has developed a new respect for the need of each person to be a self-determining and, in so far as he can be, a creative human being. The extent to which we have been able to apply the new scientific knowledge of personality to our own situation is one measure of our claim to being a profession. Here too our accomplishments are incomplete and are unevenly distributed over the whole field of practice.

These, then, have been, as I see it, the two major developments in practice within recent years: the increasing democratization of the attitudes surrounding the giving and accepting of social work service, and the increasing application of recent scientific knowledge of the individual, making such service more understanding and more effective. What significance does this have for the period ahead? I believe that new times will call for new emphases at certain points.

At the point where these two streams converge may lie a most significant development for the future. While we have been using the results of science in regard to the individual, we have ourselves been acted upon by social forces which we have only partially understood.

We have become increasingly aware of the need to go below the surface of individual behavior, to track symptoms back to their causes, to guide treatment by such deeper understanding. I believe we have still to acquire a similar depth of understanding of the way in which our clients and ourselves are affected by the cultural situation. Within the last few years, for example, our clients have been subjected to such tides of social change as the rise of the C.I.O., the mechanization of agriculture, and the growth of anti-Semitic or anti-alien feeling. Constantly we deal with our native sons and daughters upon whom the full impact of our peculiar institutions of race relations has left an indelible and often a ruinous imprint. I do not mean that we have been unaware of the social factors affecting individuals, but I think there is considerable evidence that while we have delved deeper into the inner life of the individual, with increasing value to our practice, we have been content to allow our knowledge of social movements and social factors to remain relatively superficial. This, in a period of severe economic maladjustment, of tremendous social dislocation, and possibly of international turmoil, seems particularly shortsighted. Profound as our knowledge of any individual may be, it remains superficial unless it reveals in what ways he bears upon him the imprint of the great streams of the cultural heritage and what part he is playing inevitably in the creation of the society of the future. As the last decade has deepened our understanding of the emotional and internal factors, the forties must deepen in a similar way our knowledge of the part of each of us in the life stream of the community.

In actual fact, we cannot work with either individuals or groups without some set of social values derived from the larger setting. Both treatment and education have no meaning except as we gauge success by some idea of the socially desirable. I believe, however, that we need to discuss more clearly the objectives and values by which we actually are governed.

Social workers, on the whole, often have been unwilling to admit that they had values—that they could use the word “good,” for example. They hesitate to define the norms which necessarily are guiding treatment. This reticence about values grew, I think,

out of several circumstances. It was a reaction against the excessive and coercive moralism of the Victorian period. It was the result of the anonymity of city life in which many of us were ourselves enjoying the pleasures of escape from the restraints of convention. It was an acceptance of a kind of social relativity which said one man's judgment is as good as another's. It was at its best an attempt to put ourselves sensitively in the place of a client, without imposing extreme judgments of praise and blame, in order to encourage self-direction and independent growth. As a result, we have tended to use neutral words that left entirely implicit our real purposes. We have talked of adjustment, of self-expression, of maturity, of social and antisocial behavior, of the socially desirable. This indicated our good intentions but left pleasantly vague exactly what we were driving at.

The situation here is, I believe, changing. For one thing, the clearly defined and ardently propagated values of the new totalitarian way of life have made vivid for us anew the reality of moral values. As we see the individual subordinated to the state, the rise of an elite based on race and power, the unabashed glorification of violence and trickery, we are shocked into the need for defining, in order to defend, the corresponding mores of a democratic society. We are entering, I hope, a new phase of thought in regard to treatment and education—a phase in which we feel the need of clarifying for ourselves what kind of a society we want and therefore what we mean by the social and the antisocial. We need in these days to face our responsibility for a positive—though not a moralistic—position.

And what are such values that might become a guide to practice? That is one of the problems which we must solve if we are to become an effective part of the struggle for increased democracy. I believe one difficulty with such values in the past—and of course we have had them in spite of ourselves—is that they have been concerned almost wholly with the private aspects of people's lives.

In the area of person-to-person relations, we could, I believe, if put to it, define fairly well what we believe to be our objectives. In family life, in the treatment of children, in the face-to-face rela-



tions of small groups, we could probably come to some agreement on the "socially desirable" toward which we aim. In terms of the person we have some conception of what it means to grow up as it affects the creative use of one's powers, the capacity for outgoing affection, the ability to carry responsibility and similar achievements.

However, in regard to those public relations which each individual bears to his community, we seem to me to be relatively silent. What is the normal or desirable attitude for an adult toward his participation in local politics, in the growth of organization in his industry, in the racial or nationality relations of his community? How can this youth growing up in an area of bad housing and no jobs relate himself, if at all, to the constructive forces of a changing society? So far, we are content if we can prevent delinquency in such cases. The effective development in our clients and in ourselves of those superpersonal relations which reach out beyond family and friends into party, union, nationality, society, and election booth are a neglected and a significant part of our practice. These relations are significant for two reasons. First, the worth and dignity of the individual as he conceives it are, I believe, profoundly affected by these ties to a larger whole. Where such relations develop as they should, they give balance, perspective, and meaning to life. More than that, the very existence of a democratic society depends upon the acceptance by its citizens of a responsible relation to public issues and their ability to handle them effectively.

We deal in our clientele with thousands of individuals. Some of these have been rendered hostile to the organized forces of society by unfortunate environment or individual maladjustments. Many more are inert, unawakened to their own stake in the community life about them, and so of little positive value in the creation of a sound community by democratic means. Obviously, the antisocial must be reclaimed or, at worst, restrained. But for all, is it not essential that whether we deal with treatment or with education, we are dominated by a clear and dynamic conviction of the need for each to participate as he can, not only in his family or his group, but also in the wider life of his commu-



nity? In short, we need to include among our values the public virtues—the concern for the common good and the habits of effective participation—if we are to contribute toward the creation of a democratic citizenry. I realize that this is more possible in certain aspects of social work than in others. I am not in any case suggesting coercion or propaganda as to the definite ways of participation. But I am suggesting, first, that neither treatment nor education can proceed intelligently without a conscious frame of reference in terms of clearly defined ideas of the social and the antisocial; that such individual values can only be based on the type of society we desire; and that in a democratic society it is not enough to include in such values only the norms of private behavior. We must also include the creation of the motives and habits essential to an active, intelligent participation in the controversial, dynamic life of the community.

It is, in fact, possible that if we turned on this question of the emotional and intellectual requisites for a citizen in a democracy all that we now know about the individual, we might make an outstanding contribution. From what we know of the emotional maturity essential to successful family life, from our knowledge of how to develop social attitudes through coöperative group experience, and from all our intimate acquaintance with human beings, might be born an understanding of the motivations essential to making democracy work. The dictators have, so far, proved themselves extremely skillful psychologists in their use of the irrational and the destructive impulses in the service of their cause. The democracies leave the development of the attitudes essential for their continuance largely to chance or the rather dull ministrations of high school civics classes. One of the major needs of our time is to discover how to direct the irrational and unconscious motivations of men in ways that will produce the common well-being of all, and how to develop more fully the rational and creative social impulses. In so far as we can contribute to the creation of active and intelligent participation in public issues by all those we touch we will encourage that growth of social responsibility which underlies a healthy community. In a democracy it is not enough to interpret social needs to the privileged or the powerful

alone. The only permanent and wholesome basis for a democratic community is an awakened sensitiveness to human values in all parts of our population, a communal sense that the injury of any is the concern of all, and a widespread willingness to assume the necessary responsibility to meet our common needs.

In the past the community-wide aspects of social work have made several major contributions to the democratizing of our social life. The existence of private agencies is itself a witness to the humanitarian impulse expressing itself in specific programs for limited groups. The growth of the community chests and councils expresses in certain ways the sense of social responsibility and its widening to cover the entire community. The development through the settlements, for example, of neighborhood activity for local improvement and the more recent growth of community councils of all sorts are other aspects of the social impulse working itself out in a variety of ways through social work.

Valuable as such efforts are within their limited areas, it is questionable whether all such attempts to date have been adequate to compensate for the forces working in the opposite direction. As our cities have grown in size and diversity of population, the ties of common interest and common purpose which unite smaller communities are weakened. Cleavages of economic interest, of nationality, and of racial background create social chasms across which we have built few bridges of community feeling. Human beings need a vivid and constant linkage to a large social whole whose common ideals they share and in whose life their participation is obviously essential. In time of war or disaster we find such meanings, but in time of peace or depression the democracies have been curiously unable to dramatize for us all the potent goals of common enterprise. It is only where there arise from the common life of a democratic people concrete and potent objectives for common enterprise that the bond of the community is strengthened and the individual can be stimulated to active participation in its behalf.

How could social work contribute to such a development? It is in a peculiarly significant position to do so. Already in fragmentary and partial ways it is at work on the creation of a better

community. But if it is to go beyond a very limited range, it needs, I believe, certain new developments. It is possible here to mention only three such possibilities as illustrative of the way in which community relations may contribute to larger ends. The first step must lie, I believe, in the creation of a taste or, perhaps, an appetite for democratic relations through our methods of administering our own agencies. Obviously this is not likely to spread outward from the social agencies unless it is prevalent within them. It is of little use to set out to democratize the community if we cannot administer our own affairs on that basis. This seems to touch us at two crucial points: the establishing of employment conditions and the determination of policies.

It is obvious that social work with its concern for the individual should be at least abreast of the best practices in private industry in its employment conditions and its methods of dealing with its employees. The negotiation of agreements between representatives of the employing and the employed group is a recognized method increasingly accepted as a part of sound personnel practice and long recommended by the American Association of Social Workers. It is still relatively rare in the practice of social agencies. Democracy, however, is more than a matter of administrative machinery. It requires a generous desire for universal participation and a capacity for coöperative activity which is not easy to attain. In so far, however, as any of us, professional workers or laymen, acquire the taste for such activity, it not only improves the daily life within the agency, it also releases into the community active agents whose experience in the art of human relations may spread into other parts of social life.

The private agencies, however, have another opportunity in this area in which they might undertake concrete experimentation of vital importance. The policy-making bodies of private agencies are now determining policies affecting large groups of clientele and important aspects of community life. Taxation without representation, we were brought up to believe, is tyranny. Is it not also true that policy-making without representation is autocracy, however benevolent? It is true, of course, that where we are dealing with children or with those mentally or physically ill, the prin-

ciple of wardship must prevail. But where, as in many cases, we are dealing with mature adults and with neighborhoods whose chief inadequacy is merely lack of income, is it not possible that the extension of representation might be of mutual benefit? The boards of private agencies tend to be drawn from only a part of the community. Some experimentation with a broader base for policy-making is now going on in certain agencies. In some cases this has meant the inclusion of representation from the clientele. In others it has led to representation from new groups hitherto not drawn into social work councils, such as organized labor or the leadership of nationality groups. Does not the ferment of democracy need to penetrate here also? Such a procedure would have several advantages. It would bring into our councils the wisdom that resides within our clientele at present untapped. It would break down the distinction between donor and recipient. It would create bridges across the social chasms of our communities by which experience in common social enterprises would strengthen the bonds of community feeling. It would provide practical and concrete practice in the democratic determination of policies within the limited functions of the private agency. It would prepare the way for more far-reaching enterprises for the common good. I am not minimizing the difficulties. The capacity to coöperate in such situations and the knowledge essential to intelligent coöperation are not native talents, nor are they easily achieved. It would take skill, patience, experimentation. But if the forties are to move us nearer our goal, is it not perhaps the unique opportunity of the private agency, especially through its lay boards, to make such a contribution to the extension of democratic experience?

In the area of the expanding public services a new and, in many ways, more difficult situation is arising. It is not only true that government is vitally affecting more areas of life than ever before, but it is also true that in certain of these areas—notably the provision of work relief and public assistance—it is now responsible for the actual maintenance of millions of its citizens. Simultaneously with this is the fact that as it has become more vitally responsible, it has moved farther away geographically from the

control of those it serves. Few of us would wish the return of relief to the meager resources of the local community. There confronts us, however, in the increasing centralization of government a problem which calls urgently for some new kind of community organization if we are to keep fresh and vital the democratic control over services in the interests of those affected and the total community.

With a larger proportion of our people than ever before directly dependent for the means of life itself upon legislative action, the control over such action has become increasingly difficult to exercise. Even in the local community, especially in larger cities, the plight of the relief clients can go unrecognized and actual starvation occur without the realization of it arousing community action. And when the controlling hand is—or can be said to be—in the state capital or the remote halls of Congress, the potency of democracy wears very thin indeed. If the control over such essential services is to remain in part in state and Federal hands, we must invent new instruments by which the actual conditions of local communities can vitally affect such decisions. We have yet to discover an effective instrument by which centralized and remote control can be kept in constant adaptation to the vital needs of those for whom it functions. The more vital the need, the more essential is this development. For those whose chance to work and to eat lies in the hands of our legislators, the forging of such an instrument by which to express their needs is the natural step of a democratic people. So far, citizens' committees of varying degrees of usefulness and the action of pressure groups of the unemployed have been the chief methods used. Occasionally, organized social workers have tried to take a hand without much outstanding success. At best such action is sporadic, without authorization from the community, and often none too welcome to those responsible for the government policies. An acceptable and recognized method for relating local needs to centralized control will have to be developed if we are to escape the evils of bureaucracy or a cynical disillusion with the workings of our democracy. This is a concern in which social workers and their clientele might well join in coöperative endeavor.



Such use of the community relations of social work might make a definite contribution to the development of certain of the trends mentioned above. As we attempt to use foresight and planning in one area and another, the objectives and methods of such planning must be kept close to the common purposes of all our people. In whose interest shall such plans be made? By what methods will they be evolved and administered? It is common knowledge that great artists arise only out of a soil rich in widespread, diffused participation in that art. It is also true that sound social statesmen can arise only out of a socially literate people. The limited experience of community planning in social work could provide some of that capacity for social insight, some of that experience in evolving direction out of the concerted desires of those concerned, some of that ability to administer sensitively and creatively the enterprises which affect us, which are essential to a sound development of social planning.

So far I have dealt chiefly with the relation of social workers to the extension of democratic habits of mind both in our direct relation to their clientele and in their relation to the local community. This, however, is only part of the issue confronting us. If our society cannot provide the basic satisfactions of life for its citizens, all our democratic traditions and attitudes will not hold against the rising tide of thwarted human life. One of the most serious threats to our institutions lies in our inability to provide the minimum necessities of life for all under conditions of security and self-respect. Social workers by the very nature of their functions have a unique opportunity to understand this and to affect it.

It is obvious that the answer to this question, if we can find it, must grow out of the combined thought and effort of many groups. The best thought of our economists, the pressure of those most adversely affected by the conditions, the wisdom of legislators and statesmen, and the steady, slow development of public opinion are all essential. What part have we as social workers in this period?

While it is true that many of the difficulties with which we deal are personal in origin, it is also true that many of them are directly related to the social situation. There is no reasonable doubt that

poverty itself is responsible for increased illness, that unemployment breeds unemployability, that crowded housing undermines family life, that undernourished children will grow into incompetent workers. These are truisms. But the inertia which allows such conditions to continue brings us a growing pyramid of financial and human costs.

Basic to all these ills is the overshadowing poverty of the American people—and that in a country whose resources and skill make poverty no longer necessary. We do not need statistics to prove what we know by long experience. But we do need, I believe, to realize that such experience is wasted if it ends with our service to individuals or groups alone. We know as few in the community do, except those directly involved, what the consequences of unnecessary poverty are to human life. But if we allow our accumulated experience to lie idle, if we become absorbed in individual misfortunes or in our own techniques for dealing with them, or if we become so accustomed to conditions that we too accept them as inevitable, there is lost to the community a driving power which might be used to change men's minds. There have always been as there are today some social workers like Jane Addams or Grace Abbott, for example, who have seen this and who have wrought from their experience a powerful weapon for the awakening of public opinion. But these are times when we need not a few of such social statesmen, but a host of them. If we have the insight and the determination we can draw conclusions, see trends, point out consequences. These, if geared to the awakened public understanding, might start the wheels of change.

In fulfilling this responsibility we shall be contributing to the customary way in which we deal with such problems in America. In one area after another during the 150 years of our history we have moved forward gropingly by these methods. The struggle to establish public education, to develop public health, to protect women and children in industry, and, more recently, to provide a limited measure of security from unemployment and old age, all illustrate the same attempt to modify basic social institutions in the interest of better opportunity for human beings. Against terrific odds, which often seem at the time like the labors of

Sisyphus himself, our predecessors have won a slowly expanding measure of life.

We are all familiar with the current issues of this far-flung and long-range struggle. The effort to maintain the income of the lowest income groups even at the present basis is likely to be severe in the immediate future. After a slow upward climb of forty years which brought a substantial increase to the workers' income in the United States, we saw those gains go spiraling downward in the depression. To regain this lost ground and to move forward toward an adequate standard of living for the American people is the most fundamental issue we face today. This struggle has several fronts: the wages of the low-paid workers, the increase of employment, and the relief standards of the unemployed. Few know as intimately as do we the meaning for family life of substandard wages, the disasters to health and morals of sudden relief crises, the strain of continued undernourishment on the stamina of children and youth. We have a unique opportunity to assist in the preservation of the minimum standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the extension of minimum wage laws, the efforts for more adequate relief appropriations, or the elimination of substandard wages.

We can take heart from some of the legislative achievements of the last decade, from the rising understanding of the necessity for an adequate minimum for all, and from the realization that plenty for all is within the realms of scientific possibility if not yet of social reality. But with all this, we know only too well that such gains as have been won are scattered and inadequate at best.

As the understanding of the need for social prevention spreads, our experience at various points has unique value. Programs of preventive medicine and provisions for medical care need our testimony as to the consequences which flow from our present dearth of such services. Programs for vocational guidance and for work for unemployed youth can be strengthened by our experience of the present result of idleness and frustration. The creation of endurable conditions of life for migratory agricultural workers calls for the contribution which rural social workers might make to public understanding. From such raw material can come the



means with which to control our social disasters at their source. Our experience with the human consequences of social conditions contains a rich ore which should be mined by observation and forged into instruments for the creation of an informed public opinion.

Perhaps in times like these it is visionary to suggest that the day may come when unnecessary poverty itself might be abolished. Certainly if the destruction of war engulfs us, it will be postponed for unknown generations. There is, however, a certain similarity between the existence of unnecessary poverty and that of slavery which encourages a long-range hope. Both are very ancient human conditions, both are rooted in well-established relationships, both have been accepted as the will of God, both thwart and deform the human life of their victims and of those who seem to benefit from them. Slavery fell at last before the simultaneous onslaught of two forces: the technological changes which made slave labor first unnecessary and then expensive, and the rising tide of the social conscience. Is it conceivable that we have seen in the last decade the springs of two similar streams rising, someday to converge? Industrial technology has fulfilled its promise of making plenty possible but not actual. At the same time mass production, I believe, calls for larger purchasing power to keep going the wheels of industry. These two flow together into the stream of economic necessity—or is it only possibility? Out of the suffering of the hungry thirties rises also the demand of enough for all and the response of the American people to the need of “one third of a nation.” There comes a time in the adventure of certain great ideas when practical necessity and ideal aspiration run together to turn a dream into a reality. No one can tell whether or when the abolition of unnecessary poverty can become a reality. A world engulfed in war seems to negate this ancient dream of peace and plenty which is the basic hope of democratic peoples. Yet there is a certain toughness to human aspiration which, when it is combined with favorable external factors like technology, has a remarkable power to remove obstacles as a rising tide can lift a stranded ship. If America can escape at least the worst of the

avalanche of war, can we not believe that it may be its destiny to achieve in time this ancient hope?

As to the immediate future, it seems clear that we have a significant job before us. Even if, as we hope, we may stay out of war itself, the demands of national defense are likely to transform not only our economy, but our entire national life. But in that transformation we must become more and not less the democratic nation that we claim to be. Such a development must rest upon the ancient foundations of freedom of thought and speech. It must grow from the well-founded hope that willingness and effort will yield fruit in security and achievement. The firmest foundation for the ultimate preservation of our democratic heritage lies in a sound people well-nourished in body, healthy in mind, fully developed each according to his powers. Such a people are the best preparedness for the free coöperative endeavor for common goals, not only of defense—essential as that may be for the time—but also for the permanent achievement of a great culture. Toward this goal we as social workers must bend every vital energy, in every individual contact, in every local community, and in the wider areas where certain established social institutions must be remodeled to allow human life its fullest development.

For this achievement we need a profound insight and an unshaken courage. Today we recall the Ghengis Khans, the Attilas, the Napoleons. We remember the Dark Ages into which the exhausted energies of men have sunk back to despair and brutishness. But we must remember that that is not all of history. Throughout its course those who have achieved the beginnings of social justice, who have freed the human intelligence, who have set the humane against the brutal passions of men, have moved forward in a fragile and wavering advance. But they have moved forward. The rise of science, the achievement of political democracy, the abolition of slavery, the extension of medical care, the free education of the young, and the development of that vast body of social services which we represent—these are but part of that struggle for a civilized life. Our generation is called upon to hold this line and to press forward. This struggle is the great adventure of mankind, faltering, broken, uncertain, but with it all, superb.

## AMERICAN CHILDHOOD CHALLENGES AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

*Katharine F. Lenroot*

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IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS on May 16, President Roosevelt said:

I, too, pray for peace—that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth—but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Thus spoke the President of the United States in one of the most solemn and fateful hours in the history of the world.

Evidence that democracy has toughness of moral and physical fiber has been summarized in the General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy in these words:

The present Conference comes after 10 years of economic depression unprecedented in length and of great intensity. A large section of the population was left without income for months or even years. Since the economic soundness of a country underlies a continuance of its freedom, the development of its culture, and the quality of its public services, we might have expected that the decade following 1929 would exhibit the worst conditions ever suffered by the people of this country, and either a retrogression to pioneer hardship or an attempted escape by the way of dictatorship through which some European countries have looked for salvation.

“It is to the everlasting credit of this democracy,” the Conference report states, “that despite the strains of the past decade we not only have maintained our social institutions and public services but have notably improved some of them.” Among these accomplishments the report cites the fact that basic problems of agriculture, banking, finance, conservation of natural resources, employment, economic security, housing, and long-range economic

stabilization have been examined during this period and remedial processes have been set in motion. The health of the nation has been studied and appraised; medical science has been brought more extensively into public service; public health administration has been mobilized through local, state, and Federal agencies for steady progress toward building a healthy nation. Education, recreation, and the problems of youth have been studied on a national scale and nationwide programs for the benefit of youth have been established.

The Conference on Children in a Democracy, a great citizens' enterprise in which persons of different political faiths, representing many interests and callings, have worked together with a single aim, affirmed its conviction that,

. . . The resiliency of this commonwealth and its ability to avoid any serious loss of morale under long-continued hardships have proved it to be a stable form of government adaptable to a machine-age civilization and capable of meeting new human needs by democratic methods.

Clearly, and with complete unanimity, the Conference envisioned the goals of our democracy for the next decade, firm in the belief that we must press forward to achievements "worthy of the freedom and wealth of our nation." It reported great inequalities throughout the country in the available opportunities for children and youth in rural areas, in low-income groups, among the unemployed, among migrant workers, and in various minority groups. "Honest inquiry," the report points out, "has uncovered conditions unworthy of a democracy with resources like ours and dangerous to its future."

Because this democracy has shown itself bold and capable of dealing with a catastrophic depression without loss of courage or determination, the White House Conference asserts that it feels free to call public attention to the many conditions that still are hazardous to children and to the future of our democracy.

What is the program for the next decade which the Conference has placed before the American people?

First, the Conference affirms that the concern of democracy is for every child. It speaks to all the people for all the children. It

recognizes the immediate necessity for providing against the material dangers of the moment, but it asserts the equal necessity for maintaining internal strength and confidence among the people of the strongest democracy in the world.

Specifically, the White House Conference calls upon the 29,000,000 families of the nation to be schools for democratic living. It recognizes that a necessary condition of the family's capacity to serve the child is an income sufficient to provide the essentials of food, clothing, shelter, and health, as well as a home that means for the child education, happiness, and character building. It expresses the determination of the American people that steady progress shall be made toward more complete utilization of our material resources and our man power, so that by the end of another decade we shall not have to confess that one half, or even one third, of our children are in families that do not have enough money to provide fully for the essentials of wholesome living. It asserts that the basic economic problem of our children "is the economic problem of the nation—to find a sound balance of wages, prices, and financing that will provide a growing purchasing power to industrial workers and farmers and profitable investment for capital." It recognizes that "economic aid must continue to be given from public funds to a considerable number of families; that local, state, and Federal government should share the responsibility; and that new, hitherto untried methods may have to be introduced and earlier measures extended."

The Conference sets before the American people the responsibility for correcting a housing situation which condemns many city and rural families to live in shelters unfit for human habitation. Fortunately, the Conference finds, the past decade has been an epoch-making period in the history of housing. It has seen local, state, and Federal governments enter this field, especially for low-income groups, to an extent that gives promise of notable achievement.

The Conference recognizes the importance of religion and opportunity for religious instruction of children and youth in a democracy, which seeks to reconcile individual freedom with social unity.

At all times, and particularly in times of crisis, it is true that "the health of the child is the power of the nation." The Conference affirms that the health and well-being of children depend to a large extent upon the health of all members of their families. Preventive and curative health service and medical care should be made available to the entire population, rural and urban, in all parts of the country, and especially to mothers and children, through private resources and general tax funds, or through social insurance systems, or a combination of these methods.

Regarding education, the Conference recognizes that a primary responsibility of our democracy is to establish and maintain that fair educational opportunity to which every American child is entitled. It holds that,

The content of education should deal with the personal, social and economic issues of the day; its method should take account of scientific discoveries in child growth, child care, and the learning process. And the management of the educational services should seek always to combine maximum efficiency with the requirements of individual initiative and freedom.

The Conference asserts that the development of recreation and the constructive use of leisure time should be recognized as a public responsibility on a par with responsibility for education and health. Private agencies should continue to contribute facilities, experimentation, and channels for participation by volunteers.

Prevention of the exploitation of children and youth in premature and harmful labor must be accompanied by provision for educational training, open to all children, during the years left free from wage earning.

As to vocational opportunity for youth, the Conference affirms that the situation calls urgently for action, and believes that the cost of constructive programs will be less than the ultimate cost of neglect.

The Conference holds that social services to children whose home conditions or individual difficulties require special attention should be provided in every county or other appropriate



area, and that an obligation rests upon both public and private agencies for the development of adequate resources and standards of service.

Special consideration was given by the Conference to problems of migrant families. It holds that their problems are national in scope, and that the Federal Government must accept responsibility for the development of an inclusive plan for their care, assuming full financial responsibility for interstate migrants.

The Conference asserts that the effort to obtain equality of opportunity for children without regard to race, color, or creed should be pursued in the places and institutions that have potentially the greatest influence upon children. The first of these is the family; the second, the school. The Conference recommends that civic and social agencies, labor and consumer organizations, political parties and governmental agencies, not only should place no obstacles in the way of adequate representation and participation of minority groups both in the ranks and in administrative and policy-making activities, but should welcome and encourage such participation.

Questions of public administration and finance underlie many of the recommendations of the Conference. It finds that the number of local administrative units of government for health, education, and welfare should be reduced; that financial responsibility should be shared by governments at the various levels—local, state, and Federal—taking into account the needs in the respective localities and states and the resources of these governmental units; and that merit systems which will assure competent personnel to perform the services essential for children should be adopted in public administration in local, state, and Federal governments.

This program of action for the children of our United States is a program for the next ten years, and some of it for a longer period. The Conference believes that its proposals are well within the capacities of the American people, and that the economic resources of the country will be enhanced by them. It looks forward to a follow-up program under the leadership of a national citizens' committee and state organizations which will reach into every

local community, thus helping to make the recommendations a reality in the lives of children.

The very existence of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, its ability to formulate a program under governmental auspices, but through committee and Conference action absolutely free from government domination, is proof both of our freedom and of the sensitiveness of our democracy to human values.

The history of the United States Children's Bureau, established twenty-eight years ago as the first government bureau in the world devoted to the interests of childhood, is another proof of this freedom and this awareness. Never in the history of the Children's Bureau, whether a Republican or a Democratic administration was in power, has any question been asked concerning the political opinions of its chief or any member of its staff. Never has it been hindered from making impartial studies of conditions affecting the welfare of children. Never have its reports been subjected to censorship. Under the merit-system provisions of the Social Security Act, the same privileges are being won for coöperating state agencies—agencies coöperating with the Federal Government in unswerving attempts to bring to more complete fruition the ideals and principles which underlie democracy.

Let us examine the aims of a totalitarian state for its children, and the extent to which those who serve childhood in such a state are free to promote the values inherent in human personality.

Services for public health and child welfare have been extended in totalitarian states, but the avowed purpose of these activities in Germany has been to train the younger generation in accordance with the viewpoints which are essential for the unity of the people; training for the personal development of the individual is considered secondary. All preventive and curative health work is considered from the standpoint that expenditures should be made for an individual who is physically or mentally sick only in accordance with his value to the whole community. Immediate shift in emphasis from governmental to private and from paid to volunteer service characterized the first year of the National



Socialist regime. A ministerial circular<sup>1</sup> ordered the removal of women social workers who "because of their personalities could not serve the National State."

Of the seven private child welfare agencies national in scope, four were either dissolved or combined with others, in 1933. The welfare agencies which conformed to the National Socialist ideology were allowed to remain. Admission to reorganized schools of social work was open only to approved members of the National Socialist party who met certain qualifications. On local child welfare committees, later abolished, representatives of Hitler Youth and the National Socialist People's Welfare replaced members who formerly had been named by child welfare agencies.

Responsibility for relief and welfare work was placed in an office of the National Socialist party. The guiding principle, as given in the order creating this office, was the welfare of the people as a whole in preference to the welfare of the individual. Only those persons were to be appointed to carry on child welfare work whose opinions conformed to the National Socialist ideology.

These concepts of the relation between the individual and the State, and the duty of the State toward the individual, stand in sharp contrast to the aims and accomplishments of the Scandinavian nations for their people; to the doctrines of the French philosophers; to the liberties of England; and to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. That democratic principles are still far from complete realization in countries committed to bills of rights and to representative government, social workers would be the first to affirm. That the relentless drive of the Nazi forces on the fields of Belgium and of France has thrown into mortal combat the impersonality and ruthlessness of the machine and the freedom of the human spirit, social workers will be the last to deny.

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy last January foresaw many of the issues which would determine the success or the failure of the American people to reach our goals for children in the decade upon which we have just entered. It recognized that the aims of democracy for its children challenge

<sup>1</sup> *Zentralblatt für Jugendrecht*, XXV (1933-34), 328.

the capacity of American citizens to place the democratic purpose at the center of personal, family, and community life. It understood that the aims of democracy for its children challenge the capacity of the people of the United States so to regulate the economic system as to assure its contribution to the democratic ideal. It saw that the machine must be made to serve man, not man the machine. It realized clearly that the aims of democracy for its children challenge the capacity of American citizens to use government for the advancement of human welfare. It was firm in its belief that we, the American people, would meet these challenges and would make substantial advance toward our goals for childhood in the next ten years.

The Conference did not foresee so clearly the extent to which its ends would have to be sought under conditions which challenge the very survival of democracy in any part of the world.

Since the tenth of May, there seem to be only two possibilities confronting the United States:

1. A prolonged war in Europe, with this nation compelled by necessity to strengthen all our resources of bodily health, moral fiber, social justice, and spiritual power; to mobilize our industrial and scientific resources; and to augment our military strength in preparation for whatever threats to the continuance of our democratic civilization we may have to meet, and whatever responsibilities for maintaining a world order in which free peoples can survive we shall have to assume.

2. An early and complete victory by Germany, greatly increasing the urgency of these preparedness measures.

What, then, is our duty to the children of today, the citizens of tomorrow, in this time of crisis?

First, it is to understand clearly that their safety, their health, their homes, and their schools must be protected at whatever cost of resourceful planning and financial sacrifice. Our internal strength, our unity of purpose, our effectiveness in achieving results, whether in peace or in war, depend to a great extent upon the confidence with which parents can face the future for their children. The responsibility for such planning rests with all the people, but they must act chiefly through government. Govern-

ment, in turn, must work in full coöperation with the citizens of the country in their many organizations devoted to civic advancement and human welfare. The follow-up organization of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, to be completed as soon as possible, should afford a valuable channel for citizen participation in promoting the health and security of children and interpreting to all the people the needs of children and youth. Citizens must realize that they cannot divest themselves of responsibility by looking to government for the solution of their problems. Government, local, state, or Federal, is only an institution through which citizens act in fulfillment of their obligations to themselves, their families, and their fellow men. To allow government to be used for any other purpose is to prostitute it.

Second, there must be immediate expression of the purpose of the people of the United States to preserve and strengthen the economic foundations of home life. President Roosevelt's determination to preserve the social gains of the last decade, including governmental action to protect fair labor standards, should receive universal support. WPA employment must be maintained in the degree required to provide work for the unemployed. At the same time, general assistance programs must be strengthened throughout the nation. Plans for allotments and allowances for families of members of the armed forces similar to those provided under the War Risk Insurance Act should be developed in advance of possible extensive military mobilization.

Third, child labor standards must be preserved and strengthened. The man power of the nation is more than sufficient to meet all needs without calling upon children to sacrifice their strength and their schooling for industrial employment. We must press forward to extend to child workers in industrialized agriculture safeguards similar to those now afforded to children in factory employment.

Fourth, educational resources must be maintained and augmented as necessary to assure to every child a fair chance for schooling throughout the school-age period.

Fifth, the objectives of the nation for its youth, as they have been expressed in our developing youth programs, must not be

forgotten as our young people are drawn into emergency training programs, aircraft production and operation, the manning of war industries, or enlistment in the armed forces. Every facility for guidance of youth, for encouragement of those with special gifts, for assuring to all youth opportunity for education or useful employment, must be provided.

Sixth, we must cover the entire nation as soon as possible with basic public health and child welfare services, needed at all times, and especially necessary in times of special stress. All the counties, not merely two-thirds of them, should have public health nursing services to guard against epidemics, give health supervision, and assist in the development of community health services for children. Medical care programs for mothers and children should be extended. All our rural counties, not merely 500 of them, should have as soon as possible the services of a child welfare worker, free from the heavy case loads which are carried by public assistance workers, and able to give full coöperation to citizens' groups in developing whatever community programs may be necessary to safeguard the health and well-being of children. In every city the public and private resources for safeguarding the health and welfare of children should be reviewed and strengthened with a view to meeting the needs of every child who may require special service.

Seventh, these services to children and youth must be financed in ways which will not interfere with necessary appropriations for military preparedness. The American people cannot afford *not* to spend whatever sums may be required to provide both internal and external security. Financial sacrifices that will be required to meet new obligations must not be asked of families whose incomes are now below the level required to provide the essentials of home life for children. All citizens whose incomes are above this level must be prepared to make any financial sacrifice that may be necessary to preserve and strengthen our democracy.

Eighth, our plans must not be thought of in terms of emergency alone, for unsettled and difficult conditions will challenge our best and most sacrificial effort for at least the next ten years, and perhaps for generations. On the foundations which we now build

will depend the kind of superstructure which the White House Conference of 1950 will help to design.

This crisis is a totalitarian crisis, not only for the Nazi state, but also for the democracies. By this I mean that our objectives for economic and social justice and for personal freedom cannot be divorced from our objectives for world peace. It is a single challenge which in this year 1940 is placed before the adults, the youth, and the children of the United States and all the nations of the Western Hemisphere. We cannot be democrats in our sympathies abroad and deny the application of democratic principles to any individual or group of individuals at home. Neither can we be democrats at home and be indifferent to the issues of the terrible conflicts which threaten a complete blackout of human freedom in other lands.

At home we must be concerned about the abolition of all economic barriers to the full use of suffrage; the preservation of civil liberties; fair wages and conditions of employment; a chance to earn a living; opportunity for all the people of the United States for care in illness, for an education, for affection and security in home and community relationships. And in a world where the destruction or impairment of freedom anywhere threatens the freedom of all peoples, we must also accept the responsibilities of world citizenship.

Democracy rests upon the freedom of the spirit of men and women, and upon the inculcation in children of devotion to the principles of a free civilization. Social work is committed to the freedom and the worth of the human personality, to the coöperation of free people in the pursuit of common ends. The spirit that is truly free may know anxiety, pity, heartbreak, but it does not know fear. The dictator conquers through the spread of fear. Who ever saw fear on the face of Jane Addams? The strength of the free spirit comes from within and cannot be destroyed by external events, however terrible. The strength of democracy rests upon the united purpose of free citizens to defend at all times and in all circumstances the right of free men and women to live and to rear their children in a society where justice and honor, dignity and truth are the guides of individual and civic action.



## THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

*Abba Hillel Silver*

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IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT even in normal times to discuss the subject which has been assigned to me: "The Outlook for America." Today it is quite impossible. The outlook for the entire world is being determined today, and for decades to come, on the battlefields of France and Flanders. Destiny now waits upon military decisions. There is no way of formulating a world outlook without reference to these unpredictable military decisions. Should the Allies win, the world will be one kind of place for men to live in; should they lose, it will be an altogether different kind of place—radically and fundamentally different.

The outlook for America is likewise inextricably bound up with these fateful military decisions now in the making. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of the last few weeks abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed. Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are potential enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that our national existence is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from

attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within the nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore but which we now realize might, in a critical hour for our nation undermine our strength and our strongholds, just as they have done in so many countries abroad. The Old World has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here! The feverish eagerness with which we read every new edition of our newspapers and listen to broadcasts of international news is an indication, not merely of our interest in a historic struggle which is going on overseas, but of our profound and troubled concern with the implications of that struggle for us and our children. We suspect that the shifting lines on the maps of the battlefields of Europe which we so avidly scan are projections and extensions of our own national destiny in the proximate future.

If, therefore, you ask me what is the outlook for America, my answer would have to be that it depends to a large extent, and for a considerable time to come, on the outcome of the present war. The outcome being uncertain, the American people must prepare itself for either eventuality, for a victory or a defeat of the Allies.

If the Allies win, victory can come only after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political, and economic life of Europe. Much will be destroyed besides material wealth and cities, towns, and provinces. A colossal effort will have to be made at the conclusion of the war to reconstruct Europe, and this time it must be made according to a saner and juster pattern than that which followed the first World War—one that will carry with it the promise of a more lasting peace. America will have to share in the responsibility for this gigantic task of reconstruction; for its own economic and political fortunes will be vitally involved. To do that, we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the necessity of assuming definite obligations and responsibilities for any international order which we shall help to bring into existence. We shall not dare to repeat the folly of 1919. We shall make no proposals and offer no counsel without at the same time indicating our readiness to assume our full and just share of responsibility for the carrying out of these



proposals and for the embodiment of these counsels into concrete social structures. We shall not again deposit any of our brain children upon the doorsteps of Europe and precipitously abscond.

It is, of course, doubtful whether our advice will be heeded by the victorious Allies if we deny them, in this their bitter struggle and in these their dark days of agony and suffering and sacrifice, maximum aid. If we cannot help them to win the war, they will feel free to dispense with our advice to fix the peace. Americans who counsel noninvolvement in the European struggle, even in a nonmilitary sense, ought not to be thinking in terms of our involvement in European affairs after the war, by way of our unsolicited counsel and gratuitous moral scolding and curtain lecturing from the side lines at the peace conference.

This, too, should be clearly grasped: If we wish to make secure our way of life for ourselves and our children, we must help to make it secure in the world. A victory for the Allies will help to make it secure. A victory for the Nazis will destroy it in Europe and will endanger it on this hemisphere. This is realism. All else is wishful and addled thinking.

The question today is not one of praise or blame, of Allied innocence or guilt in the past or in the present. France and England are not without blame for many of the moral disasters of the last twenty years. Their leaders committed gross and criminal follies. Fundamentally, they neither worked for peace nor prepared for war. They failed to rise to the spiritual exigencies of the new order which the World War made inevitable. They destroyed with their own hands the ideals of collective security and disarmament and the rich promise of the League of Nations. But all that does not lessen by one whit the present Nazi menace to civilization, the imminent threat to all the precious values which Western civilization evolved through long centuries of intellectual and spiritual struggle and aspiration. The Nazis have clearly defined their own creed and their program. They have not been reticent about their true intentions. They mean to destroy the culture of the Western World, as it has evolved ever since the American and French revolutions—a culture based on the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the importance of the

individual, the restricted authority of the state, religious and racial tolerance, brotherhood, and universal peace. They would substitute for it a neo-pagan culture of their own, based on a conscious and thoroughgoing revolt against liberty, on the concepts of a monolithic state, the submergence of the individual, dictatorship, racialism, and war as a national policy and destiny. The Nazis have incorporated that philosophy ruthlessly within their own borders and are imposing it upon other countries wherever their military prowess entrenches them. They intend to destroy the independence of all the small peoples, and to build up an empire which their vaulting ambitions refuse to circumscribe, in which all subjugated peoples will toil in serfdom to maintain in affluence and in mastery the elite of the Germanic race.

The delinquencies, mistakes, and sins of the Allies in the past cannot be held to condone these vicious doctrines nor the brutal and inhuman actions of the Nazis since they came into power. They do not atone for the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxemburg, and Belgium, nor for the shameless and unspeakable persecutions of a helpless and honorable racial minority within their own country.

It is therefore not consistent with the facts, nor a contribution to clear thinking, nor a service to humanity, to popularize the idea that in the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need at all be concerned, or that both sides are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism succeeds in destroying the last few outposts of democracy and freedom in the Western World. Such reasoning at this late date has all the earmarks of "fifth column" propaganda.

If the Allies lose, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of this streamlined barbarism of the twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it. If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life is grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase as the years go by. It is in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and mission-

ary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British or a French empire, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole Western Hemisphere in the face of four powerful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly to pour our reserves of wealth into our defense program. We shall have to gear our national economy to a wartime footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and a system ultimately approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country. There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant, will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest dangers will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends, and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth—the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be overrun by Nazi agents, and the United States, the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be American Hitlers.

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political *Weltanschauung* is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program, there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful “fifth column” prepared to help them realize it. The members of this “fifth column” will not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the

ranks of aliens but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Norway, from the blue bloods who always escape fingerprinting and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military. They will come from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. Some of these highly placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis. Not all who belong to the "fifth column" are necessarily paid spies, agents, and traitors. In that column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties and who have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. Nevertheless, we ought not to fill our minds with thoughts of doom or resign ourselves to defeat. Not all of these things may come to pass, or even many of them. There are always the unforeseen and incalculable elements in every historic constellation. No one can plot the future with any degree of certainty. Chance, accident, unforeseen personal and impersonal forces may give the direction of events a sharp turn one way or another. Nevertheless, we should prepare ourselves, as far as possible, for all eventualities. We should build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy. Also, they should be built up reasonably to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

A clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the twenty-one countries on this hemisphere is clearly indicated and most urgent. If we mean to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it is important that the nations which we are to protect from foreign invasion shall, knowingly and willingly, share with us in a well-defined and concerted program for the collective military defense of this hemisphere. We should not plan for them. We should plan with them. They must assume their clear share of responsibility

for joint diplomatic action involving the fate of this hemisphere and for military defense measures. For the nations of South and Central America to maintain a formal and separate neutrality status, to act independently, unrelated to a central hemisphere policy, or to carry on independent diplomatic negotiations which might unwittingly entangle them in the imperialistic machinations of foreign nations, or to tolerate "fifth columns" in their midst and the establishment of centers of powerful alien influence, is to create dangers on this hemisphere for the United States which might involve us in war against our will. Time should not be lost in implementing the Declaration of the Solidarity of America adopted by the Eighth Pan-American Conference held in Lima in December, 1938, in bringing about a stronger federation of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and in formulating specific agreements and covenants among them on all matters involving their collective security.

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense for our nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naïve or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native-born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch-hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not, in our great concern, zeal, and impa-



tience, permit ourselves to resort to extralegal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it is the height of folly. The detection, arrest, and punishment of spies, *saboteurs*, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism is aroused and exploited in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college. Furthermore, we have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many peoples have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient, and distinctly harmful. Antiliberalism and antidemocracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade in defense of democracy must be launched. And the time is very short. In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is from God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic

dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom, and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowed, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon the foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible fires of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority, and no class have the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration, is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-



and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the underprivileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real "Trojan horse" which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a totalitarian millennium and will not be led into revolutionary adventures.

On the other hand, the individual citizen should not unload all his responsibilities upon his government, or blame it for all his misfortunes, or expect all salvation from it. Nor should he sponge upon it for all manner of handouts. Those who wish government to provide them at all times with bread and circuses must be prepared to surrender to it all their liberties. Total dependence upon government means total control by government. The danger to a free society is not so much the encroachment by government, as the encroachment of citizens upon their government with all manner of demands which are rightly the responsibilities of private citizens or of associations of private citizens. The individual citizen must discipline himself against the temptation to become the happy-go-lucky ward of what he hopes will be a generous and tolerant and never failing provider called the State. Our youth must be trained to regard government as the defense of a free people which must be served and safeguarded through sacrifice, not exploited.

In our effort to maintain our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own. Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a civil war, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a fuehrer, a duce, or a commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready

to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First: the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American ideal.

Second: government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and, step by step, through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spearpoint of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third: the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization, and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our

American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate racial and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance, and coöperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people in our midst, therefore, who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character, or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as of the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitternesses, and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war. Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.

In every hour of grave national crisis there have been found brave men in our land who were prepared to die that America might live. Let us, their descendants, prepare ourselves to live in such a way that America may not die.

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN SITUATION FOR THE UNITED STATES

*Vera Micheles Dean*

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GERMANY'S BLITZKRIEG ATTACK on the Allies in the West has fundamentally altered the outlook for the United States. On the eve of the second world war the United States was a great power which claimed special influence in the Western Hemisphere through the Monroe Doctrine, shared domination of the Atlantic with Britain and France, and, like Britain and France, had acquired a stake in the Far East. While Japan, Germany, and Italy were already in process of expansion, the framework of Western civilization appeared to be relatively intact, and the future of democratic institutions, if not altogether bright, seemed on the whole assured. The basic assumption of the majority of Americans—both those who favored isolation and those who favored international coöperation—was that France and Britain, backed by their colonies and dominions overseas, would eventually withstand the concerted attack of the totalitarian dictatorships; and that while certain reforms of the political and economic system, both at home and abroad, were desirable and even inevitable, there would be ample time to effect them in an orderly way, without fear of imminent large-scale revolutions.

With these assumptions as its point of departure, the United States developed a foreign policy which combined all the conflicting elements inherent in the American character and the structure of American society. The people of this country are highly emotional, and tend to apply moral standards to international relations. They resent injustices committed outside their own boundaries and are eager to have such injustices corrected—preferably by someone else, and with as little sacrifice as possible on the part of the United States. Americans also believe in the

fundamental value and efficacy of democratic institutions, and in the desirability of their ultimate spread throughout the world, even in countries which by historical development, national character, and economic position are at present totally unsuited for democratic practices. This set of attitudes gives Americans a missionary approach toward world problems, which they are burning to have adjusted on the pattern of Anglo-Saxon institutions, whether or not that is either desirable or practicable.

At the same time, Americans have a rich store of common sense and a highly developed spirit of skepticism. No matter how deeply they deplore the plight of other peoples, they want above all to avoid war and the economic disasters that follow in the wake of war. They tend to doubt that any foreign cause, no matter how moral its appeal, is worth the sacrifice of American lives, or even of American money and material. And they have a profound repugnance to act in coöperation with other countries. This set of attitudes makes Americans reluctant to undertake any foreign commitments in advance. It causes them to shun any course of action that might involve the United States in wars outside its own territory, or at least outside the Western Hemisphere, where even the most rugged isolationists recognize that this country has special interests to promote and defend. No two approaches to international problems could be more contradictory. For the past twenty-five years these two approaches, made either simultaneously or in quick succession, have confused and distorted the basic issues confronted by the United States in its relations with the rest of the world.

The most striking aspects of American foreign policy since 1914 have been the reluctance or inability of our people to appraise the influence, actual and potential, that the United States could exercise outside the Western Hemisphere, due to its material wealth and its geographic remoteness from Europe and Asia, which made it possible for Americans to view the world with a greater measure of detachment and objectivity than other peoples; and its emphasis on moral values in relations between nations. Many Americans appeared to believe that all this country needed in order to avoid responsibility for developments abroad was to

abstain from any positive action in foreign affairs. They did not seem to realize that, in the case of a great power like the United States, failure to act in certain contingencies might prove as decisive in shaping the destiny of other continents as action of the most positive sort. They did not seem to realize that mere possession of power, whether political, economic, or moral, has as its corollary responsibility for the proper use of that power.

The question is often raised whether or not the United States should have entered the war in 1917. On this issue there is room for legitimate difference of opinion. The real question, however, is whether the United States, having entered the war and having completely altered the balance of power in Europe—where Germany, if it had not been for American aid, might either have won or imposed a stalemate on the Allies—was acting in a responsible fashion when, two years later, it abruptly withdrew from Europe, thus again altering the balance of power, this time ultimately in favor of Germany. By this kind of seesawing, irresponsible policy, the United States followed—quite unconsciously, of course—the example set by Britain which again and again, throughout its history, emerged from its “splendid isolation” to check any European power which attempted to dominate the continent, only to withdraw again into isolation and development of its own empire at the close of each episode.

But, as Britain discovered in 1914, this choice between isolation and intervention was possible only in a period of relatively slow and inadequate communications before war, based on all the resources of modern industry, had assumed a totalitarian character. Geographic distance is no longer a safeguard against hostile invasion. The airplane has completely transformed military strategy. Today it would be inaccurate to say that anyone in the United States really believes in the possibility of isolation from the rest of the world. The real difference of opinion is between those who believe in what Charles Beard calls the policy of “continentalism,” under which the United States would act only in defense of its own territory and, presumably, of the Western Hemisphere, and those who believe that the United States, not from any sentimental or moral considerations, but purely in



its own self-interest, should aid those countries in Europe which, whatever their past mistakes, represent our first line of defense against a possible combined attack by Germany, Italy, and Japan.

For each of these courses a strong case can be advanced by its respective supporters. When one visits the Middle West, one can easily understand the sense of relative security and remoteness from the issues at stake in Europe and the Far East which, until recently, have made Middle Westerners eager to concentrate on their own affairs and avoid any foreign entanglements. It is also understandable that many Americans, especially young people between eighteen and twenty-five, born during or after the World War, oppose all war. These young people have been taught, often by our own generation, that wars are provoked by capitalism, imperialism, and munitions-makers, although wars have been fought throughout history, in periods when capitalism and imperialism were unknown. They have also been taught that the use of force never solves any problems, although it is obvious that force, intelligently and persistently applied, as it is today by Germany, is solving many problems, at least for the Germans, even if it creates terrible problems for other peoples. And all of us, young and old, rich and poor, ignorant and educated, fear that if the United States becomes engaged in war, it will have to accept the kind of totalitarian dictatorship which we would combat and will have to abandon, or at least curtail, those measures of social progress which, in the long run, can alone assure the survival and expansion of democracy. Rather than face this prospect of destruction and regression, many Americans believe that the United States should remain outside the conflicts raging in Europe and Asia and should carry high the torch of civilization in an otherwise blacked-out world. It should make impregnable here the institutions of democracy by eradicating those social, economic, and political evils which in other countries fostered the rise of dictatorial regimes.

The sincerity and validity of these views is beyond dispute. But equally sincere and valid arguments may be advanced on the other side. There is a conviction in the United States that war is the most terrible thing that can happen to man, and that any-

thing—presumably including surrender to force or threat of force—is preferable to war. This belief which for seven years dictated the appeasement policy of France and Britain, is closely connected with the modern concept of humanitarianism; with reluctance to destroy human life which modern science is striving to protect and prolong; with the world-wide desire to make man secure against the accidents of life; and with the belief, held by pacifists, that nonresistance will eventually prevail over violence.

Actually, we are discovering that we may be confronted with things worse than war and death. It is worse, for the individual and for the society in which he lives, when man is subjected to the terrorism, spiritual degradation, surrender of all standards and values, and perversion of truth which have accompanied the rise of the dictatorships in Europe. These moral evils are greater, and more far-reaching in their ultimate consequences, than destruction of lives, because they destroy the moral fiber of peoples and stamp out all humanitarian considerations. They generate a form of nihilism which leaves man only a choice between unthinking, robot-like performance of tasks assigned to him by the totalitarian state, and hopeless revolt against that state—hopeless because effectively blocked by the use of that same mechanized force which so many of us have thought it futile to resist by war.

It is also difficult to visualize the European conflict purely in terms of a struggle between two imperialisms. The issue goes much deeper than that. No one would deny that France and Britain, like the United States, have used their political and economic power to extend their influence or control to territories outside their own boundaries. In the course of this expansion they have undoubtedly committed many injustices, exploited the resources of backward peoples for their own needs, disregarded the interests of countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan which, owing to historical accident, were late in entering the race for colonies, markets, and raw materials. But the Western powers have also, in the course of their expansion, carried to other continents the ideas and practices of self-government, respect for the integrity of man, and consideration for the rights of minorities, which must be inscribed on the credit side of the

ledger for the past century. If it could be argued that Germany, Italy, and Japan would now substitute more humane practices, more advanced ideas of relations between men and nations, for the methods of France, Britain, and the United States, then it could be argued that, as between two forms of imperialism, there might be relatively little to choose. But whatever may be the future course of the totalitarian dictatorships, once they have succeeded to the heritage of France and Britain, it would be difficult to assert that the methods used by Germany in Poland and Czechoslovakia, by Italy in Ethiopia, by Japan in China, are of a character to make us believe that the "new imperialism" they sponsor holds any hope of improvement for the world in our lifetime.

Even more difficult to credit is the proposition that once Europe has succumbed to German rule, and Asia has been subjugated by Japan, the United States can, in relative security, carry high the torch of civilization and pursue its traditional way of life. We must face the fact that the economic and cultural existence of this country, founded and developed by immigrants from Europe, is so closely intertwined with the fabric of life on that continent that when that fabric is rent asunder, we too are bound to feel the effects—even if we may ultimately repair the rents and fill in the gaps left by the disappearance of the European system as we knew it. Nor will it be possible for us to continue, undisturbed, on our present course, either at home or abroad; for that course was based on the assumption that both Western civilization and the military bulwark provided by the Allies would be preserved. This assumption must now be discarded. Our course must be charted anew, in waters made perilous by new and unexpected dangers. Not only those who believed in international coöperation, but also the Charles Beard school of "continentalists," are now confronted with the task of reshaping domestic and foreign policy in such a way as to insure this country against the kind of gradual erosion to which Hitler's threats of force had reduced France and Britain on the eve of the present war.

As the Allies reeled under the impact of German attack, the American people showed signs of yielding to at least five con-

tradictory tendencies: nationwide hysteria regarding the German menace such as Europeans, even at the zero hour, had succeeded in escaping; profound defeatism; criticism of the Allies on the ground that everything they had done had been "too little and too late"; a panicky urge to arm this country in such a way that it will not only be able to resist foreign attack, but also aid the Allies, provided France and Britain can hold out long enough to benefit by our help; and an attempt to rationalize the situation by arguing that a German victory may, after all, prove less disastrous for Europe than had been hitherto assumed.

The hysteria which has gripped this country is due primarily to the fact that the majority of Americans, in spite of repeated warnings by President Roosevelt and by many commentators on international affairs, were mentally and psychologically unprepared to face the scope of Hitler's program, the horrors of totalitarian war, and the possibility of Allied defeat. Having for years been lulled into the belief that isolation was not only desirable, but also practicable, the American people have been shocked to discover that the United States is, in reality, on the point of being isolated from Europe and Asia, and restricted to the Western Hemisphere. The sudden realization that the strategic, political, and economic premises on which our own system has rested may be wiped out in Europe, leaving the United States as the sole great exponent of democracy and capitalism in the world, has shaken the foundation on which millions of Americans have built their way of life and their hopes for the future. The repercussions of this blow, such as loss of faith in democratic and capitalistic institutions, may, unless promptly checked, prove more dangerous for the United States than its military unpreparedness.

The very fact that even well-informed Americans had until now refused to face the possibility of Allied defeat and had failed to discern the character of the world revolution represented by Nazism has plunged the United States into the most profound pessimism. We must remember that the Allies, having seen what happened to the Czechs and Poles, will probably resist to the last rather than capitulate. The conflict may consequently develop from a war of armed units into a hand-to-hand struggle, which

may well destroy large parts of the Continent but may also weaken Nazi Germany. We must also take into account the thousand and one developments which the present conflict may precipitate, such as the ultimate shortage of Germany's oil resources, severely strained by large-scale use of airplanes and tanks, or the possible re-entrance on the scene of the Soviet Union, which had hoped for the complete exhaustion of all belligerents but would hardly welcome German hegemony of the Continent. Until the Allies themselves have laid down their arms, the American people would be ill-advised to prejudge the outcome of the conflict by indulging in a defeatism which can only redound to Germany's benefit.

While more vulnerable to hysteria and defeatism than the Allies, Americans have at the same time been unsparing in their criticism of France and Britain for Allied failure to meet the German menace with adequate armaments. In the last analysis the Allies could have equaled Germany's armaments only if they, like Germany, had decided to concentrate all their efforts on military preparations. However justified may be American criticisms of the Allies, these criticisms apply also to the United States, which has likewise been caught napping by the course of events. In essence, what Americans are criticizing is the failure of the democratic system, which flourishes best in time of peace, to adopt the methods of military dictatorships. The moment we ourselves embark on a program of national defense, we shall probably encounter very much the same political conflicts, industrial bottlenecks, friction between capital and labor, and other difficulties which we have been urging the Allies to overcome. And today, no matter how great our willingness to help the Allies, we must recognize that we, also, are too late to be of immediate assistance, just as the Allies were too late with respect to Poland, Norway, Holland, and Belgium.

What concrete measures, then, must we take in meeting the new world order which looms ahead of us? First and foremost, we must restore our own morale, profoundly shaken by the rapid course of events in Europe. We must, each in his own community, do everything in our power to make people take a long-



term view of life, so that they may not succumb, morally, to the idea that the catastrophes of today bar all roads to the future. We must strive to preserve those values of human life which tomorrow may be extinguished in Europe. This we owe to the society in which we live and which we all have had a part in creating and, above all, to our children, who must not be allowed to grow up in an atmosphere of despair, which would make them vulnerable to all the evils of moral disintegration.

Second, we must not, merely because the Allies are defeated on the field of battle, feel that all hope of aiding Europe is at an end. On the contrary, we are already confronted with a task of human relief and reconstruction on that continent which exceeds anything known in modern history, and in which the social workers of the United States are peculiarly well qualified to participate. Not only bodies, but minds will have to be saved in this terrible maelstrom which is sucking in civilians even more disastrously than soldiers. For this gigantic task we can contribute our food reserves, of which we have a vast surplus which could rapidly be expanded; our industrial efficiency in creating consumers' goods, our well-known ability for organization, and our highly developed scientific resources, especially in the field of preventive medicine. No matter whether we believe in intervention or "continentalism," we must respond to the human needs of Europe. And we must do it in a nonmaterialistic way, which seems dictated by our oft-repeated moralizing about international affairs. This is no time for us to consider whether or not the Allies will be capable of paying us for the food and other relief assistance we can give them. Such assistance should be given outright, and Congress should promptly authorize the use of American shipping for the humanitarian task of transporting relief commodities to France, Britain, and other European countries now confronted with the task of caring for millions of homeless refugees who may never recover their property.

Third, we must carefully reconsider our entire defense program in the light of a German victory. This task should be performed not by a Congressional committee, subject to partisan influences, but by an impartial defense commission composed of



industrialists and technical experts as well as representatives of the armed forces. Yesterday's theoretical program of hemisphere defense must now be scrapped. Our present navy, which is now stronger than at any time since 1921, was built at great cost on the assumption that a single first-class fleet, backed by a small professional army and a modern air force, would be capable of defending the sea and air approaches to the United States and protecting our vital trade routes. The navy today is adequate for this purpose against any single foreign power, or against any probable combination as long as British sea power controls the Atlantic. The Senate Naval Affairs Committee, in its recent report on the expansion bill, strongly supports a program of Western Hemisphere defense even if British sea power is destroyed, and holds that this would be far less costly than participation in war in Europe and Asia.

The report, however, suggests the logical but, to peace-minded Americans, disconcerting corollaries of such a program. Among these are the necessity of preventing Germany from gaining a foothold anywhere in this hemisphere; American control of potential naval and air bases, many of them islands now in the possession of France, Britain, and Holland; a two-ocean navy; and other measures which, if carried out, would force the United States to adopt a policy of imperialism—the very course most of our isolationists had thought would be avoided by a policy of neutrality on our part. We must also envisage the possibility that, in case of a decisive German victory, the Nazis will force France and Britain to surrender their navies, now largely intact, which Germany could then, if it so desired, use against the United States in the Atlantic, while Japan proceeded to seize the Dutch East Indies, principal source of our imports of tin and rubber, which are essential to our vastly increased defense preparations.

Fourth, if we are to embark on a Western Hemisphere defense program in real earnest, we must greatly expand the scope of our relations—political, economic, and military—with the countries of Central and Latin America. Their good will is now of prime necessity to us, since disgruntled countries in that region might become the focus of German penetration in the Western Hemi-

sphere, and might eventually be used against us. Their economic resources, actual and potential, may become absolutely essential for us if we should be cut off from the raw materials and other products of Europe and Asia. Their markets may prove the only outlet for our manufactured goods. Here again, as in the field of defense, we must carefully explore concrete possibilities in a non-partisan manner and use our vast reserves of gold and idle capital to develop those resources in Latin America which will ultimately prove most necessary for the needs of our defense.

Fifth, and last, we must not allow the immediate problems created for us on the military and economic fronts to distract us from the task of remedying domestic maladjustments, which, if neglected, might prove our Achilles' heel in time of crisis. We must remember that if Germany wins a decisive victory in Europe, the immediate impact of such a victory on the Western Hemisphere would take the form, not of military invasion, but of invasion by propaganda against American institutions. As France and Britain and Europe's neutrals have learned to their disaster, propaganda working on dissatisfied, weary, and disillusioned people can circumvent even outwardly effective military preparations. It is not impossible that, for the duration of the present emergency, we may find—as France and Britain did at the zero hour—that we shall have to accept social and economic controls undreamed of in this country and subordinate private interests and conflicts to the task of preserving our national existence. No matter how irksome such controls may prove, they cannot, in the long run, be more destructive of our liberties than foreign invasion. The world into which we are passing is a world new to us, which will require new leadership and new methods. This spells, not the doom of democracy, but the urgent need for its regeneration. For it is not merely with military weapons that we can meet the menace of totalitarianism, but with ideas which can arouse the enthusiasm of our people, give them fortitude in the dark years ahead, and renew their faith in our own future.

## MAKING A DEMOCRACY WORK

*Max Lerner*

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THE MARCH OF THE NAZI WAR MACHINE in Europe has left its mark, not only on the European consciousness, but on the American as well. We are like a person who wakes up in the middle of the night to find himself in a strange room enclosed by unfamiliar walls, and who asks himself whether the shapes that he is surrounded by are specters of his imagination or realities. One of the results of the almost fantastic disintegration of one country after another in the face of Hitler's march to power has been a complete bewilderment and an almost complete disillusionment on the part of the American people. All the old landmarks on which we had been accustomed to rely for guiding our path seem to have been washed away. The terms "liberalism," "conservatism," "radicalism" no longer have the meaning they once had, if indeed they have any meaning at all. If we yield to this bewilderment and disillusionment, we have three-quarters lost the battle. Now as never before we must understand what we believe in, what America stands for, what the imperatives are in this world of ours to which we shall have to submit, what we shall have to do within those imperatives in order to translate our beliefs into reality. Our thinking will have to become tough-minded instead of tender-minded. The world in which we live is facing a generation of wars, civil wars, and revolutions. Only a new tough-mindedness on our part in the service of a set of fervent convictions can possibly rescue us from what seems to be the common doom.

If recent history has any lessons to teach us, there are three of them that are outstanding. One is that unless an economic system can give effective security to the masses of people, they will become the easy prey of political adventurers. The second is that

we have been long blind to the irrational impulses in men, and to the way in which ideas can be used as weapons in stirring up those irrational impulses. The third is that in peace and war alike only the well-organized and well-administered society can possibly survive.

These are not pleasant morals to draw for any of us. The achieving of economic security involves a heroic effort of the collective will, and involves what will seem to many almost a revolution in the economic structure. The recognition of the irrational in men runs contrary to many of our deeply cherished illusions about human nature. And the new imperative of a carefully planned organization of national resources, both in peace and in war, runs counter to the traditional belief in individualism. Nevertheless, whether these are pleasant ideas or not is irrelevant. It will not comfort us much to know, when we languish in concentration camps or die on the field of battle, that we have clung to our old traditions even at the expense of sacrificing our values for them.

One of the traditions in our thinking which we shall have to discard is that democracy is primarily a political concept. It has been that, so long as the economic problem of security for the masses did not become the dominant one. Democracy as a primary political concept is the luxury of a prosperous nation. As soon as the nation suffers economic breakdown, political democracy becomes far less important than economic democracy and economic security. To the unemployed, to the WPA workers, to those living on or just below the margin of elementary decency, to workers who are subjected to industrial tyranny, and to farmers who are the slaves of the fluctuations of the market for their commodities, political democracy must be only an empty form. Maury Maverick has defined democracy as "liberty plus groceries," and unless we recognize the truth of this, so far as the mass mind is concerned, we shall never get democracy to function in this country or in any other. The roots of Hitlerism lie not in the German mind, but in the fertile soil that German economic collapse in the postwar years offered to the spread of Nazi ideas.

There has been considerable complaint recently, among Amer-

ican intellectuals, of the cynicism and disillusionment of American youth. I am myself deeply concerned about that. Nevertheless, how should we expect the young people to be anything but cynical, considering the fact that we have made such a mess of the world we are handing on to them? How should we expect them to be anything but disillusioned when they find themselves in a world in which a larger and larger number of them are competing for an ever smaller number of jobs, a world in which there is less expectation for them to make a living and therefore to make a life? It is these groups—the unemployed, the marginal-income groups, the young people, the bewildered and insecure middle class—whom the political adventurers of this generation and the next in America will find the easiest victims for their propaganda. Human security is not an ultimate, not an end in itself. That cannot be repeated too often, and it must be understood that beyond groceries there is something very much more important in life. Nevertheless, economic security must first be achieved before we can expect our people, and especially our young people, to pursue the broader goal and the more ultimate vision in a truly democratic fashion.

And it is because we have not conquered the problem of maximizing our national income and of running our technological machine to its full capacity that our democracy is in danger. Hitlerism is only the outward expression of that danger. I happen to believe that we have very important stakes in the European struggle. I happen to believe that a decisive Nazi victory in Europe will put American democracy in grave peril. But I believe it not in the sense that we shall be subject to a German invasion. Far more of a peril is the danger that the rising prestige of fascism resulting from a Nazi victory will cause our own people to turn in the same direction.

There has been all too much talk recently of "fifth columns" in American life. We have gone to absurd lengths in our alarm over the infiltration of Nazi spies and Communist wreckers. There is undoubtedly a "fifth column" in America; but it is my belief that the "fifth column" consists of Americans rather than of foreigners, of natives rather than of aliens—but of natives who

have given up their belief in democracy in order to join the fascist bandwagon, and who will attempt to build a fascist movement in this country with slogans of simon-pure Americanism. That is the real "fifth column" to watch out for. And all the Dies committees and all the registration of aliens and all the work of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's bureau are very unlikely to locate the real infection spots in American life. In fact, the great danger is that the hunt for "fifth columnists" in America will be carried on under the direction of those who themselves represent a potential internal danger to our existence.

We are gradually becoming aware of the way in which certain slogans and ideas can be manipulated so as to get mass support among the ignorant and the insecure. Hitler's genius is not that of a thinker or of a national leader; it is that of a propagandist and an organizer. There has arisen in the American public mind a pattern of opinion which is every day growing more serious and more sinister. The elements of that pattern of opinion are: first, a growing anti-Semitism; second, an anti-alien campaign in the name of Americanism; third, an antiradical campaign under the same guise; fourth, an antilabor sentiment and an impatience with labor organization. I do not need to go into detail to substantiate this analysis. The figures for the growth of anti-Semitism are readily available. The present anti-alien hysteria in Congress is common knowledge. The activities of the Dies committee and the wide newspaper support that has been given it have made the Red-hunt hysteria common knowledge. The recent *Fortune* poll indicating the growth of antilabor sentiment is of enormous significance. What I do want to point out is that these four elements represent a pattern of opinion which was dominant in Germany at the time of Hitler's accession to power. What I want to point out also is that every one of these elements has been used by the Nazis, both in Germany and in other countries in which they have made their propaganda campaigns.

I recall a remark by a German *émigré* professor in this connection. "Men possess thoughts," he said, "but ideas possess men." What we have learned is that "ideas," in the sense of vast and vague emotional hysterias, are capable of possessing men, of



bringing out the irrational elements in their make-up, of forcing them to do their bidding. We are living in an age in which new propaganda skill groups are marching to power because of their knowledge of how to manipulate these emotional symbols. What then shall we do? There are many who argue that the only path to follow is one of suppression, that the government must use its iron hand in stamping out all groups that it considers dangerous. The path of suppression and witch-hunting seems to me one of the most dangerous paths we can follow. One of the dangers of the war psychology in America today is that it puts its emphasis upon this path. I can only say that the drive against political heresy can at best result only in forcing it underground where it still remains dangerous, and that such a drive is more likely to play into the hands of the fascists than to decrease their power. There are others who urge us to move back in the direction of economic individualism. This program is concealed under new terms. We no longer speak of "rugged individualism." Men like Mr. Wendell Willkie now speak of the "return of business confidence." But whatever term you use, the economic program is the same. I should have thought that by this time we would have come to understand that a return to the economic anarchy of the 1920s can only mean another collapse such as we had in the 1930s.

There is still a third program that is offered us—that of the intellectuals who have been lashing themselves for their own sins in failing to discern the psychological basis of fascism and who now call upon our intellectual leaders to show the way to a new collective conversion to democracy. I have great sympathy with this view. Nevertheless, I do not think we shall ever make democracy function again merely by turning our intellectual leaders into moralists and preachers. It is true that at the basis of the disorganization of American thought lies the fact that our people have not developed any firm beliefs. Nevertheless, you cannot get beliefs merely by urging them on people. You must enable them to get a firm basis for such beliefs. You cannot convert people to a belief in democracy or to a horror of fascism merely by words. Your real propaganda must be the propaganda of the deed.

This means that our program for America must be a fourfold one. First, we must recognize the prime imperative of economic security, and launch the country on whatever program of economic planning may be necessary in achieving such security. England waited until the last moment before it made its supreme national effort to increase its production, coördinate its efforts at raising its national income, and plan its industrial life. A nation with its back to the wall can always be relied upon to do that at the last minute. But it is our job not to wait until that last moment.

Second, we must rethink our whole governmental structure and our art of politics. Democracy as an ideal must be translated into reality by leadership such as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. La Guardia, to use two instances at random, have given us. One of the most alarming things is the lack of any real stature among the various candidates who are most discussed on the eve of the national conventions. We have made the great mistake of ignoring the function of leadership in a democracy. We have always associated leadership with an antidemocratic regime, and have thus surrendered to the fascists one of the most powerful weapons that any political society can have. The importance of the widespread movement to conscript Mr. Roosevelt for a third term lies in the fact that he represents almost the only leadership symbol in American life today.

Third, we must give a new emphasis and a new attention to the art of administration. We can learn a good deal from our enemies, and that is one thing we can learn. The superior efficiency of Hitler's war machine is not only an efficiency in materials and in military technology, but it is also a superiority of strategy. Most important of all, it is a superiority in both military and administrative planning. The sad fact is that the practice in planning which the Nazi élite have secured from seven years of economic planning and integration of their national life has given them the capacity to plan their war technology as well. We rightfully hate the purposes for which they use these administrative arts. Nevertheless, unless we are capable of a similar effectiveness in our own democratic administration, we shall never be able to

survive in competition with them. It has often been said that democracy is necessarily less efficient than totalitarianism. I refuse to believe that.

In the long run, there is no reason why an effective administration of industry and government, whether in peace or war, under a democratic regime should not prove more lasting than under a totalitarian regime. It will prove more lasting because democracy is the only system of government which gives the minority the right and power to criticize the majority and which gives the people the right and power to scrutinize what its rulers are doing and to turn them out if they so wish. Only in this way can a group of administrators be kept from becoming tyrannical and routinized. Whether we like it or not, the whole trend of American government in the next generation is likely to be toward a greater degree of administrative centralization and a greater concentration of power. Coming events have already cast their shadow before, and the response of the American government and the American people to the progress of the war in Europe indicates that a more powerful state is inevitable in American life. The great problem becomes: How much responsibility will the rulers in a democracy have toward the people? What safeguards can we set up to keep this power from becoming tyrannical? How can we insure that the power can be used for mass welfare and individual freedom?

This brings me to the final point in the program: the necessity for a reorganization of our opinion industries, including the press and the radio, so as to make certain that there will be a real competition of ideas in American life. Real freedom of press and freedom of speech can best be defined, not in terms of lack of governmental control, but rather in terms of what Justice Holmes called "the competition of ideas in the market place." At present we do not have such a competition of ideas. The best minds of our country must be directed toward making it possible.

Only in this way, whether we enter the war or not, and whatever the outcome of the war, shall we be able to make American democracy work. Only in this way will we be able to achieve that necessary degree of survival and that necessary economic security

which can give meaning to our cultural effort. Only in this way can we once more make American history a matter of affirmation, and give to the people upon whom the American future depends the sense that they have something worth living for and even worth dying for.

PART TWO  
AREAS OF SOCIAL WORK CONCERN





## THE YOUTH PROBLEM—A CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

*Floyd W. Reeves*

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WHAT IS THE PROSPECT for America's 20,000,000 youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five as they face the coming decade? What they think and do and feel and dream is supremely important to all of us. We know that they must carry on; we hope for them the democratic way of life; we trust that they will strengthen our democracy. But we also know that we must show them and give them a democracy that works. We want them to look forward with courage, with reasonable optimism, and with spiritual fortitude. We must show them a future worth working for—a future worth believing in.

In this country we hold that human personality and human rights are sacred. That is the basis of democracy. To be true to itself, democracy must work to bring about and constantly improve the conditions under which individuals have a chance to reach their full human stature. So long as we have millions of young people who cannot find work and, being idle, face the future with doubt and despair, democracy will be in danger.

In some other parts of the world, confused and bewildered youth have been dragooned into totalitarian movements in which young and old have turned away from democratic ideals. They have sold their fundamental rights for a mess of pottage. They have become the unwitting instruments of catastrophe. We are determined that this shall not happen in America. But to make certain that it shall not happen here, we must see that American youth have constructive outlets for their energies, a good reason to be tolerant in their outlook, and a substantial basis for their normal hopes.

Prompt action is required. Let us look at the facts. We have

about four million youth out of school and out of work. The rate of unemployment is twice as high for youth from sixteen to twenty-five as for any other similar age group. One third of the unemployed workers in the United States are young people under twenty-five.

Last October the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education declared that the high rate of unemployment among youth constituted a national emergency. The Commission recommended that opportunity for at least part-time remunerative work, combined with relevant education, vocational training, and guidance, should be made available under public auspices to every boy or girl above the age of sixteen who is out of school and unable to find work in private employment. The need for this program is as urgent now as it was last October.

Let us first look at the situation from the standpoint of the international situation. If our nation is to remain at peace, it must be strong. This means not only potential armed strength, but above all it means internal soundness. If our people are to be able to look calmly at alternative policies in a time of great unrest in the world, they must view them through the eyes of a nation busy at constructive tasks, and not through eyes clouded by the despair of idleness and frustration, nor with minds disheartened by disappointment of their reasonable personal hopes.

On this point I quote from the Commission's statement:

National progress and survival look inevitably to the future and must be concerned primarily with the young people who will be the America of the future. If our democracy is to continue, it is the young especially who must have a true conception of democracy, of its moral basis, and of the results that attend its successful operation. To them democracy must seem to be worth every sacrifice and to offer the brightest opportunities for happiness and the good life. . . . The survival of the nation therefore demands that conditions be established under which the young may have confidence in our institutions and our form of government. This means in particular that our deficiencies in the fields of employment, education, and health must speedily be corrected. . . . Useful employment must be provided to deliver youth from the bondage of unemployment.

For a clear view of the problem it is necessary to cut through the fog of vague impressions current in some quarters today. Now is no time to procrastinate in a fool's paradise of false hopes. The unemployment of youth will not disappear miraculously.

There are some who still seem to believe that our unemployment problem may be solved by selling goods and armaments to the warring nations of Europe. I think they are in error. Any business boom likely to result from the war abroad will not solve our unemployment problem. It will scarcely touch jobless youth, because most of the new jobs, if any, will not be open to inexperienced young people. In fact, after a small spurt in the last quarter of 1939, there has been an actual decline in business activity in the early months of 1940, despite heavy war purchases in some specialized lines.

War abroad stimulates a few types of industrial activity, but the net result is largely canceled by the disruption of foreign trade in other commodities. It is folly to expect that events abroad will solve our domestic problem of jobless youth. Drifting at such a time is dangerous. We must put our own house in order promptly.

Second, let no one believe that youth are under no special disadvantage in obtaining jobs. Here I use the American Youth Commission's words:

For many years a tendency to exclude beginners from employment has been a disquieting feature of American life. During the depression, many large employers have dropped the young workers first when cutting their force. . . . Under modern conditions it is clear that young people have increasing trouble in getting a start. . . . The number of farm boys who reach the age of 18 each year is more than twice as great as the number of farms that fall vacant. Opportunities for work in family enterprises are reduced by the growing concentration of business and the diminution of the number of successful small businesses. The restrictive rules of trade unions have limited the openings for apprentices and beginners with increasing severity. . . .

All these things can be adjusted over a long period of time, but meanwhile we confront a crisis in which we cannot afford

to wait for slow adjustment. The American Youth Commission makes a prompt answer. Youth must have jobs now.

There are an immense quantity and variety of public work which would add directly to the wealth of the nation. Much of this work could be done well by the youth who are now idle. Conservation of timber, soil, and water; construction, repairing, and improvement of public buildings and grounds; building and maintaining roads and parks; supervising playgrounds and leading public recreation activities in cities and rural places—these are but a few examples.

Put unemployed youth to work at these needed and useful jobs. Let them work part-time, but regularly and punctually. Let them get the work habits and the work experience which are necessary for success in later employment. At the same time emphasize the educational quality of their work. Give them training on the job, and in some of their free time let them have systematic instruction for vocations and for general good citizenship.

Test youth and study their individual strong points and weak points. Shift them to different kinds of work to help them find the occupation that fits their capacities and preferences based on actual experiences. Let them learn about the workaday world at first hand. Immediately they will feel that they are useful—that they can do things—that the nation needs them and wants their best work. They will put their young shoulders to the wheel and push hard and steadily. They will be sweating members of the team.

There is great therapeutic value in work. Woolgathering and disgruntled attitudes drop away. The youth gains maturity. He gets confidence in himself and in his fellows. He tastes and savors the satisfaction of accomplishment. He sees possibilities in his work and studies to improve his skill. Life becomes zestful. Tomorrow has promise of something completed, or something new begun.

This is the picture. Our Federal, state, and local governments should act to make it a reality. The CCC and the NYA are doing these things now; their programs need to be expanded and improved. Almost any city, county, or school district has

work needing to be done, but which is now untouched. Any unit of local government can find public jobs for youth which will permanently improve the community and make life better for its people. Let unemployed youth do these jobs.

State governments can find jobs in their own institutions and departments, and also give some financial aid to their local subdivisions for similar purposes. The Federal Government, by virtue of its ability to tax more equitably than states or smaller units, should provide much of the necessary outlay. It will get some immediate return in the reduction of expenditures for public assistance to the families of many of the youth. Its return in the form of tangible improvements throughout the land may well care for a large part or possibly all of the total cost. Its return in the form of heightened morale among youth, and of increases in their abilities and skills and general competency as citizens, will be above price.

We still have more than three million adults in this country who cannot read or write. We have nearly a million children of elementary school age who are not enrolled in any school. Half of all the young people who have left school have not finished the ninth grade.

All young people should be required and enabled to attend full-time schools up to the age of sixteen. This means a raising of the age of compulsory school attendance in some of our states, and much better administration of the school attendance laws in many states. It means, also, effective measures to make school attendance possible for children to whom it is now denied because of inaccessibility of schools, absence of transportation, or lack of the necessary clothing and books.

If any of you doubt that some children in this year 1940 are still not within reach of any school, let me remind you that there are many whole counties in the South which have substantial Negro populations, but there's no high school of any kind for Negroes within their borders. There are more than one hundred and twenty thousand school districts in the United States, but only about twenty-seven thousand high schools. Half of these high schools have fewer than one hundred pupils each.

Thus there are more than ninety thousand districts whose pupils must be transported to some high school beyond their boundaries. Often no high school exists within transportation distance. In other cases the school that is available is too small to meet modern needs.

This brings us close to some other fundamental recommendations of the American Youth Commission. Thousands of small rural school districts must be merged to form local units of school support and administration large enough to furnish the minimum pupil population for a modern school system, and embracing enough resources to provide substantial local support for such a system. The old one-room school, suited to the horse-and-buggy days of an earlier agrarian age, is not sufficient today. Moreover, even when maintained on a most scanty basis, it is often more costly per pupil than is an efficient, modern, consolidated school furnishing free transportation for all pupils. Both economy and educational efficiency require that the number of our rural school districts should be greatly decreased by merging them to form modern units.

Even with the best district organization, the time has come when the schools should not depend wholly upon property taxes on local homes and farms. Our economic life is such that new types of taxes must be levied by the states and the proceeds distributed, in part, to the local subdivisions. Already in the country as a whole about one third of the operating cost of public schools is paid in this way. In eleven states more than half is thus paid, but in eleven others the states contribute less than one tenth. In many states the proportion of state aid should be increased, and in all states the methods of apportioning it among the districts should be studied and improved to insure that a good school will be available to every child, whether he lives in the richest district or in the poorest one.

For a century we have looked forward to the goal of universal free education for all our children. The American dream is of a land of equal opportunity. At the very base of this idea is the aim of free and equal schools for all. Today the differences in financial ability among the forty-eight states are so great that



this is not possible without some financial aid from the Federal Government to the states for general educational purposes.

The quality of education in the poorest state is of concern to the entire nation. The mobility of our population makes it certain that many of the children and youth of that state will spend their adult lives in other states. An equitable plan for Federal aid to the states for education, to reduce inequalities in educational opportunity effectively, has been worked out by the President's Advisory Committee on Education. The principle is urgently recommended by the American Youth Commission.

Schools everywhere must be equipped to prepare young people for work, for use of leisure time, for home membership, for health, and for citizenship in a democracy.

When we think of the importance of conserving and developing our best intelligence, we must note that some of our most promising pupils are forced to drop out of school for lack of the necessities of life. On this point I quote from the Commission's statement:

Special attention is needed for children of destitute families in order to make school attendance possible up to the age of 16. Above the age of 16, many young people are now enabled to continue their education through the student aid program of the National Youth Administration. This program should be continued and improved, particularly at the secondary school level.

The Commission adds:

The work and study programs for unemployed out-of-school youth that are administered respectively by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration are beginning to achieve major educational values. The educational aspects of these programs should be strengthened and further developed. If we are determined that every American youth shall have an opportunity to obtain the education necessary for self-support and good citizenship, we must reduce the economic barriers that now cut off many young people from a fair chance.

Consideration needs to be given to the responsibility of the schools and of the whole community in providing vocational

training, guidance, and placement for youth, but I have already discussed that problem elsewhere. Here I shall only say that the outstanding need made plain in our recent studies is for better coördination of the efforts of the schools, the public employment services, and all other agencies having a hand in a community occupational adjustment service.

Continuous research in occupational trends, locally and on state and national bases, is also essential. The information thus gained must be continually matched with accurate knowledge of the abilities of each youth, and the result kept before him and before his advisers. The whole is a continuing process, and the need for it will be continuous, no less in times of prosperity than in times of depression. It is a permanent service, now in its infancy, which must be built up and kept going.

As social workers you are in positions of vantage from which to observe how far short we are of an equitable distribution of the minimum essentials of health service and medical care. Consider the fact that tuberculosis strikes hardest among underprivileged youth, and that the same is true of the venereal diseases. Both of these scourges could be completely conquered if the facilities for prompt detection and proper treatment were within the reach of all.

More than 40 percent of all children are born to mothers not beyond the age of twenty-five. The problem of scanty prenatal care and obstetrical service is to that extent a problem of youth. Often ailments frequently, but unfortunately, considered as of minor importance, such as neglected teeth, impaired eyesight or hearing, and other physical defects in large measure preventable or remediable, mar the lives of many youth.

The American Youth Commission is convinced that we need a health program organized on a scale never before attempted in this country. In this program public and private agencies should coöperate, and local and state resources, with some Federal aid, should be brought into play to bring modern science, modern equipment, and modern services to the whole population. For those who are unable to pay the cost of minimum essential medical attention, the Commission is convinced that

the provision of adequate medical care must be accepted as a public obligation. For other persons of limited or moderate means, it recommends careful consideration of ways of distributing emergency medical costs, either over a large number of people or over a long period of time, or both.

An immediate necessity is an adequate health program for all children and youth in the schools. There should be regular physical examinations for all students, from kindergarten up through college. Comparable facilities should be provided for out-of-school young people.

Without doubt you who have responsibility for case work often find it necessary to facilitate the connection between youth and the medical service they need. I am equally confident that many of you who are group workers are doing much to forward health education, and in many instances are providing physical examinations and physical training for the youth who are fortunate enough to belong to your organizations. I not only commend to you the improvement and extension of your own good work, but also I bespeak your interest in a comprehensive national health program for all youth.

Employment, education, recreation, and health service for youth are nationwide problems requiring prompt action. Participation by the Federal and state governments is essential, and nationwide industrial, commercial, and labor organizations also have important roles to play. It is, however, in thousands of local communities throughout the land that the problems of youth must be met at first hand. It is here that the necessary individual adjustments must be made by face-to-face contacts. Every community has human and material resources, and capacities for bringing to itself a more humane and satisfying culture through individual and coöperative thought and action. Ranking high among the local assets everywhere is an enormous fund of good will toward youth. A sincere solicitude for the welfare and progress of its young people is characteristic of every community. This great good will must be implemented and made productive of results.

An important step in the exercise of community responsibility

is to secure accurate and up-to-date information regarding the present status of the local young people. It is important to find out how many boys and girls there are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, and precisely where they stand in jobs or in joblessness, in education, health, recreation, and outlook. How many are out of school? How many want further education? What kind of schooling do they want? How do they spend their leisure time?

This information needs to be considered in connection with accurate data regarding the local institutions and services. Can local employers take on a few jobless youth to bring new blood into their organizations? Are the schools offering instruction that the young people need and want? Is the public library serving many youth out of school? Are the public health and recreation services actually effective for young people? What civic improvements are badly needed, on which jobless youth could be set to work?

Local surveys of youth should be carried on at reasonable intervals in every community. Of crowning importance is the initiation of local action based on the factual picture. Without this culmination, the possession of the facts may be of little use. With it, we achieve the ideal of democracy in action for the common good.

In every community there are individuals and organizations keenly aware of youth problems and willing to contribute to their solution. Thousands of communities number among their citizens alert and sympathetic members of the public service professions, such as social work, the ministry, teaching, librarianship, public health, agricultural extension work, and others. In addition they have active lay organizations such as women's clubs, associations of businessmen and of farmers, and labor and fraternal societies. Not to be overlooked are the lay public authorities such as the village or city council, the board of education, and the boards of trustees or directors in charge of other public or private nonprofit service enterprises. Many of these influential individuals and organizations carry on some activities designed to benefit the young people of the community. Many avenues

of coöperation are already in use among them in different places. But it is obvious that far too few communities have anything resembling a continuing community planning agency which includes them all.

Professional and lay organizations and leaders, as well as representatives of the young people themselves, should regularly confer and devise a full-rounded community program and agree upon arrangements for its orderly execution and periodic modification. Such a program is possible for any community, no matter how large or how small. County, city, village, school unit, and private organizations of whatever variety can be brought to play appropriate parts in a coöperative community plan for progress.

Every community should assemble an unofficial organ of co-operation through which the collective wisdom and good will of its leaders, including representatives of its young people, can be focused upon its several community problems in appropriate order. Such an organ can convey needful recommendations to the public authorities of the community and of the state. It can invent and execute with local resources some necessary extensions, innovations, and modifications of the community's services to its people, including its youth.

In a democratic society progressive changes gain momentum only as increasing numbers of persons become of one mind concerning them. In the case of a public service there must be a degree of awareness, consent, and enthusiasm on the part of the prospective consumers of the service, as well as on the part of the whole community which initiates the service, and on the part of the particular individuals and groups responsible for its administration. Hence it is desirable that there be an inclusive community organization through which needed measures, at first discerned only by social pioneers among professionals, laymen, and youth, can be expeditiously put through the processes of proposal, debate, consensus, coöperative planning, and actual execution.

To America's community leaders of every class, and to American youth of both sexes, I commend coöperative participation



in these processes to the limit of individual resources and capacities. These are the new frontiers offering today's challenge to the resourcefulness and initiative which were fostered by the physical conquest of a continent, and which are justly prized as distinctive attributes of the American people and of America's youth. Today we are hearing much of youth organizations. It is well to remember that recent surveys generally indicate that from one half to three fourths of the youth in rural communities belong to no voluntary organization of any type other than the church. Our attention is often called to a condition of so-called "overorganization" existing for an overactive and favored few of the young people who are prominent in many and diverse groups. The fact is that for a large majority of youth a condition of "underorganization" is present. For this reason there is much talent and leadership among youth in every community that is not brought to light or put to use.

In the adult-sponsored organizations that provide real opportunities for initiative on the part of youth, much of the most effective, stable, and valuable youth leadership is found. In such organizations, too, there is often much valuable discussion of public questions, with the participation but not the domination of interested adults. I am sure many of you are social group workers with just such organizations.

We are all aware of the fact that it often seems easier and apparently safer for adults to make most of the decisions, and that sometimes the programs are conceived, supervised, and dominated by older men or women. But the way for young people to learn to be responsible is by carrying responsibilities. Youth are quick to recognize sham and to realize fake pretenses, and when they sense that their supposedly youth-led group is really run by adults who pull the strings behind the scenes, they react by losing interest and looking for other associations in which they can have a real voice.

There is no effective way to train large numbers of competent citizens for participation in public affairs which does not include actual practice in the discussion of public questions, and in the decision of local issues. Sometimes we become discouraged



because such discussions sometimes seem to be ill-informed, one-sided, or pointless. It is well to remember that these characteristics are not peculiar to youth groups. They are found everywhere. The principle of free speech and assembly is established as a safeguard of democracy. They should not be mistaken for a menace. Free discussion is not to be feared. Like some medicines, it is sometimes irritating, but nevertheless curative. To look upon it as dangerous is to distract attention from the real diseases that threaten democracy.

I close with a quick summary. Let us have under public auspices a work-study program for all unemployed youth above sixteen who are not in school. In this matter the time to act is now. Then we can gradually bring about the adjustments in industrial and labor organizations which will remove the handicaps which stand between youth and jobs. Let us build up coördinated occupational adjustment services in every community, embracing vocational training, guidance, and placement.

Let us merge our small school districts into efficient units, increase state aid to schools and improve its apportionment, and inaugurate the policy of Federal aid to the states for general education. Let us see that new measures in keeping with the times and designed to make health service and medical care and wholesome recreation more widely available to youth are not neglected.

Let us urge our thousands of local communities to find the facts about their own young people and act upon them. Let us bring youth into the picture of local planning and give them decisions to make and work to do. Let us foster interest in public affairs, local and national, by opening the way for youth to participate in free discussions in groups of their own as well as in adult-led organizations. In other words, let democracy work among youth today.

In these ways the challenge of the youth problem to democracy in the 1940s can be met successfully.

## THE ASPIRATIONS OF YOUNG AMERICA

*Jack R. McMichael, Jr.*

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LAST FEBRUARY 5,000 YOUNG PEOPLE gathered in Washington to discuss their problems in the greatest youth town meeting in American history. When I think of youth's aspirations I think first of all of these real persons:

Blanche Fischer, sixteen, member of tenant family not needed when cotton was plowed under. Evicted a winter ago when the temperature was more than 30 below; condemned for littering up Missouri highways; eking out a meager existence in a cabin built by her family's own labor. With one mule and five acres she thinks they can make a go of it. She hopes the Government will help. There is no school for her now, but she thinks it would pay the Government to help her find one.

William Anderson, young Negro, my age, of Greenville, South Carolina. Read the Constitution, amazed, thought it a good thing; believed something should be done about it, urged his people to vote. So far more Negroes registered to vote in Greenville than ever since Reconstruction days. The Ku Klux Klan took note of these Negro registrations, burned crosses, went riding. William was beaten, jailed, told to be good, and released. Early the next morning he was on the white-controlled courthouse steps distributing handmade circulars asking the Negro citizens to vote. His life is in constant danger. He wants to join hands with other American youth in a militant program to defend the constitutional rights of the American people.

The lunch-box boys, made two dollars a week, worked from nine to five delivering lunches to office and factory workers. Thought their wage inadequate, hours too long; joined the Cafeteria Workers Union, won a higher wage, a shorter work day. Heard about the Youth Citizenship Institute, felt an obligation to send their representatives to tell their story; went without lunches, worked overtime, in order to send them.

The California girl who convinced us that the characters in the *Grapes of Wrath* are real.

Dorothy Height, who spoke for Christian youth, felt that modern war is a denial of Christian faith, told of Christian youth's efforts for peace.

Young people from thirty-nine states, from farm, factory, office, church, synagogue, school, street. Some came from Harvard in Packards, others did without food to come, hitchhiked, sat up all night in crowded school buses. They had ideals, thought of others as well as themselves. Wept at the free showing of *Grapes of Wrath*, showed their love for the Joads all over our land. Upheld the rights of Negroes. Against the poll tax and anti-alien bills; for the anti-lynching bill. Sympathetic with workers; wanted to defend, not amend the Wagner Act; defend and extend, not crush social security and wage-hour legislation. Wanted jobs, civil liberties, peace—for themselves and for all the American people. Engaged in a search for useful lives.

But opportunity for useful life is denied in America today by widespread unemployment, of which youth bears a disproportionate load. At least eleven million American citizens in desperate need of jobs, out on the streets looking for jobs, cannot find them. Their hands, minds, talents are eager for work to build a richer, better America. But America's economy has no place for them. They and their families are denied in this land of plenty a chance for a decent life. This widespread, involuntary unemployment is our nation's most pressing socio-economic problem. It represents a colossal waste of America's greatest resource, her people.

Between one third and one half of the unemployed are young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four. Over four million young folk in America today are in crying need for work, are out on the streets looking for it, but cannot find it. Involuntary unemployment is more acute for young people than for any other age group. Forty-one percent of the young people between the ages of fifteen and nineteen years of age are in desperate need of jobs which cannot be found. The largest percentage of unemployment for any non-youth category is among the aged between sixty-five and seventy, 20 percent unemployed—less than half of the figure for young folk between fifteen and nineteen. Never before in her history has America

had so many young people passing into adulthood without jobs or vocational training.

This lack of opportunity for jobs or job training is paralleled by a serious lack of educational opportunity. More than half of America's out-of-school youth were not able to finish the ninth grade. Many did not get that far. One million American children should be in elementary school but are denied that opportunity. Three million of our fellow citizens have passed beyond childhood without being able to read or write their own names.

Whence comes this widespread joblessness and schoollessness so peculiarly prevalent among young people? Can it be explained by youth's laziness or desire for a handout? On the contrary, there has probably never been a young generation whose members have worn out more shoe leather looking for jobs. Youth want the opposite of a handout. They want the chance to earn their own living. They have idle hands, idle minds, idle talents; they want them to be put to work. This acute and contemporary unemployment is an essentially new problem. The old solutions have ceased to work.

Crime, like unemployment, is especially widespread among youth. This failure to put Young America to work is costly. It would be cheaper by far to send the young man through Harvard than to send him through Sing Sing. But we have chosen the latter course. We pay for this stupidity in many ways, not only intellectually and spiritually, but in taxes as well.

Widespread unemployment among youth is a serious threat to America's future and to her democratic institutions. It is on the members of my generation that America will soon depend for leadership. What kind of leadership can we expect from a war-baby and depression-baby generation denied its right to work, get vocational training, or go to school? How long can our democracy survive unless it faces and solves this problem? We have already seen what happened in Germany. Unless our democracy solves the problem of unemployment, and especially the problem of youth unemployment, who can be sure that it can't and won't happen here? This is a major problem for all

of us who want America to be a constructive good neighbor in the world of nations. How can America fill such a role if her leadership is to be drawn from a generation so gravely lacking in both educational and vocational opportunity?

The major threat to America's future and to her democratic institutions does not lie in Europe's marching armies or in some imaginary "fifth column." It lies in this present, immediate fact of widespread, involuntary unemployment, and especially youth unemployment; it lies in our failure to face this problem squarely and grapple with it courageously. Social workers, like all others who work with the disinherited, can and should bear constant witness to this important fact.

This matter calls for aggressive action *now*. The American Youth Commission is right. It must be Federal action. Since private industry is confessedly unable to put America's idle youth to work, it is long past time for the Federal Government to step in. The National Youth Administration, though a commendable starter, is woefully and tragically inadequate. This is no time for petty dickerings. There is too much at stake for prolonged passivity. Federal legislation is essential, and the most practical proposal before the present Congress is the American Youth Act with its provisions for an extended and democratic NYA free from every possibility of discrimination on political, racial, or religious grounds and from every possibility of being used for purposes of militarization. Organized American youth, together with their adult friends, are giving vigorous and wide support to this American Youth Act.

But youth's demand for a chance to live is also being threatened by war. The very outbreak of war in Europe was a threat to the peace of the American people. This threat is intensified with the war's prolongation and extension. Though the people as a whole pay for war, youth bears the brunt of the cost. Youth make the best cannon fodder in modern warfare. The first conscripts are from the late teens and early twenties.

There can be no doubt as to the strong will of the American people for peace or as to their strong desire to keep out of the war in Europe. Nowhere is this passion for peace more keenly

evident than among organized American youth. Youth asks for another fate than that of fertilizing the battlefields of Europe.

Nor can there be doubt that powerful forces are at work in the effort to undermine the people's will for peace and to take the steps to war. It was the voice and will of the people which produced the cash-and-carry safeguards written into the present Neutrality Act. But that voice has been thwarted and those safeguards undermined by lending money to actual though unnamed European belligerents and by the deceptive changing of American-owned merchant vessels to foreign registry.

The will for peace of the American people in general and of American youth in particular has not yet been broken. The memories of 1917 are still too fresh. The contrast between what the people were promised and what they got was too great, and there is too little assurance that the issues in this war are fundamentally different. The slogans of the last war said that the fight was against the Kaiser, not the German people. Hundreds of thousands of German men, women, and children were shot or starved in the process; and the vengeance in the Treaty of Versailles was directed against them, not the Kaiser than whom there is probably no safer or more comfortable man in Europe today. The world was *not* made safe for democracy, but the seeds of fascism were sown. War was *not* ended in the world, but the seeds for more and more ghastly war were sown. There were a few who stayed at home and grew fat off the blood of their fellow men. The war produced a few stock-gambling millionaires. But for the masses of people in all the nations the war meant biological, economic, intellectual, moral, and spiritual suicide, insanity, shellshock, disillusionment.

Wherein lies the assurance that this war is fundamentally different—that this war is any more of a war for democracy and freedom, any less of a war for colonies and markets? Unless and until a satisfactory answer can be given to this question, the will to peace of American youth will remain unbroken. Rabble-rousing hysteria cannot break it, especially when accompanied by a strong trend to neglect the pressing and immediate needs of the people, to attack their living standards and democratic



rights. Thus the present hysteria calls for a drastic increase in expenditures for armaments and a sure decrease in the program for social welfare.

We can and we do sympathize with the people of all the European nations. But our participation in the conflict is not the way to solve their problems. We are deeply aware of our responsibility, not alone to ourselves, but to youth in other areas of the world. But our task is to help get Europe's youth out of the trenches, not help get America's youth in. This helps explain why there is such a vigorous program for peace being waged by organized youth groups of every racial, religious, and political variety and in every part of our land today.

An aggressive national program to meet the crying needs of the one-third who are ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed, to defend the people from the real "fifth column" of undernourishment, poor housing, inadequate opportunity for health, joblessness—this is the surest road to the preservation of American democracy, the maintenance of American peace. American youth are ready and anxious to work, live, and even die for that kind of national defense. Will the will of the American people and youth for security and peace be denied? Yes, if we lose our democratic rights. No, if we keep and extend them.

In the ranks of organized American youth one finds loyal service to our cherished democratic institutions as commendable ideals and as necessary tools for the attainment of jobs and peace. Democracy helped get a larger NYA. Democracy helped keep us out of war. For youth, the preservation and extension of American democracy is no matter of mere academic discussion, but a matter of life and death. That is why we are so deeply concerned about the contemporary invasion of our democratic rights by political reaction in general and war hysteria in particular.

America, like the world, is in a period of grave crisis; and the problems of crisis are difficult. But organized American youth are convinced that the problem can and will be solved within the framework of our democracy. They demonstrate this conviction by united, militant, and democratic action. Never before

have the young people of America taken their citizenship responsibilities so seriously. The solution to our crying problems does not lie in the hands of any fuehrer, duce, king, or president, but in the hands of the people as a whole, organized and working together for the satisfaction of their wants.

Mine is the largest younger generation ever to inhabit America. What with the declining birth rate, there may never be so many young people in America again. Must we be a Dust Bowl generation? Must our cry for life, jobs, security, peace, go unanswered? This depends in significant part on us who are young. The best answer we can and do give is that of unity, organization, action. That answer is convincing proof of our faith in the future. We have not lost faith in the capacity of democracy to solve these pressing problems. We have no faith in any other way. What we ask and work for is more democracy, not less.

## EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PLANNING FOR OLDER CHILDREN

*Floyd W. Reeves*

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WHILE WE IN THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION are conscious of the varied goals of education and are in sympathy with the enthusiasms of many of those who seek to promote specialized educational objectives, it is probably true that we have been particularly concerned with the matter of training for social competence. Our job, so far, has been largely one of discovering the status of young people in our modern society, and of attempting to develop plans and programs capable of meeting their needs. In this paper I shall confine myself to a discussion of only the more pressing of these needs and to the kind of educational and vocational planning which seems necessary to meet them.

From the standpoint of educating for social competence, any realistic educational planning must begin with an objective analysis of the kind of world in which we live. This analysis should, among other things, reveal the kind of circumstances which youth, as they leave school, are likely to experience. In order to find out what these post-school circumstances are, agents of the American Youth Commission have, through personal interviews, studied the social and economic status of over twenty thousand youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four. They have investigated the conditions of young people living in scores of communities, residence centers, and camps. The findings of these investigators, coupled with the data uncovered by other research groups, have provided us with what we believe to be the only kind of dependable foundation upon which to build the structure of an effective and purposeful educational program.

Perhaps the most significant, and certainly the most dramatic fact that emerges from youth surveys is the relatively high incidence of unemployment that exists among the group between fifteen and nineteen years of age. In this group, almost two million (1,934,000) youth were, in 1937, either engaged in emergency work or were totally unemployed. This number represents 41 percent of the total number of youth of this age who are not in school. It is twice as large as the percentage of unemployed for the total number of available workers. In our present circumstances, the specter of enforced idleness is obviously one of the post-school realities which a substantial proportion of our youth must be prepared to face.

Yet, I am sure, none of us believes that we should so plan our educational programs that four out of every ten of our youth who leave school will spend their time in idleness. Instead, we must assume that such a condition will not be permitted to last. We must assume that we have enough social statesmanship to find socially useful things for these eager hands and minds to do. For many of these youth, now drifting from one street corner to the next, the answer is undoubtedly one of extended schooling. For the rest, the answer, and the only answer, is a real job.

Yet, while schools do not intend to train pupils for idleness as a career, the stark fact of widespread unemployment is one which is too significant for educators to ignore. Until we have substantially lessened the gap between school-leaving and full-time employment, schools might well pay increasing attention to the importance of cultivating in their pupils capacities for the constructive use of leisure time, even though this be enforced leisure time.

Generally speaking, schools can do much more than is usually done toward acquainting their pupils with the cultural and recreational resources of their communities. They can, to a far greater extent than obtains at the moment, put an end to their splendid isolation and merge their activities with those of other local agencies and institutions. Through visits to libraries, museums, and playgrounds, pupils can become familiar with what such community resources can contribute to their per-

sonal happiness and growth. By such means as these, the transition from the schoolroom to the larger society is made smoother, and the problems relating to the social adjustment of the individual become considerably simplified.

Although such activities on the part of educational institutions contribute greatly to the social competence of graduates and withdrawals, one should not assume that they constitute a satisfying substitute for real jobs. For millions of American youth no substitute for a job exists. Yet I am sure that those of you who face daily the social and psychological consequences of enforced idleness will agree with me that although there may be no adequate substitute for a real job, there are some very excellent substitutes for a corner hangout and a park bench.

While I am particularly concerned here with the subject of educational planning, and have spoken somewhat specifically about the role which the schools can play in the cultivation of social competence, I certainly do not wish to leave the impression that the attainment of this goal can be accomplished by the schools alone. Every type of institution has something important to contribute to this end. The job to be done is big enough to demand the maximum effort of all the individuals and all the agencies concerned with the social and economic welfare of our nation and our communities.

Another subject which is receiving the increased attention of the American Youth Commission and other groups interested in educational planning is summed up in the term "occupational adjustment." For a period of eighteen months, and with the help of more than 120 analysts working in eight communities, the Commission, in coöperation with the United States Employment Service, explored this problem. Mr. Howard Bell, one of the members of our central staff, has prepared a comprehensive volume on the subject which will be published and available for distribution in the coming summer. I should like to give you, briefly, a few of the outcomes of our investigations in this field and suggest how our findings are related to the matter of educational and vocational planning.

An educational program which leads to a reasonably satis-

factory adjustment of workers to available jobs must, like a program designed to cultivate social competence, be built upon a solid foundation of facts. To acquire this factual foundation, agents of the Commission and the Employment Service made intensive studies of the labor markets in which all the eight areas of the coöperative project were located. They got pictures of the occupational distribution of workers and identified the occupations and industrial trends which were operating locally and which might affect the character of the occupational patterns of the future. Job analysts studied the kinds of tasks involved in each occupation; other analysts studied the aptitudes, the interests, and the abilities required for the successful performance of these occupations.

While these activities were in progress, still other investigators explored the extent to which workers were entering or leaving the local labor markets and the effects of population changes upon local labor supply and demand. Surveys were made of the number of unemployed youth who needed the services of a placement office, the number who needed the guidance of a vocational counselor, and those who could clearly profit from appropriate vocational training. The result of these and other researches has been to provide us with the factual basis necessary to discover the essentials involved in an adequate and realistic program of occupational adjustment.

One of the outstanding facts which emerged from these studies was the woefully inadequate extent to which the youth of today are prepared to cope with the difficulties and complexities of a highly competitive labor market. In a study of 4,000 young applicants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, we found that 94 percent of the seventeen-year-olds and 87 percent of the eighteen-year-olds could not be classified, occupationally, either on the basis of work experience or on the basis of training received. They were just applicants. When asked the kind of job they could handle, their answer was usually a meek or a defiant "anything," which, in the minds of most employers, is merely another word for "nothing."

There are many reasons for this pervasive uncertainty in the



minds of young people concerning the kinds of work they are best qualified to perform. Outstanding among these reasons is the fact that widespread unemployment, and the increased mechanization of our economy, has taken from the youth of our time many of the opportunities for vocational exploration which were formerly supplied by agriculture, industry, and the home. And, while these opportunities for experimentation and exploration have been gradually disappearing, we have been making altogether too little progress toward supplying satisfactory substitutes.

At the time of the last analysis by the United States Office of Education, it was found that only about 6 percent of the nation's junior and senior high schools employed full-time guidance officers. This means that for the schools of the nation, the ratio of pupils to counselors is only about three thousand to one. At the same time, only one employment office in five provides specialized services for young, inexperienced applicants. Neither the schools nor the employment offices are doing more than scratching the surface in providing guidance facilities for youth. When the inescapable consequences of such inadequacies of services are fully realized, it is not difficult to understand why young people, as they enter the nation's labor markets, are both handicapped and bewildered.

Those who plan educational programs should do their best to develop programs which will make a substantial contribution to the occupational adjustment of our future workers. To do this they will need to use every means at their disposal to give maturing boys and girls an understanding of their vocational limitations and their vocational potentialities. Among other things, this will involve the application of the basic principle of social case work. Before any intelligent plan can be worked out, the case worker must know the individual with whom she deals. She must know a good deal about his history, his family relations, his economic status, his interests, and his inclinations. For precisely the same reasons, the vocational counselor must know the individual's aptitudes, interests, skills, hobbies, social activities, and work experience, before he can suggest a voca-

tional plan which, of all possible plans, is the most realistic and satisfying.

Like the social case worker, the person who assists the youth in making a wise choice of an occupational field must know his community and its resources, and be able to utilize these resources in the achievement of his professional objectives. Particularly, the vocational counselor must know the kind and volume of employment opportunities in the various occupational fields. He must know the types of employment opportunities that are increasing and the types which are threatened with extinction. He must have important facts about such matters as seasonality, wages, hours, and working conditions. He must know the varying amounts of education and specialized training which the various occupations require. In a word, he must know jobs and the kinds of workers who can perform them.

In planning for the education of older children, I believe it is becoming increasingly necessary to provide the facilities and personnel necessary to discover the individual differences of potential workers and to give boys and girls a realistic understanding of the kind of occupational world which they are soon to enter. Like training for social competence, this too is a job too big for any one agency. It can be done, but only through the integrated efforts of all the agencies in a community that are properly concerned with the occupational adjustment of young people.

I spoke a moment ago about the desirability of applying certain principles of social case work to the task of education and vocational guidance. This is vitally important. But quite as important, so far as adjustment programs are concerned, is the application, in each community, of those principles which gave rise to both the community chest and the social service exchange.

As I understand it, the community chest grew out of the conviction that, through the pooling of financial resources, essential social services could be expanded and improved. The confidential exchange had its beginning in the belief that the pooling of information was essential if individual agencies were to render maximum service to their clients and reduce to a minimum duplication overlapping and waste.

As I see it, there is much to be gained from a limited application of the community chest principle to the development and operation of community programs of occupational adjustment. Some of the services included in such a program, such as educational and vocational guidance and general vocational education, can and should be provided directly by the schools. Other services, such as placement, testing, specialized vocational training, and occupational research, could, as a rule, be more economically and effectively provided by the pooled resources of all the participating agencies or by small governmental units that are included within the boundaries of a local labor market. By such a process, all of the services involved in a total program can be provided for all the youth who need them.

For similar reasons, those who plan for the occupational adjustment of young people can profit from a more general adoption of the principle behind the social service exchange. In far too many communities and with far too many services, haphazard organization levies its toll upon the effectiveness of a program. Too often the right hand knows little or nothing of what the left hand is doing. Indifferent to the value of coördination or victimized by the virus of agency-mindedness, agencies and individuals go their several ways with consequent losses in possible effectiveness that are beyond calculation.

One of the best remedies for this totally unnecessary condition is the interchange of information between all the agencies participating in a community adjustment program. The school, for example, should systematically transfer to the agency assuming the responsibility for placement all vocationally significant information acquired by its guidance officers relating to individual students. Reversing the process, the placement office should make available to the school counselors and teachers the information it has acquired about local labor supply and demand. This same objective might, with even more effectiveness, be reached by setting up, through pooled resources, a labor market research group which would serve all the agencies which are participating in the program.

In this brief outline I have tried to suggest some of the essential

matters which those of us who plan for the education of older children must take into account. Our ultimate goal is the development of the kind of schooling which will prepare the rising generation to meet the problems of living in modern America. To succeed in this, we must, for at least the majority of our young people, place increased emphasis upon the cultivation of social competence and upon the adjustment of potential workers to the tasks they are qualified by nature and nurture to perform.

## VOCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT GUIDANCE OF OLDER CHILDREN

*Hazel M. Lewis*

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THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING CONVICTION that responsibility for guidance is not limited to any one agency but is rather an obligation upon all socially responsible groups within the community. Progressive communities throughout the country are recognizing the importance of united effort regarding programs for youth. They are realizing, too, as is indicated by experiments in coöperation now going on in many cities, that no single agency, even so inclusive an agency as the public schools, can be expected to carry the whole responsibility.

One obstacle to the development of an adequate community program for out-of-school youth has often been the attitude, both on the part of the schools and of the community, that guidance is an educational problem and is therefore a school problem. No one would quarrel with this assumption if the schools were equipped to deal adequately with the situation. Unfortunately, school budgets, if not actually curtailed, have been unable to expand to take care of the needs of out-of-school youth. Case loads for school counselors, involving only high school pupils, are reported by some cities with so-called "good guidance programs" to be as high as 3,000. This obviously does not leave much time for counseling out-of-school youth. The Regents' Inquiry in New York State reported that nine tenths of the academic high schools studied assume no active concern for their pupils' vocational adjustment when they leave school.<sup>1</sup>

Young people who are beyond school age usually do not want to return to school for help in vocational adjustment. They think

<sup>1</sup>Francis T. Spaulding, *High School and Life: Report of the Regents' Inquiry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), p. 173.

of themselves as adults, now, and expect to take their places in an adult world. In our experience, many are unwilling to return to the school for help, even when there is someone there who might really be helpful. Moreover, for those who live in suburbs, proximity to the place where employment is anticipated, and not the home community where they attended school, determines where assistance in vocational adjustment is likely to be sought.

Another factor relates to mobility of the youth population. In a study made last year covering 1,200 cases of young women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who had come to the Boston Young Women's Christian Association for guidance, it was found that only 32 percent had attended high school in Boston. Others came from twenty-two suburbs of Boston and 112 other cities and towns in Massachusetts, twenty-six states, and thirteen foreign countries. If the Boston schools took care of all their own graduates and drop-outs, there would still be, on the basis of this study, 68 percent of the youth looking for work in Boston who had never had any connection with the Boston schools. Whose job, then, is it to look after this 68 percent?

This situation could be duplicated in almost any metropolitan city, and to a certain extent in any city. The facts place an inescapable challenge upon the local community to develop the best possible working relationships between schools and all other agencies concerned in setting up adequate vocational adjustment programs.

The following statement from *Youth: How Communities Can Help* is both a summary of the general trend in community activity and an explanation of the reason for it:

More and more a genuine impulse toward coöperation is being manifested which does not need dramatic stimulation. The very urgency of common problems is spurring communities to coördinate their activities. Our intensified, complicated group living makes the individualistic, piecemeal handling of problems no longer practical nor adequate. Communities must gear to changing conditions.<sup>2</sup>

This does not mean that there is evolving any ideal pattern of

<sup>2</sup> *Youth: How Communities Can Help* (United States Office of Education, Committee on Youth Problems, Bulletin No. 18-1 [1938]).



organization which can be accepted ready-made by a community. Space permits a description of only a few of the many forms of organization which are developing, but they will illustrate the fact that there can be no single design or formula. Characteristics of the individual community and its total population, as well as available leadership, have influenced the type of program to be developed.

One of the most recent, and also one of the most promising, developments in this field is the organization in Michigan of a permanent State Advisory Committee on Occupational Information and Guidance. The committee was called by the State Director of Vocational Education and represents a wide range of activities and agencies, such as the public school system, colleges and universities, the employment service, labor, industry, and the State Department of Education. It is said that the committee plans to inaugurate a program in Michigan which will serve the whole state and which will emphasize practicable immediate projects.

In Denver, the responsibility for providing vocational counseling and placement service for out-of-school youth is centralized in the Opportunity School. The Consultation Service there was established in 1936 under the sponsorship of the National Youth Administration, the Denver Young Women's Christian Association, and the Adult Division of the Works Progress Administration, with the coöperation of many clubs, school administrators, employers, and social agencies. An advisory committee, made up of representatives of a variety of community activities (schools, social agencies, labor, business, and the NYA) is responsible, with the director, for general administrative and program policies. One of the original policies was that of coöperation with existing agencies without duplicating their services. The Denver plan is fairly typical of youth consultation centers developed in other cities by the NYA and coöperating agencies.

In Providence, the Rhode Island Institute for Counseling and Personnel Service was formed in 1936 as a part of a program of vocational adjustment for nonschool youth and adults, with emphasis on the sixteen- to twenty-five-year-old group. It is made up of approximately twenty-five institutional members including

associations of employers, governmental agencies, and social agencies. All are interested in personnel problems, guidance, and rehabilitation. It operates as a community agency and is sponsored by the Rhode Island Vocational Guidance Association, the Providence Adult Education Council, and the Industrial Relations Association of Rhode Island. A grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York has provided for some of the administrative costs, and fees for testing and counseling, on a cost basis, provide for operating expenses.

The Institute is governed by a council made up of representatives of the member agencies. A technical committee, made up of specialists in education, guidance, mental hygiene, and related fields, meets monthly to advise with counselors concerning methods, procedures, and the more difficult problems of adjustment. An advisory committee, appointed by the president of the Rhode Island Industrial Relations Association, consists of experienced personnel officers in business and industry.

An unusual feature of this service is that the workers are members of the staff of the Providence public schools. The work is conducted outside their regular hours and places of employment. The service is a coöperative venture, and the remuneration of all workers is on an hourly basis. This plan is said to reduce administrative costs to a minimum and to assure the employment of qualified workers. It does mean, however, that the out-of-school youth must accommodate themselves to an abbreviated schedule.

So far as is known, no objective evaluation of the service has been published. Informal comments indicate some dissatisfaction due to the limited hours when counselors are available for interviews. The number of individuals served is relatively small, due both to the capacity of the service and to the fees charged. The plan for coördination of community resources is outstanding in its inclusiveness, as is also the position of leadership taken by the public schools.

The Adult Guidance Service of New Haven was established in 1937. It was the third unit of a state-wide system of guidance services for out-of-school youth and adults operated under the sponsorship and supervision of the Connecticut State Department

of Education. The service is financed by Federal funds through the WPA (salaries for one nonrelief worker and five relief workers), the local school board (psychological tests, office equipment and supplies, office space) and the NYA (three workers).

The director reports that the public schools coöperate to the fullest extent in furnishing school records, personality ratings, and pertinent comments regarding individual clients. He also says that the service has the full coöperation of the Connecticut State Employment Service, State Vocational Rehabilitation Department, Psychiatric Out-Patient Clinic of the New Haven Hospital, and some forty community social agencies.

Several cities have reported experiments in the matter of junior placement. In some cities the Junior Division of the State Employment Service carries all the responsibility for placement of in-school and out-of-school youth. In others, the Junior Division of the State Employment Service and the board of education operate placement services which are independent and sometimes in competition with each other. A plan which appears to be gaining in favor is one based on a coöperative working relationship between the local board of education and the Junior Division of the State Employment Service. Details of such a plan as that operated in Evansville, Indiana, and described by Mr. Nicholson in a recent article in *Occupations*, indicate many advantages in this plan which is "designed in a spirit of coöperation."

In the report of the Commission on Youth Problems of the American Association of School Administrators the following statement is made:

The prevailing opinion among educators is that the work of junior placement is the joint responsibility of the public schools and of the state and federal employment services. It should be jointly financed and jointly operated in the interest of youth.<sup>3</sup>

A few interesting experiments are reported which involve co-operation of private and public agencies. Outstanding among these is the Junior Consultation Service of New York, which is sponsored jointly by the Vocational Service for Juniors, a

<sup>3</sup> "Youth Education Today," *Sixteenth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators* (Washington, 1938), p. 198.

private agency with a long and distinguished record of educational and vocational service to youth, and the Junior Division of the State Employment Service. The work of the Junior Consultation Service is described in detail in *Counseling the Young Worker*, by Jane F. Culbert and Helen R. Smith, which should be read by anyone interested in the establishment of a testing and counseling service.

The majority of young people who are served by the Consultation Service are also registered with the Employment Service in its Junior Department. Coöperation on work with young people usually begins with the referral by a placement interviewer of a client who, in his opinion, will profit by coming to the Consultation Service.

Referrals are also frequently made by social agencies, schools, the NYA, and by interested individuals. In addition to testing and counseling, the procedure of the Consultation Service includes a conference on each case attended by the counselor with other members of the staff as their particular skills are needed, and the worker making the referral. The conference may make recommendations to the referring agency and to the counselor regarding further steps, but it is recognized that the plans arrived at, to be effective, must be the result of active coöperation on the part of the client. The Junior Consultation Service represents an enterprise which is unique in some respects, particularly in the long experience in work with youth of its sponsoring organizations.

Another type of program aimed at the problem of unemployment of youth is one in which young people themselves conduct the program. Under the leadership of the man who organized the Forty Plus Club for men, the Job Hunters was organized in Boston in September, 1939. Previous to its organization as a permanent group, a selected group of unemployed young people had been at work for several months collecting occupational information and putting on radio broadcasts for the benefit of other unemployed young men and women. The original project was sponsored by the Information Service of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, working with an advisory committee represent-

ing several local social agencies having guidance programs. Since September it has been sponsored by the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, by which space and equipment have been donated.

The Job Hunters is a coöperative project. Each member spends a minimum of one day each week at work for the organization. The group considers itself "a marketing organization." In the case of each new member, the first problem is to discover the market most likely to accept that individual worker, and then to plan a campaign of action to present the worker to that market. In addition to his own job hunting, in which he has the help of other members of the group, each member participates in discussions on such subjects as the job interview, use of letters of application, employment agencies, etc.

New chapters of the Job Hunters have recently been organized in Brockton, New Bedford, and Providence. The total active membership of unemployed young people is now 275, with an "alumni" group, now employed, of 300. The director and two full-time assistants make up the paid staff of the organization. Other workers are members of the group whose work is on a volunteer basis.

Among the outstanding values of this type of work, in addition to the placements made, are the improvement in morale of those who go into the organization and the growth of the individual in poise, self-confidence, and better understanding of how the occupational world operates.

These varied plans, divergent though they seem, have in common the purpose of consolidation of community resources in order to provide more effective service and to prevent wasteful duplication of effort. On the negative side, it must be pointed out that this growing concern about unemployed youth and the rapidly increasing interest in guidance have stimulated the growth of many unsound and some unscrupulous services which are going under very respectable titles in our communities.

It is not difficult to understand, in these anxious days of economic insecurity and educational confusion, why gullible young people, and their parents, have so often been exploited by per-



sons who profess to be able to tell a person with certainty what he or she should do. There is an increasing interest in tests based on the assumption that, in some mysterious way, a battery of tests can tell a person exactly what he should do.

Tests are valuable as instruments for securing supplementary information but are not, in themselves, an adequate basis for planning a career. School records, vacation or other work experience, and even avocational interests are also valuable in determining the direction of a person's interests and abilities. The greatest value of tests lies in the assistance they can give, when correctly interpreted, to a person seeking to make an objective evaluation of his abilities. The pseudo-psychologist would take the responsibility for making a choice for the client; the trained counselor would help him to understand the meaning of the test results and their relation to other facts so as to enable him to make his own choices wisely.

The menace of pseudoscientific programs, often frankly commercial in nature, has become so serious that the National Vocational Guidance Association has appointed a committee to work on the problem. In addition to the investigation of many agencies, the committee has been at work setting up criteria for the evaluation of guidance programs and also preparing recommendations concerning certain standard qualifications for those who may act as guidance counselors. Meanwhile, unscrupulous and unqualified people are collecting exorbitant fees for activities which are described by the committee as "guidance rackets." Unless, or until, this kind of practice can be stopped, organizations interested in youth must provide young people with measuring sticks for determining the value of such services before they put money they usually cannot afford into such a program.

In addition to those commercial agencies which are exploiting people for the fees they can collect, there are others which are dangerous when they mean to be helpful. Some of these, I regret to say, are conducted under the auspices of social agencies. It must be recognized that counseling, like any other professional work, requires highly specialized training. When the organization of a guidance program in an agency or community is con-



templated, the estimated cost should include an allowance for technically trained workers. We have seen much harm done by people with good intentions who were, nevertheless, unqualified for work in this area.

One source of danger is from some of our university courses in tests and measurements where students are encouraged to find their own subjects on whom to practice for experience in testing. It is not difficult to learn to administer tests, but it requires a good deal of training and experience to know how to interpret the results. It is an illustration of the old saying that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Unless tests can be given and interpreted by a trained and competent worker, or at least closely supervised by such a person, they should not be used at all for guidance purposes.

In addition to our emphasis on promotion and coördination of youth services in guidance, we must be constantly critical of procedures, and insistent upon high professional standards in all types of guidance work, or our last state may be worse than our first.

To summarize briefly the present trends in developing services for vocational and employment guidance, I would say: (1) that there is a growing interest in the problem of the out-of-school youth and a desire to do something constructive about it; (2) that there is a general trend toward coöperation among many agencies, both public and private, in the interest of youth; and (3) that a by-product of the growing interest in this field and the desire of youth for something definite to count on is the growth of the pseudoscientific agencies which exploit people for commercial purposes. The first two of these trends are hopeful. Community activities, of which I have given you only a few illustrations, do reflect a growing sense of responsibility and a desire to develop the best possible working relationships among all the agencies concerned in setting up adequate vocational adjustment programs.

Our best weapons against unsound commercialized guidance activities are the maintenance of high professional standards for all work done in this field and interpretation in our communities

of the importance of professional qualifications for workers carrying responsibility for guidance of youth, as well as emphasis on the urgent need for guidance facilities on a community basis. Vocational maladjustment is socially wasteful and individually devastating. When communities are fully aroused to the dangers involved, money will be found to finance sound guidance programs. Guidance and education are cheaper than dependence or delinquency.

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MIGRANT PROBLEM TODAY

*Nels Anderson*

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A CERTAIN EXPERT IN THE STUDY of human mobility observed that the character of migration in any locality or period is determined by the prevailing modes of transportation. This observation has some validity if considered with other factors which determine the movement of people.

There was a time when the transients, then called tramps, used to walk along the highways. They moved over limited areas and their numbers were few. Later, we began to build railroads, and there was a demand for many itinerant workers. They were needed to open up the frontier and to develop our vast stores of natural resources. The migrants began to follow the railroads. Those migrants were called hobos. Their number was greater than the old-style highway tramps. They worked in the forests, the fields, and the mines, or on construction jobs.

The migrants of that period were largely the creatures of the railroad age. They were train riders. They traveled greater distances. They were participants in the peculiar frontier economy that characterized a period of development. Those migrants were the essential fixtures of the labor market of the period. But those migrants are passing. A new generation of migrants is moving in. The new migrants are not so much inclined to riding the freight trains as they are to hitchhiking along the highways.

The new migrants, who travel mainly by motor conveyance, are the creatures of a different set of economic circumstances than those which created the hobos of the rails. They are functioning in a different type of labor market from that of the developing frontier. The old economy was one of land expansion and the exploitation of resources. We have moved from that economy of development to one of conservation and maintenance. As

far as the labor market is concerned, we have changed from a condition of labor shortage to labor surplus. These changes are reflected in the changing migration problem.

Present-day migrants have been distinguished from those of earlier decades on the basis of their objectives. The Department of Labor has characterized one group as removal migrants. These include people who have been forced into migrancy because of economic conditions. They have also been called depression migrants. The seasonal wanderers have been designated by the Department of Labor as constant migrants. The difference is that removal migrants are presumably going to some destination for settlement. They are not making migrancy an occupation.

Pre-depression migrants comprise sometimes as low as 5 percent of the total number of migrants now current. They are the wandering workers who devote themselves to seasonal or casual labor. They live in town between jobs. They leave town to find work and return to town to spend their money. Depression migrants are more determined on reaching a destination. Their predecessors were not greatly concerned about destinations. For these veterans of the road there was always the prospect of another move after the next stop. Depression migrants are refugees in origin and settlers in purpose. For them migrancy is an exodus from places of economic disadvantage. Many refugee migrants include persons expelled from the land by forces of nature. They were impoverished by drought or they are moving away from impoverished places which can no longer sustain them. Many are escaping from stranded mining or timber sections. Others were turned out by the technological changes in modern industry, or the factory moved and took their jobs to another locality.

We do not have information about the numbers of migrants. We do have some general information which permits such generalizations as the following: (1) There are among depression migrants a considerable percentage of families, whereas families among pre-depression migrants were few. (2) Among pre-depression migrants were found very few women. Many more women are migratory today, but the number scarcely exceeds 2 or 3 percent of all the unattached migrants.

We find among depression migrants a correlation between age and migrancy. The more mobile migrants are younger, and they move faster and over greater distance. With advancing age the mobility of migrants diminishes. This is evidenced by the fact that unattached migrants on the road show a median age from twenty-seven to thirty years. The resident homeless in the large cities show a median age from forty-two to forty-five years. Unattached migrants are more mobile than migrant families.

Younger migrants show a higher level of education than older migrants. For the unattached on the road the level of education shows an eighth-grade average, but resident homeless in the cities show a fifth-grade average. Some studies of migrant youth found average education levels up to the tenth grade. Migrants from depressed regions show lower education levels than migrants from less depressed areas, where more money is spent per pupil for education.

Most significant of the findings of current studies of the subject is the paucity of foreign-born persons among depression migrants. The proportion of foreign-born is generally under 9 percent compared with about 19 percent for the general population. Among the resident homeless the percentage of foreign-born is generally higher than for the general population. Practically all the migrant families are of American stock.

Concerning the health of migrants there is little information, although there have been occasional physical appraisals of resident homeless persons. Although there are no comparative data on the health of migrants in relation to resident persons, it is probable that they compare favorably in health with resident people of the same age and occupational groups.

Depression migrants represent a wider range of occupations than pre-depression migrants. The more seasoned wanderers report occupations which are associated with their itinerant employment. Newer migrants report occupations at which they worked in their communities of origin or at which they hope to work after the termination of their migrancy.

The evidence seems to indicate that migrant families are traveling for very definite purposes. These people are not merely

aimlessly wandering. They move with more caution and preparation than the single migrants. Families who migrate are more likely to move short distances and are more likely to travel the familiar roads than to venture over strange roads. The migration of families follows the same general pattern as that for unattached persons. Like the unattached persons on the road, migrant families are more American than the general population, and younger than the typical families in the general population. They have fewer children, as would be expected of families on the move.

The migrant families show little susceptibility to disorganization while migrating. To a high degree the parents in these families are employable, as much so as the unattached migrants. Most of the unemployable adults in the migrant families are female heads of families who would not properly be eligible for work because of having small children to attend.

Children in the migrant families have caused some concern among observers of the problem, but there is little information about them. It is not known, for example, whether these children are worse off in health, education, and morale than the children of the same economic class in the communities from whence the families originated. Probably the most serious problem regarding children in migrancy relates to the social and psychological effects of this itinerant existence on their habits of life. Will these children be able to settle down? What will be the effects on their personalities of isolation from the normal social influences of community life?

Those who have sought answers to questions about why people become migrants appear to be agreed that modern migrants have turned to the road for economic reasons. John Webb found that about 70 percent of the depression migrancy was due to economic distress. He found that there were personal reasons, but these also had some economic base. For example, some migrants were going to new homes for purposes of health, but they hoped on arrival in such places to find the means of livelihood. Other migrants were enroute to join relatives, but many of those were expecting to find with their relatives the means of livelihood they had failed to secure elsewhere.



That most migrants left their communities of origin for substantial reasons is just as true today as with the pioneers who migrated to the frontier to settle new land. The modern migrants are more economic refugees than the pioneers, and their lot is less favorable because the pioneers were rarely forced by economic pressure to leave their home communities.

If the truth were known regarding the quality of the migrants of today we would find that they are not unlike the migrants of other decades. As far as those intangible qualities are concerned, they are probably no different from the people who comprised the emigrant trains to Oregon or California or the "Sooners" who rushed over the line into Oklahoma in 1889.

Recent studies of migrants reveal little evidence to support what are sometimes regarded as the romantic reasons for migrancy. Perhaps wanderlust was a factor in the land frontier. Perhaps a good share of the forty-niners were men thirsting for adventure. Perhaps even among the modern migrants are many who move because of some inner urge to be somewhere else, but such motivations are not frequently detected among the stated reasons for migration. Migration for romantic reasons probably belongs to the periods of prosperity when migrants are less bowed down with the first great problem of getting a living. This conclusion is not based alone on the reasons which migrants give for their movement, but it is based on the character of their mobility.

It is quite evident from current researches that most migrants make short moves, and that long moves are made only in occasional cases. If people moved because of some inner urge we should expect more migrants moving greater distances and we should expect people to move on the slightest provocation. On the contrary, people move only as they must, and they move short distances rather than great distances. The various studies of migration show that most moves of people who change their places of residence are within a county or within a limited group of adjacent counties.

Concerning the routes followed by the modern migrants, although statistical information is not available, it may be said that these people continue to follow the old routes. There continues

to be more movement toward the West than toward the East; more toward the North than the South; and more toward the cities than toward the country. City people who migrate are less likely to move to the country than to some other city. Town people are more likely to move toward the city than toward the country. It may be expected that this trend will continue. More people will move westward or northward and still more will move cityward.

Hard times since 1929 have served to bring to the attention of the nation certain facts about the areas of depletion and decline. We know about the Dust Bowl, the cutover areas, the Appalachian Plateau, and the impoverished sections of the Cotton Belt. We know much more about worked-out mining areas and stranded factory towns. We know about millions of acres of land depleted or eroded by faulty farming. We know about areas spoiled by the wasteful exploitation of the natural resources. Because we are learning about the differences between regions with respect to economic opportunity, we have come to realize that economic equilibrium as between regions of diverse opportunity can be brought about only by migration. Either jobs must be transferred into the areas of less advantage, or workers must migrate from those parts to areas of greater advantage.

Those who are concerned about the present magnitude of the migrancy problem should be surprised that many more people have not taken to the road. In those sections of the country from whence people normally migrate in times of prosperity may be found backed up anywhere from two million to four million persons who would be glad of a place to go. Let the labor market expand and many of these will become mobile in a very short time. How many will become problem migrants will depend on their ability to find jobs. If employment opportunities become as plentiful as in pre-depression days, the movement of these people will take place without attracting very much attention.

The main purpose here is to relate the migrancy problem with the general problem of unemployment. Pre-depression migrancy, in so far as it attracted the attention of welfare agencies, was but incidentally an unemployment problem. Depression mi-

grancy is only a phase of the unemployment problem, of people moving in order to make a living. When we look back into the communities of origin we find that the pressures which have set these people into motion are the same which have forced many other people to apply for public relief or to accept work-relief jobs.

Whereas some people are disemployed and displaced by the wasting or depletion of natural resources, others are disemployed and displaced by the technological changes in agriculture and industry. Concerning agriculture we need only to mention some well-known facts. On the good land there is a tendency for trucks and tractors and laborsaving machinery to displace workers. While it is true that people are becoming more crowded on the poor land and barely making a living there, it is also true that population is becoming less congested on good land. Here the farms are getting larger. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers are being replaced by seasonal hired workers. This trend is only now getting under way, and nobody knows how far or how fast it will go.

Probably more serious than the technological changes in agriculture are the changes in manufacturing. Here we find from six to eight workers producing today as much as ten workers produced in 1929. Many of these workers are losing not only their jobs, but their occupations as well. If they find employment, it is generally by moving down the occupational scale from skilled or semi-skilled work to unskilled labor. Many such displaced workers find it necessary to move from one city, town, or state to another. In this respect your attention is invited to the fate of several thousand workers, about half the working population, in Manchester, New Hampshire. These people were left stranded by the closing of the great Amoskeag textile mill. Will other industries move in to use this stranded labor, or will the workers be obliged to follow the roads to other places in search of other jobs?

Here is where we come to the heart of the migrancy problem. It concerns disemployed people looking for other jobs, or landless people seeking other land. With about a hundred thousand textile workers in New England deprived of their jobs because the indus-

try has declined there, we should not be surprised to find an exodus from that area. Other industries in New England have been similarly affected. The wonder is that more people do not migrate.

It is often said, and correctly, that in the long run the technological changes in agriculture and industry will redound to the benefit of all of us. Many an economist has drawn comfort from that observation. The fact remains, however, that people cannot wait for long run adjustments. They must eat every day. If they can't get enough to eat in Arkansas or Oklahoma, they will go to Oregon or California.

Recently, as an observer, I attended a conference of research experts sponsored by the Giannini Foundation at the University of California. The experts were brought together to discuss a program for studying the migration of agricultural labor. It developed that in California, even among the expert students of the problem, there is a feeling that something should be done to stop the westward movement of Dust Bowl and Cotton Belt families. The California melting pot is overflowing. They are learning to dislike the newcomers, and it is no comfort at all to remind them that these migrants of good American stock are better off there. They say, "Let the home states take care of their own." Or they say, "Why doesn't the Federal Government do something about it?"

It is generally realized that the distribution of relief benefits may help to keep some people from migrating. Public employment may serve the same purpose. The State Emergency Relief Commission of Michigan in its 1939 report contains information regarding a study of family migration. According to this report relief families are about as mobile as non-relief families, but more of their moves are local, within reach of the relief office. Of the relief families only 8 percent moved across the state line, compared with more than 20 percent for non-relief families.

Public relief or a job on the WPA may serve to prevent a family from migrating, yet we know that families do leave their relief or work-relief benefits for the purpose of migrating in search of economic opportunity. We know, too, that relief agencies some-

times use the available funds to buy transportation to send migrants back home.

It is not my purpose here to present a plan for the solution of the migrancy problem. Certainly it is no answer to try to persuade people to stay where they are. Nor is it a solution to set up border barriers or otherwise harass people after they begin to migrate. Such devices will not prevent migrants from going to places where they hope to find economic advantage. Nor do we find an answer in public relief or in the various methods of manipulation found in the social worker's bag of techniques. Relief in its various forms must have a place in any approach to this problem, but it should be no more than an incidental or passing service.

What the migrants want is work. If jobs could be had, we would be quite unaware of the migrancy problem. There would be marginal cases under any reign of prosperity; but if jobs were available, it is possible that many more people would be migrating than at present, with greater opportunity for settlement. So long as migrants cannot find jobs because jobs are not to be had in sufficient numbers, the problem will remain with us in its most aggravated form. There are on the road somewhere between five hundred thousand and one million workers; perhaps the number is much greater. These workers are underemployed, and when they find jobs they are underpaid. Most of the time they migrate or rest in idleness. The cost of this idleness cannot be dodged. It is too much of a luxury for even a country as wealthy as this.

There is plenty of work that needs to be done, and only general indifference and the lack of imagination prevent our putting these people to work on public projects. Three or four months of public work a year would do much toward providing these migrants with some of the elemental necessities they do not have at present. This general proposal of public work for the unemployed who cannot find private jobs is the program that we will some day arrive at, but not until we have learned at great cost how expensive it is to permit the labor of the unemployed to go to waste. Such a generalization is just as applicable to the needs of the migrants as of other unemployed people.



## POSSIBILITIES OF FUTURE MIGRATION

*T. J. Woofter, Jr.*

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USUALLY, MIGRATION IS THE EFFORT of an individual to escape from conditions judged to be unsatisfactory to areas of more promising opportunity. As such, when it reaches a large scale, it is symptomatic, at the point of origin, of the maladjustment of population to opportunity; and at the point of destination, of at least a hope of better things. Migration has, therefore, been a safety valve for the American economy in past depressions and periods of friction. First, the covered wagon offered the way out for thousands of people whose ambitions were larger than their immediate outlook. Next, the call of industry brightened the lure of the city for the young men and women of farm and village.

Migration is a symptom of deeper economic and social adjustments. For that reason it is as important to examine the trend of natural population increase and the general prospects for economic opportunity as it is to discuss actual movement of population. This paper will approach the subject both from the problems which accompany migration and from the problems which would arise if the normal channels of movement were blocked.

Population of working age will grow from natural increase in the next decade by about seven and a half million. A similar increase in the number of workers from 1930 to 1940 has been basic to many difficulties of unemployment and public welfare in the past decade, and the increase will continue to press on the labor market in the 1940s. In spite of the dangers of prediction in social science, such a forecast of natural increase can be made with reasonable assurance because these workers are already born. The workers who will enter the labor market at the age of eighteen in 1950 are now eight years old, and death rates change slowly.



We know not only that this total increase will necessitate the absorption of a large number of new workers in addition to those now unemployed, but also that the location of this population increase does not correspond to the areas of potential expansion of opportunity.

The increase is heaviest in rural areas. Almost eight out of ten new workers in the 1940s are coming from families now on farms and in villages; furthermore, the growth is more rapid in the poor rural areas than in the good areas. Given thirty years with no outward migration, the population of the poorer rural counties would double. Given the same time with no inward migration, the population of large cities would diminish. Thus, as Professor Vance puts it, one of the most significant redistributions which could occur would result from a complete stoppage of all migration. Such a state of affairs would mean the rapid accumulation of workers in areas of limited opportunity and the decrease of workers in areas of potential opportunity.

That, to some extent, is what happened in the 1930s. The normal movement from farm and village to city was slowed down to one fifth of its pre-depression volume. Population had accumulated on the farms, in the problem areas of the Appalachians, the lake states cutover areas, the Mexican Southwest, and the Cotton Belt, and in the villages in the stagnant coal-mining and lumbering areas. It was this lack of sufficient migration which was one of the basic underlying causes of the youth problem, of the problem of depressed areas, and of rural unemployment.

So far as predicting the movement of the 1940s goes, we can hardly proceed with certainty beyond the forecast that drastic population adjustments must be made between rural and urban elements, between poor land areas and good land areas, and between stranded industrial areas and areas of expanding opportunity. If such adjustments are not made, then our problem of unemployed adults and idle youth will be similar, at least in the early 1940s, to that in the 1930s. We thus are brought face to face with the question of how far will the pendulum swing toward attainment of full employment? Geographically, where will the areas of opportunity develop?

There are on the horizon only three ways in which such recovery can be made: (1) through a sharp revival in industry, especially the building and service industries; (2) through expansion of employment in agriculture by the recapture of some of our foreign agricultural markets, the increase of domestic consumption, and resettlement of some of our unemployed farmers on the land; and (3) through continued programs of relief and public works.

Frankly, the students of industrial trends do not see the prospects of sufficient industrial revival in the next few years to absorb completely those now unemployed, far less to take in the new workers who are coming on with increased population. However, some hope for a partial solution may develop from this quarter. Again, the agricultural economists see no chance for agriculture to take up the whole slack of population, although some expansion in staple production may be possible if there is any prospect of Europe's paying for it, or of our increasing domestic consumption. Also, it is possible to locate more people in production for home use. I am fully aware that this latter step is regarded as one which is likely to lower the farmers' level of living, but we must not compare the level of living of a subsistence farmer with the level of farm living in 1929, but with the levels to which those families would be dragged if they were compelled to subsist on relief. In other words, semisubsistence farming with such cash-wage income as can be picked up seems to be, for a number of families, a proposition of accepting half a loaf instead of none.

Thus the problem of full employment in agriculture and industry boils down to the possibility that the forces at work for recovery will expand the demand for man power fast enough to reemploy the unemployed and to outstrip the increase in population. This will hardly happen within the next few years. One reason for this prediction is that the expansion in the demand for man power is, in itself, a race between expanding production and increasing technological efficiency which enables us to produce more with fewer workers.

We are aware of the rapid technological improvements in industry, of the installation of laborsaving devices which greatly reduce the labor requirements in the mechanized processes. Tech-

nology in agriculture has advanced almost as rapidly. Between 1910 and 1930 the amount of labor required to produce an acre of cotton declined by one-fourth. In the same period the labor required to produce an acre of corn declined about one-fifth. Restricted demand and increased efficiency mean that we can now produce the normal requirement for agricultural products with about a million and a half fewer workers in agriculture than were needed in 1929.

It is often said that the spread of technological improvement creates as many jobs in manufacturing the machines and in service occupations as it destroys. There is a large element of truth in this, but it is equally true that the opportunities which are created are not likely to be in the same places as the opportunities destroyed. In other words, the manufacturing of coal-mining machinery is not done in the same locality as the mining of coal. Likewise, the fabrication of farm implements and the service opportunities are not on the mechanized farms. Thus the extension of the process of mechanization creates in itself the necessity for migration.

The fact that we may be pessimistic about a return to anything like full employment at an early date does not imply that we should not bend every effort to travel that road as far as we can. It means that whatever alleviation of unemployment is reached by these means will, for a time at least, be only partial. Such a verdict is written on the face of the population trends and economic development.

Let us assume, however, that there will be recovery of employment up to and slightly beyond the levels of 1929, and it is sincerely to be hoped that that will occur. There would still be the need for a considerable migratory adjustment of the labor supply to opportunity, since a glance at the map of the areas of population increase will convince one that the opportunities are not likely to expand in the same areas in which population is expanding.

In view of these facts and of the trends of the immediate past, two negative predictions are fairly safe. One is that there probably will be no such back-to-the-farm movement as there was in the

early 1930s. The accumulation of unneeded workers in farm families now would seem to preclude the possibility that agriculture will be able to absorb any considerable number of the industrial unemployed except, possibly, on the basis of part-time farming.

A second fairly safe prediction is that the *Grapes of Wrath* movement will probably slacken. First, because the news is getting fairly well spread abroad that California cannot absorb any more migratory labor; and, second, because a considerable population adjustment has already taken place in those states from which distressed farmers were fleeing on account of dust storms, grasshoppers, and tractors.

Thus we may expect some settling down of distress migration, but we have no assurance that the failure to migrate will mean that the families are adjusted to the economic system where they are. They may fail to move merely because of lack of prospects for finding any better place. The back-to-the-farm movement of the 1930s, plus the failure of youth to emigrate, caused the farm population of all the problem areas to increase from 1930 to 1935, some regions by as much as 17 percent. Bear in mind that these increases were in areas of stagnant opportunity.

At the beginning of 1940 the labor-market situation is briefly this: There are some millions unemployed. In addition, there are on the farms several million unneeded youth not usually classed as unemployed, because they do chores to a sufficient extent to be classed as unpaid family labor. These are, in effect, a threat to the industrial labor market since they are not needed in agriculture and are poised to migrate as soon as the prospect of decent jobs appears. In addition to those now unemployed and those now banked up on the farm there will be, during the 1940s, a population increase in the working-age group of 750,000 each year.

If this combined expansion of agriculture and industry will not absorb the excess population, then the alternative of a public works program immediately suggests itself as a means of securing a contribution of the excess workers to national production.

Here several alternatives need to be considered. Shall we endeavor to provide adequate work programs in rural communities, or shall we compel the rural destitute to migrate to the city and

get on relief before they are eligible for work? To date, although from one fourth to one third of the WPA families have been rural, the program has not achieved as full development in rural areas as it has in cities. Rural quotas have tended to be relatively smaller than city quotas. The poorer rural communities, in which the need has been the greatest, have lacked the funds to sponsor adequate projects, and the work experiences and skills of the farm population are such that the labor is not well suited to any construction project requiring a high degree of skill.

These considerations suggest, first, an extension of the Farm Security Program designed to anchor low-income farmers where they are, keep them off relief, and get them back to a self-sustaining basis in agriculture. Second, a reappraisal of the rural features of the work program and a direction of its objectives more toward conservation of our great native resources of soil, forest, and water. The Department of Agriculture estimates that hundreds of millions of man hours of labor could be used in conservation work, with some minor administrative adjustments to arrange for work on private and quasi-public property under the proper public sponsorship and supervision.

Another consideration is that there should be a realistic and orderly plan of loans to farmers and public works related to the areas of population increase. We should abandon the fiction that we will proceed down the street a few blocks, turn some mythical corner, and come face to face with prosperity. Prosperity doesn't come that way any more. She is a sly wench, not to be swept off her feet, but to be courted with a careful plan over a decorous period of years.

In developing such a plan for public employment due weight has to be allowed for the question as to whether it is wiser to stabilize population in an area of stagnant opportunity or to encourage wholesale migration. In this regard a fairly safe rule of thought would seem to be that until definite areas of new opportunity are apparent, the safest course would be to maximize opportunities in the present location of excess population by every means possible rather than to force distress migration which will



have no clear-cut destination, even though it is a temporary stop-gap policy.

It is often remarked by students that the American population is rapidly getting older. It has, in fact, already become middle-aged. The segments of the population which are growing most rapidly are those in the ages above forty. This is due both to the larger number of births in the past years and the advances of medical science in lengthening the average span of life. Almost ten years have been added to our life expectancy since 1900. Because migration is predominantly a phenomenon of youth, the approach of the United States to middle age should mean some diminution of the proportion of migrants in the total population. This, however, will depend upon whether the movement of industry tends to become less dynamic as the economic system crystallizes.

The population over sixty-five is increasing also. The year 1940 found 1,750,000 more people above this age than 1930, and 1950 will register another increase of 2,500,000. The employment studies often arbitrarily eliminate people over sixty-five from the labor market, whereas, as a matter of fact, a very large proportion continues to work even up to the age of seventy-five. How many of these will be eliminated from the labor market by pensions and benefits is still a matter for conjecture. However, according to an analysis by the Social Security Board, the average wage of employed people over sixty years of age is about \$83 a month. Since their average benefit will be only about \$24 per month, there will not be much inducement to retire unless the pension can be supplemented by other savings or by part-time farming operations. It would, therefore, appear to be unwise for the chambers of commerce of Florida and California to base their future calculations on the expectation of a large increase in affluent old people. Just what this trend will be can be judged more accurately when the system of old age insurance has had more time to demonstrate its effects.

A large proportion of the migrants are in the young adult ages, and another large segment is composed of children. Children are carried along in migrant families, and many young adults migrate



from the parental roof soon after the childhood period. Children in migrant families, especially in those whose movements have been characterized as distress migration, are often robbed of essential advantages.

The adjustment of migrant families to new communities is often productive of friction and difficulty on the part of community institutions in absorbing the new element. The situation often arises where an industry eagerly seeks new workers, but the community institutions exhibit inertia and sometimes open hostility to the strange group. To illustrate this point we need only to consider the attitude of California toward the Okies, or of Michigan toward the Appalachian mountaineers, or, to go farther back, that of many cities toward the foreign elements.

Under these circumstances, the migrant group inherits the worst housing, has difficulty in school adjustment, is often neglected in public health programs, and has inadequate recreational facilities. The fault is not entirely on the side of the community organizations. The migrants themselves come from communities lacking in these advantages and often fail to make proper use of the new opportunities because of their own inexperience.

There are now hundreds of thousands of nomad families who live by a succession of seasonal occupations, often traveling over a thousand miles in a year in the effort to piece together a pattern of employment which will suffice for subsistence. This type of migration may tend to slacken, but there will always be migratory casual labor as long as people are underemployed and as long as certain industrial operations are temporary and seasonal, and as long as the perishable crops of agriculture demand large labor supplies for short peak periods. This points to the need of a thorough chart of the migratory routes and protection of children along the way.

Much of the agricultural work done by migrant families requires little skill or experience. Since families' earnings depend on the number of hands working and earnings are low, the pressure for the use of children in the fields is great. Studies of child labor in industrialized agriculture show that large numbers of children under fourteen, and even children as young as six or seven years

of age, do field work on many kinds of crops. Hours of work are long, and working conditions are arduous, involving strained posture, continuous exposure to extremes of temperature, speed-up pressure, and the carrying of heavy burdens.

Migratory family labor interferes seriously with the school attendance of the children. If they are to be in the field at the beginning of the season and remain until the harvest is completed, the children leave school in the early spring—March or April—and often are out until November or December. Records of school attendance for migratory child workers obtained in connection with studies of the Children's Bureau show that large numbers had not attended school during the preceding year, and many had never attended school.

Agricultural child labor—including employment of children in industrialized agriculture—is to a large extent subject to neither state nor Federal child labor legislation, though in a few states some progress in regulation has been made. Not only are state school-attendance laws frequently unenforced for migrant children, but often there is not even the opportunity for school attendance. Certain minimum standards applying to employment of children by growers of sugar beets and sugar cane as a condition of receiving benefits are incorporated in the Federal Sugar Act of 1937. The child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 apply to employment of children in agriculture during such periods as they are not required by law to attend school.

Children of migratory workers must be protected from employment at too early an age, and during the years before they are allowed to work they should have such opportunities for education and normal growth as are needed for full physical, mental, and social development. When employed, they should be given the same protection from overlong hours and from hazardous and over strenuous employment that has been found essential for youthful workers in other kinds of full-time industrial employment, and they should be guaranteed a fair level of wages.

But migration focuses attention on the needs of children at the point of origin as well as along the migratory routes. It has already

been pointed out that the poorest areas are producing the most children, and that there must be a constant flow from these areas to areas of opportunity in order to adjust population to resources. Thus the manner of rearing children in these disadvantaged areas becomes a matter of national rather than of purely local concern.

Equality of opportunity has been a slogan for politicians to conjure with, and we Americans have fooled ourselves into believing in it. The social and economic trends have, however, created some most glaring and alarming inequalities in American life, especially as they relate to the opportunities of children for an equal chance of development.

On this point, for instance, let us consult some of the recent studies on education. It has been pointed out that the farm population, with only one tenth of the national income, must rear and educate one third of the nation's children. Further, that the Southern farm population, with only 2 percent of the national income, has custody of 14 percent of the future generation. Thus, in many parts of the country, the wealth simply does not exist in sufficient quantity to support what other sections consider adequate schools. Some states could tax themselves poor and spend their whole public revenue on education and still not have enough to give their children a per capita expenditure for education comparable to that in other states.

Again, let us examine the field of public health. Areas of high birth rate are areas especially in need of hospitals, clinics, maternal care, infant care, and preventive medicine. Yet the tragic lack of these facilities is apparent when it is realized that the areas of high birth rate are also the areas of high infant mortality. In the country as a whole, over 10 percent of the births are not attended by a physician, and there are some states where over one fourth of the babies are without such care.

What has been said about education and public health applies equally to recreation, library facilities, and other public welfare services dependent on taxation for support.

It has been estimated that it costs roughly \$2,500 to rear a child to maturity in rural areas. As long as the South exports 250,000

people annually, it is apparent that it is contributing to other sections its human resources in which nearly three quarters of a billion dollars have been invested. Other rural sections make similar contributions to industrial sections. This points definitely to the need for the use of a broader national tax base to equalize the task of rearing the future generation. If sections which need the labor are unwilling to pay the cost and undertake the responsibility of rearing the children, then they should contribute through national support to those sections which are willing to assume this duty.

Owing to the migratory flow of population to centers of opportunity, the welfare of all children, no matter whether they be on the most isolated farm or in the smallest hamlet, is a matter of national concern. The census of 1940 will show a decrease in the number of children by about three million under 1930, and the census of 1950 will show a further decline of a million, if present trends in the birth rate continue. This by no means signifies that the efforts for child welfare can be relaxed, rather, it should mean that the smaller quantity should release energies for greater concentration on the quality of future America. All efforts for child welfare should be intensified and extended until the glaring inequalities have been eliminated and until any American boy or girl in any part of the land should have an opportunity to reach adulthood in health and knowledge equal to that of the boys and girls in any other part of the land. Not until that goal is achieved will we be able to congratulate ourselves on having laid adequate cultural foundations for a strong nation.

In conclusion let me say that the trend of population increase of the next ten years is fairly plain and easily predictable. The unknown quantity in any formula predicting migration is the future pattern of economic opportunity. These two must be kept in constant adjustment if our man power is to be fully utilized. The slack in man power caused by maladjustment of population and opportunity should be taken up as far as possible by public employment and the exercise of the maximum ingenuity in creating opportunities in areas of population increase. Because youth will migrate from the disadvantaged areas, these areas should be

looked upon as the seedbed of the nation; and opportunity for the development of a sane and happy childhood and youth in these areas is manifestly a matter of national concern. It is also evident, since the economic and social problems arising from population pressure are so wide in their manifestations, that if we are not wise enough to make the necessary adjustments between population and opportunity, we will be failing to that extent to demonstrate the basic soundness of democracy.

## MIGRATION PROBLEMS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

*Bertha McCall*

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I DO NOT NEED TO POINT OUT, who and where migrants are and what their problems involve. All I need to do is refer you to all kinds of literature of the day. We know that migrants are everywhere in our land. And may we remind ourselves that migrants are covering the face of the earth today. When I speak of migration, the migrant, I am thinking of it as an inclusive term—people who are moving, because of one thing or another; people from country to city, from city to country, from one rural area to another rural area, from one industrial district to another industrial district. The problem is intricate and complex. It is rural-urban and urban-rural. Some of the governmental agencies have their deepest concern in the rural moving people. Many of the voluntary or private agencies see the urban aspects first, from the very nature of their own setups. But both have come to realize that people of all kinds are involved and that the problem touches every phase of life and living. So let us not get lost in arguing too strongly on any one side.

As for the needs that these people present, we can state briefly that migrants require immediate and individual care as well as long-range and comprehensive planning. Employment, health, relief, housing, education, recreation, and social and religious needs must be considered. Migrants require aid on an individual basis, but also they truly require both a long-term program that will eliminate many existing obstacles that now prevent them from helping themselves and a program that will provide an opportunity for the normal pursuit of a happy way of life in the future.

What can the Government do in these two respects? Perhaps we



might better ask, "What is the Government doing?" and examine the present situation. Then we can start from that realistic basis. I do not claim that the following report is complete. It would take much more time and study than I have been able to give to list and describe all that is being discussed and all that is being actually carried on for migrants by the various governmental departments. I offer these brief reports to show that much is being discussed and planned. What coördination and coöperation are in the air, I can only conjecture, and urge the ultimate of both. Now for the listings:

*Social Security Board.*—I mention this first because it represents, to my way of thinking, a socialized government, and therefore we should be looking to it for much help and guidance. It has problems to face created by the movement of beneficiaries across state lines. I need only mention the aged, and dependent children. It has problems created by the movement of insured workers across state lines. It has a definite concern in the whole problem of public assistance, in which transient relief is included. The Social Security Board has an important place at the conference table on a national policy on migration.

*United States Public Health Service.*—The problem of the health of moving people needs greatest consideration. The Public Health Service sees transiency, or movement of people, as one of the reasons for the National Health Program. It realizes that spread of disease through transiency needs very careful study; that the venereal disease program and the tuberculosis program are both seriously affected; that the same kind of program is needed for moving people throughout the country as for the static population.

*Department of Labor.*—For some time the Department of Labor in its various bureaus has given consideration to the problems involved in migration and transiency. Recently, before the hearing of the LaFollette committee, Secretary of Labor Perkins recommended that the Social Security Act and the Wage-Hour Act be extended to cover workers on industrialized farms. It is reported that she pointed out that migrants should get the benefit of Federal social legislation and held that the states had been lax

in extending to them the protection of workmen's compensation laws, accident prevention laws, and child labor laws.

The problem of migratory labor was the subject of a series of conferences held recently among a number of government agencies. The question was discussed at the Secretary of Labor's Sixth National Conference on Labor Legislation in November, 1939. This conference stressed the national character of the problem which had been forcefully called to the attention of the Conference, and urged the Federal agencies to coördinate their efforts, to undertake such studies as were necessary for action, and to plan programs of action on the basis of facts known or shortly to be gathered, including the giving of immediate relief.

An outgrowth of this discussion was the Interstate Conference on Migratory Labor held in Baltimore, Maryland, February 12-13, 1940, sponsored jointly by the labor commissioners of four states—Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia. A full report of this conference and its recommendations has been circulated, and follow-up activities have been launched in all four states. Briefly, the Conference stressed the need for more exact information as to (1) the extent that migratory labor was used in the four states; and (2) the extent to which local labor might be drawn upon to replace migrants. The recommendations of the Conference stressed (1) strengthening the public employment service as an agency for placing seasonal farm labor; (2) control of the abuses of the labor-contractor system, through state and Federal regulation; (3) elimination of child labor in industrialized agriculture; (4) extension of the same opportunities and services for education, school attendance, health, relief, sanitation, and housing to migratory labor as are available to the residents of the communities in which they work; (5) assumption of these responsibilities by the community and the states with Federal aid to assure equal opportunities and services for migrants (as well as for residents) where state and community resources are insufficient, with the proviso that such Federal aid be made available on condition that the states and communities receiving aid agree not to discriminate between residents and migrants.

The labor commissioners have kept in touch with the Federal

groups represented at Baltimore and are assisting in planning surveys which are being made by three Federal agencies. The Employment Security Division of the Social Security Board and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture are now making a joint field survey in the principal crop areas along the Atlantic coast, designed to secure facts on the demand for labor by crops and by dates, the availability of local resident labor to meet this demand, and the extent to which migratory labor will be required. The Farm Security Administration, working with the two above-mentioned agencies, is making a schedule study of farm labor in the principal crop areas, using migratory labor, along the Atlantic coast. This study will yield information concerning the number and proportion of migratory laborers in the several localities, the systems of hiring in vogue, the methods of providing transportation, the methods of wage payment and earnings, the number of persons in the family employed, etc. In addition to its farm labor study, the Farm Security Administration is extending its labor-camp building program to the East. It has two camps now in operation in Florida and three others in process, making a total of five—three for Negroes and two for whites.

While agricultural labor has held the center of the stage in these discussions, it has not precluded consideration of other types of migratory labor, such as that in canneries and service industries. In addition, the Division of Labor Standards is preparing a draft of a bill to provide for Federal licensing of interstate employment agents and aiming to control some of the abuses of the labor-contractor system in so far as the system extends across state lines.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, under the Department of Labor, is active in such ways as it can be. For instance, it was charged with making and publishing the recent report on "Migration of Workers." This bureau feels definitely the need for statistical information on mobility.

One cannot report on the interest and activities of the Department of Labor without calling attention to the continued interest and activity of the Children's Bureau, especially in the migration

of young people and in the children of migrant families. The recent White House Conference on Children in a Democracy recommends the following:

1. Financial responsibility for interstate migrants should lie with the Federal Government since local public opinion and existing settlement laws and other statutes deny assistance or community services to many migrant families. In the actual provision of such facilities and services, the Federal Government should operate through state and local authorities wherever practicable, but should take direct responsibility for their operation whenever necessary.

2. State and local governments should take financial and administrative responsibility for families which migrate within state boundaries. Actually, groups of migrant families often include both interstate and intrastate migrants. In the provision of services, therefore, Federal, state, and local governments should work out coöperative plans which will assure the provision of services to families when needed, regardless of where ultimate financial responsibility may lie.

3. Government employment services should take responsibility for the orderly guidance of migrant labor in seasonal employment in agriculture and other occupations.

4. Plans for the employment of migrant families should take into account the desire for resettlement of those families for which seasonal labor is only a makeshift and whose primary desire is to carry on independent farming operations.

5. To deal with the more immediate and also the continuing problems of agricultural workers and their families, which constitute at present the majority of migrant families, it is desirable that measures relating to wages and hours, collective bargaining, and social security be extended as soon as practicable to all agricultural labor, with such adaptations as may be necessary to meet their needs.

6. Housing and sanitary regulations should be made applicable to the shelter of migratory and seasonal labor, and adequate appropriations and personnel should be made available to the appropriate agencies to enforce these regulations.

7. Long-range measures that may prevent families from becoming migrants should be introduced both in agriculture and in industry—in agriculture by such means as preventing soil erosion and soil exhaustion, and helping farmers to meet technological changes and difficulties of financing operations; in industry by measures to offset technical and economic changes that result in communities being stranded because of permanent discontinuance of local industries.

*United States Employment Service.*—The United States Employment Service is one of the governmental agents needed in whatever program is followed. It should be in a position to give necessary employment guidance to all nonresident workers. The Employment Service's experience in the state of Texas, which has recently been described in the *Survey Graphic*, is one illustration of an apparently effective way in which labor service can work to alleviate surplus labor conditions and prevent wasteful migration in search of jobs.

*Department of Agriculture and the Farm Security Administration.*—Space does not permit a lengthy description of the excellent work of the Farm Security Administration under the Department of Agriculture. This administration has extended aid to migrant agricultural workers through loans and grants. In a recent report the Administration states that it has made loans to 395,000 families in Dust Bowl states in an attempt to keep them on the land. In addition to this basic program designed to keep farmers on their farms, the Secretary of Agriculture is now sending letters to borrowers throughout the Midwest urging them not to consider migrating to California. It may be interesting to know that the total sum reported as loans to farmers in six states is \$140,943,530.

The Farm Security Administration has established its well-known system of migratory labor camps, not only in California, but also in other Western states and in Florida. It is concerned with the elimination of the evils of tenancy and has financed the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association in California through which limited relief funds are available, or have been available, to migrants. The Department of Agriculture through its Farm Security Administration unquestionably has very much to offer toward the national policy on migration.

*Works Progress Administration.*—Formerly the Works Progress Administration issued various reports on the Federal Transient Program, including *Migrant Families*, *The Transient Unemployed*, etc. In this bureau there is a great deal of available information that should be useful to whatever group plans the national policy.



*Department of Education.*—Those concerned with the problems of education certainly have indicated their great concern over the educational disadvantages of children in migrant families. This, of course, is closely related to the whole problem of differentials in educational standards that are found in various parts of our country. Undoubtedly, the Department of Education must be drawn into whatever program evolves.

*Department of Justice.*—This department has a very special concern with migrants, since there is so much loose talk about the number of criminals in the transient group and since there are various viewpoints with regard to fingerprinting moving people, especially single unattached men. This department is also concerned with the movement of parolees across state lines and their protection and return to useful employment. In this connection the department has raised questions about the use of local and county jails, not only for overnight care for unattached men, but for the care of youth and even of children under sixteen. It should be drawn closely into the councils of those planning the national program.

*Department of the Interior.*—This department has several concerns relating to this problem. One is the use of migratory labor in the various work projects which it sponsors in its national park system. It is also setting up at the present time an extensive tourist or travel bureau which, from another point of view, has implications for the problem of moving people.

*Census Bureau.*—It is not necessary to call attention to the fact that this bureau will have information that should be drawn upon.

*National Resources Planning Board.*—The National Resources Planning Board, in coöperation with various government departments, is undertaking a study dealing with population growth in different parts of the country and the opportunities for economic development. This will continue some of the work previously undertaken by the board in its regional planning monographs and its publications entitled *Problems of a Changing Population* and *Technological Trends*.

The focus of the work will not be on the immediate relief problems of migratory workers, but will be on the relationships



between the problems faced by the migratory worker and his opportunities. Migration is regarded as one of the methods by which adjustment is effected in a nation in which varied living standards prevail and in which economic changes are proceeding at different rates. The National Resources Planning Board, therefore, will plan its study along these lines.

*Tolan Committee.*—So much, then, for the Federal agencies. As I said before, coördination and coöperation are the two important needs. We are hopeful indeed that a way toward bringing about a coördination of effort is opened for the immediate future in the newly created Tolan committee. This is the committee authorized by House Resolution 63, providing for five members of the House of Representatives to study and recommend legislation relative to interstate migration. The members of this committee are John H. Tolan (D), California; Claude V. Parsons (D), Illinois; John J. Sparkman (D), Alabama; Carl T. Curtis (R), Nebraska; Frank C. Osmer (R), New Jersey.

We would not presume to lay out the program for this committee. Whatever lines it pursues, we believe that it will arrive at conclusions that are well considered and that should lead to a concerted national policy. The speech which Mr. Tolan made to the House of Representatives, April 22, in support of the resolution, raised the many questions which groups throughout the country have been raising, and it would appear that on the basis of these questions the study under the committee will go forward. Some of the questions include:

1. What are the provisions for relief, for education, for housing, for health, and for resettlement of nonresident persons and families in every state?
2. What are the sources of and ultimate destinations of the moving groups?
3. What are the best ways for helping people to become more stable and to make the life of a migratory worker more normal?
4. Are the problems of moving people made more complicated because of the conflicting local laws and state laws relating to citizenship, migration, homesteading, and relief?

5. Is there anything the Federal Government can do to forestall or soften the effects of interstate migration?

6. Should migration be stopped?

7. What is the size of our mobile labor reservoir? That is, what is the total number of persons involved in this movement from farm to city and city to farm, and what is the number of destitute families?

8. Can the resettlement of these people upon small plots of land be soundly advocated until we have appraised the success of the resettlement efforts of the Federal agencies from an independent and critical viewpoint?

9. What do we know about the cost, the treatment, and the proposed remedies to alleviate the wasteful effects of intrastate as well as interstate movement of workers?

10. Is the temporary housing which has been developed in seven states under the Farm Security Administration a wise program? If so, how extensive should this camp program be?

11. Is any type of state action affecting migration constitutional?

Mr. Tolan concludes by asking the question, "What can an investigating committee hope to accomplish?" and partially answers his own question by saying,

We can make some definite recommendations as to the most valuable suggested solution. Migration has always been a normal, healthy, and valuable safety-valve in American economy. I believe that after study and a well-considered definition of the national responsibility, assistance will be given within the limits of that responsibility. But first we must have the true picture based upon an independent search for facts.

As Mr. Tolan's committee gets under way, it would seem to me that our responsibility as citizens and as social workers is to lend every aid to the members of this committee in their efforts to work out the definition of national responsibility which we believe and have reason to know from our experience may be most effective. This will mean that we must call into use the various methods of democratic government: conference and consultation, with compromise and acceptance of conclusions.

I cannot plead too strongly for an understanding coöperation

with this group, then an understanding and intelligent acceptance of whatever conclusions are arrived at. The committee cannot arrive at these conclusions alone. If we do not walk and talk with them as they examine facts and prepare conclusions, we shall have no reason to appear either in agreement or in disagreement with the program they propose. It is highly important that we accept wholeheartedly the need for united effort and that we actually participate in united effort so that the Congressional committee can be a spokesman and can deliver to the proper authorities a well-ordered program of national policy on migration.

## STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATION FOR COPING WITH INTERSTATE MIGRATION

*Philip E. Ryan*

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THE FINAL DEVELOPMENT of an adequate program for the care of nonresidents and migrants is not dependent solely upon Federal action; rather, it requires coöperation on all levels of government. States and localities must not only demand Federal financial participation and leadership, but they must also be prepared to participate in a coöperative program and be willing to assume some responsibility.

Judging from the headlines, editorials, and state legislative action, the states are not at the present time ready to do their part in the development of such a program. Not only to strengthen the demand for Federal leadership and financial participation, but also to prepare the way in the states and localities for a desirable and comprehensive program, organization and activity on the state and local levels are absolutely essential.

I am not attempting to outline an administrative program for states or local communities for providing assistance to nonresidents. Rather I want to describe briefly the activities of local transient committees, to explain the structure and functions of the few state-wide transient committees, and to list certain conclusions which should serve as points of concentration for old as well as newly organized committees.

It is necessary first, however, to give some attention to the efforts toward this end which have been made on a national basis, and to note the present situation with regard to such nationwide activities. As you know, there was appointed in 1932 under the National Social Work Council the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless. This committee, composed of a small group of national leaders, and with a limited budget, did a great deal to

focus attention upon the relief needs of transients. It is not necessary to describe these activities here. They have been adequately recorded. Then, in 1938, this committee realized that concentration upon the relief needs of transients was not enough. It saw that the problems of interstate migration vitally affected many other interests, and in view of that realization it brought into being the Council on Interstate Migration.

The Council secured the membership and participation of many other groups outside the immediate field of social work. Contact with state and local committees was maintained, and it was particularly successful in developing among Federal departments and agencies an interest in a coördinated approach to the problems of interstate migration. In fact, we may have worked too well toward this end, since during the past year at least four committees in the Federal Government have been attempting to establish a coördinated approach to these problems! The Council had a sound organization plan, its methods were effective, but its financial structure was weak, and in September, 1939, the Council had to "cease firing," because of lack of funds. Its assets were transferred to the National Travelers Aid Association, with which the committee and the Council had been closely associated. The National Travelers Aid Association remains the one national private agency equipped and willing to provide leadership for the work which must be done.

With this background of national effort, let us see what has been done by local and state transient committees. During the life of the Committee on Transient and Homeless and the Council on Interstate Migration, over a hundred local transient committees reported to the national organization. These local groups are usually part of the Council of Social Agencies or are attached to the community chest. I have attempted to classify their activities under four major headings; but as usual with such classifications, there are some activities which just won't fit. In general, however, I believe that it is possible to group the work of local transient committees under the following headings: (1) securing information about the problem; (2) surveying resources for aiding non-

residents; (3) focusing attention on the problem; and (4) working for legislative action.

The first classification, namely, "securing information about the problem," includes those activities of local transient committees which are aimed primarily at the collection of material for self-education or for other uses. Some committees have attempted to count the number of needy nonresidents in their community on a particular day or night. The information thus secured does not, of course, give a complete picture, but it does provide some indication of the trend of the problem.

Information has also been secured through the establishing of central registration bureaus, through which applications for assistance are cleared. Of course, it is true that such a bureau cannot be operated where there are no agencies giving assistance to nonresidents.

Transient committees have in a number of instances encouraged other agencies, either singly or together, to make studies of non-resident applications. The Milwaukee transient committee can take considerable credit for the study made during the month of March of this year by the State Department of Public Welfare, as well as for a concurrent study by the private agencies.

The activities which may be included under the heading "Surveying resources for aiding nonresidents" are, of course, closely related to the activities already described. They are distinct, however, in that they are not directed merely toward an analysis of the problem presented, but rather toward a critical examination of the available facilities for granting assistance to nonresidents. Such a study was made by the Toledo transient committee some years ago, in which information was secured and published concerning a number of agencies in that city. The material included information as to the number of available beds, the case loads of the agencies, intake policies, feeding facilities, etc. A somewhat similar study was recently made in Schenectady, New York.

Under this heading, too, there may be included the more informal contacts which the transient committee may have with agencies providing assistance to nonresidents, in which attempts are made to make better use of existing resources and facilities.



The major work of transient committees is to be found under the third classification, "Focusing attention on the problem." While the first two are necessary preliminaries, the main task of such groups is to call attention to the transient situation and the need for doing something about it. There are a number of examples of work of this kind, such as the securing of news stories and editorials, the holding of special meetings and conferences, interesting other organizations in the problem, and the publication of special bulletins and reports. Frequently local transient committees call the attention of other social workers in the community to specific aspects of the transient problem through meetings within the framework of the Council of Social Agencies. In Westchester County, the transient committees expanded this idea by holding an evening meeting attended by a large audience of Westchester County citizens. The committee had arranged for a presentation of the national, state, and local aspects of interstate migration. Members of transient committees have also appeared before meetings of other groups to tell the story of the transient. For instance, the problem has been presented in this way to members of the Parent-Teachers Association, the League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women, and others.

A few of the transient committees have been active in sponsoring or working for special conferences devoted to the transient problem. In Minneapolis, for instance, the chairman of the transient committee practically camped on the governor's doorstep until he called the Midwest Conference of Transiency and Settlement Laws. In Albany, New York, the transient committee sponsored a one-day institute in which, in addition to a presentation of the national and state problem, the results of a local study were announced.

There are a few examples of one type of transient committee activity in this attention-calling category which could well be imitated by other groups. Special brief bulletins devoted to particular aspects of the problem are published and are given wide distribution by the committee.

The fourth classification of the transient committee activities is described as "working for legislative action." The records of the

Committee on the Care of Transient and Homeless and the Council on Interstate Migration show splendid coöperation by local committees in supporting legislation related to the transient problem. But letter writing alone is not enough, and some of the committees have shown considerable initiative in legislative activity. They have studied and prepared statements regarding proposed national and state legislation. For instance, in New York City the transient committee worked out and published a statement of principles that should be considered in any legislative program for transients. In Cincinnati, state and national legislators have been invited to participate in transient committee meetings.

We should direct some attention to the structure and activities of state-wide transient committees. There are not very many, but the possibilities inherent in such organizations are tremendous. The success of these state-wide groups is one of the most encouraging of the developments in the field of interest in the transient. In the increase of the number of state committees and in the extension of the activities lies the most hopeful prospect for securing support for a nationwide coöperative program for interstate migration.

The first state-wide transient committee to come to my attention was that which was organized in Florida even before the closing of the Federal Transient Program. It was appointed by the governor and was composed for the most part of nonprofessional people selected from many different sections of the state. A number of the county sheriffs were members of this committee. Its major activity took place immediately following the close of the Federal Transient Program. At that time its work was directed toward the enactment of legislation to re-establish Federal responsibility for transients. Considerable credit for study of the migration of workers made by the Department of Labor needs to be given to the Florida group.

In California the state-wide transient committee was first appointed under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers. It was later transferred to the State Conference of Social Work, where it continues to be active. This committee has aroused considerable interest in the problems of interstate migration through its contact with other groups in the state. For example, a

few years ago they were successful in organizing a state-wide study of migrants by the California League of Women Voters. That study brought to the women of the League an appreciation of the many aspects of the migrant problem in California. The California state-wide committee may also be given some credit for the conference of the governors of the eleven Far-Western states, called last fall by Governor Olsen. The committee had been working for such a conference for over two years.

It is interesting to note the different ways in which the state-wide transient committees have come into being, and the different sponsorship under which they work. The Texas committee, for example, was established during the Federal Transient Program, at the request of Dr. Ellen C. Potter, chairman of the Committee on Transient and Homeless. The committee was appointed by the state transient director, and later became a part of the State Conference of Social Work. The Texas group has been particularly active in securing information about the size of the problem in Texas, through the coöperation of local committees and other local organizations. Its major emphasis, however, has been upon the strengthening, advising, and assisting of local transient groups.

The Ohio transient committee was appointed in January, 1938. This time the appointment grew out of the request of two local transient committees that the State Department of Public Welfare call a state-wide conference on the subject. As a result of this conference, the need of a state-wide committee was apparent, and the sponsorship of the State Department of Public Welfare was secured. The committee has been engaged in a number of different activities. It has arranged meetings in connection with the State Conference of Social Work, and on other occasions has presented the transient problem to various audiences. The committee has recently begun the publication of a bulletin which is distributed to the members and to a large mailing list of state and national officials. In addition, the committee has arranged to take a census of the number of transients in the state every three months.

The Louisiana transient committee was also appointed in January, 1938. The committee was a direct outgrowth of the excellent

work done by the New Orleans transient committee, affiliated with the Council of Social Agencies in that city. It is lodged in the State Conference of Social Work, but has a very close relationship with the State Department of Public Welfare, and its executive secretary is a member of the staff of the State Department. The committee was first known as the Louisiana State Committee on Transients, but within a short time changed its name to the Louisiana Council on Migratory Labor and Transients. As the name indicates, its emphasis has been upon the migratory-labor aspects of interstate migration. It has done an excellent job in putting before the public the fact that migratory laborers are needed by Louisiana, and that they are an asset rather than a liability. Its own committee members have made studies of migratory labor in various crops, and the committee has published these studies. The Louisiana Council has been particularly active in securing newspaper stories supporting its major theme, namely, the value of migratory labor. Feature stories and pictures are distributed regularly to newspapers throughout the state. It has also taken an active part in state legislation, and is now working for the establishment of state-wide committees in adjoining states.

There is one other aspect of the Louisiana Council that is worthy of attention at this time. Let me quote to you the composition of the group. It is described as consisting of:

ten interested laymen, ten persons engaged in various kinds of welfare work, and two professional social workers. These members represent all sections of the state and include a state legislator; a parish (county) department director; a director of a community fund; a staff member of the State Department of Public Welfare; a director of a hospital social service department; an advertising man; an insurance man; two professors (nationally known for their work in migration and populations problems); a state employment service official; an executive of the anti-tuberculosis society; a school of social work director, and two ministers.

In connection with the above description of the composition of the Louisiana committee, the reports which were made available to the Committee on the Care of Transient and Homeless and the Council on Interstate Migration prove, I think, that the participation of nonprofessional people makes for active and effec-

tive committees. I wish to stress, therefore, that existing committees should aim at having a large nonprofessional membership, and that new committees should be formed with this principle in mind. And now, too, that we appreciate the broad scope of the problems of interstate migration, it is likewise necessary to bring into such committees other fields of interest, such as health, education, employment, labor unions, civic organizations, and the law.

There are a few final points which I want to emphasize. These should serve as points of concentration for committee action, and may provide suggestions for new activities both by local and state committees.

1. Further attention needs to be paid to the fact that we are a mobile people. All of our legislation and our institutions seem to be founded upon the erroneous principle that America consists of a static population. Our legislation makes no provision for people who move. With the extension of the grant-in-aid principle, both on the state and the national level, further efforts need to be directed to the inclusion in the legislation establishing such provisions, a stipulation somewhat as follows: "The provisions granted under this statute shall be available without regard to residence or settlement requirements." It is time that we began to treat people as people, regardless of their geographical location.

2. While John Steinbeck, with his *Grapes of Wrath*, has focused considerable public attention on the problems of interstate migration, transient committees need to guard against the very real dangers which exist in this popularity. The Joads are but one type of nonresident, the migratory agricultural worker, the solution of whose problem rests primarily in the adjustment of our agricultural economy. In the public mind there is a tendency to identify all transients as Joads. Unfortunately, this tendency is present even among transient committees, probably in the hope of catching public interest in the problems with which they are concerned. Such identification, however, makes it easy to forget that there are many other types of migration problem, the solution of which does not lie in agricultural modifications. Consequently, it is necessary that transient committees be sure, in using *The Grapes of Wrath* for publicity purposes, that it be made clear that the



Joads are but a part of a much broader problem, not peculiar to California alone.

3. There is spreading throughout the states a defense against migrants in the form of the extension of settlement and residence requirements. Transient committees could well begin now to organize opposition to these restrictions. Memoranda might be prepared setting forth the reasons against the proposed changes. Other organizations need to be enlisted to strengthen the opposition, including such groups as the Bar Association, the Parent-Teachers Association, the League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women, the Commissions on Interstate Coöperation, and other equally effective and interested groups. The defense against such restrictions needs to be made ready now.

4. One type of committee activity has been mentioned in the body of this paper which is particularly worthy of imitation and extension. I refer to the preparation and distribution of bulletins and memoranda on the subject. This is not only an effective educational technique for the public and for legislators, but it also serves to maintain the interest of the committee members and to keep the committee moving along a well-planned path. These can be brief two- or three-page mimeographed statements, simply explaining one phase of the problem whether in relation to the local or state situation or to national information or recommendations. A series should be planned so that at nearly regular intervals these bulletins land on the desks of your national and state legislators, in the offices of your public and private agencies, and in front of your newspaper editors. It gives each committee member a challenging assignment and at the same time pounds away at the task of obtaining public and legislative attention.

5. There is a great and crying need for more transient committees, particularly state-wide committees. The work of existing state-wide groups proves the value of these organizations. Much more needs to be done, and to you who are interested in the possibility of organizing either local or state groups, I am authorized to say that the National Travelers Aid Association stands ready to do what it can to assist you. While the assistance must,



of course, be limited, the Association does provide a national clearinghouse for private effort in the field.

When we do have more active local and state committees, we will have started on the way toward developing a sound national policy and program for interstate migration. We can then stop shouting that this is a Federal problem. We can begin to work for the joint acceptance of what is a joint responsibility.

## THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN A PREOCCUPIED WORLD

*Hertha Kraus*

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THE TERM "REFUGEE" HAS ACQUIRED a new meaning in these last few months. It brings to our minds millions of women and children in France, Belgium, Holland, fleeing from burning homes over shell-torn roads to the relative security of the metropolitan areas in some countries, of the moors and mountains in others. We think of old men and women, of the sick and the disabled, dragging some remnants of their worldly goods to an unknown destination, leaving without a chance for preparation, without a definite goal, and while they try to make an escape, still persecuted by the horrors of all-encroaching warfare.

We think of other groups of refugees, too: tens of thousands uprooted in Finland, in Lithuania, and in the southern Tyrol, ordered to leave their family homes at the shortest possible notice in a planned exchange movement, with distant goals for resettlement; a tragic army of migrants forced into mobility against their own desires and full of fears. All this is just another page out of the gruesome picture book of a revolutionary world period—pictures such as we have seen emanating in endless variety from China, Abyssinia, South America, and Europe, all in one lifetime. The exodus of the Belgians and French twenty-five years ago, of 1,250,000 Greeks forced to tear up their roots, of 250,000 Bulgars, of more than half a million Turks, may now be considered past, a completed resettlement. For those who were involved in it, not so long ago, it meant the same terrifying experience as the forced movement of the Armenians and the Assyrians, displaced in the late Ottoman Empire; of the refugees from Russia after the Bolshevik revolution and civil wars; of the political refugees from Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Poland. Our hearts go out to

all of these and many others already sharing, or about to share, their fate. Our minds practically refuse to accept their situation as hopeless. We consider it as a task to be mastered by pitching in with all our powers of intelligence, good will, and faith against the powers of destruction.

So many needs, so many tragedies, such an incessant appeal to our imagination and active sympathy—we are getting rather tired of it and wish to withdraw into the relative freedom and quiet isolation of our limited personal affairs. Shall we leave the refugees of today and tomorrow to their own affairs too? If we are guided by intellect and ice-cold reasoning only, we might well use this escape. But over and over again we have experienced, in the midst of chaos and our triumphing over it and over sheer reason, the compassionate power of the spirit which will tackle the impossible. "The difficult is that which can be done immediately; the impossible, that which takes a little longer."

We must try to break down the problem into more sizable, understandable units, try to understand basic differences among groups, try to create and mobilize such different resources as seem to meet the different needs, at least superficially.

The refugee from the war zones may need temporary help only, so far as we know now. He still has full claim to the protection of his government; he has full civic status; and his dislocation, terrifying as it is, need not force him to change his whole cultural pattern.

Among those who are in the midst of permanent dislocation we may well distinguish two groups. One group has been caught in the Central European plan for rearrangement of the lives of the minorities by returning them to the national majority with whom they supposedly enjoy close kinship. They may as individuals be in scant sympathy with such a rearrangement of their life plans and their loyalties, but they have reason to expect full civic status, full government protection, some provision for their maintenance, and help toward re-establishing their self-support. They are supposedly coming home, although they may feel much more strongly attached to the foster homes which they had to relinquish without any preparation.

There is a second group of refugees permanently dislocated. In Sir John Hope Simpson's study of the refugee problem, issued in 1939 under the auspices of the British Royal Institute of International Affairs, this type of refugee is defined as a person "deprived of regular protection, mutual support, and the measure of freedom of movement which happier mortals take as a matter of course." As a person

who exists in any country on sufferance only, and whose defencelessness lies in his inability to demand protection of any state, his plight is indeed serious. Outlawed, for all practical purposes, by his country of origin, having only a measure of regular protection in his country of refuge, he suffers under all sorts of disabilities. He has left his country of regular residence as a result of political events which render his continued residence impossible or intolerable and he cannot return without grave danger to life or liberty.

Thus, he has not sought a new country because of economic attractions, but primarily for shelter, driven by tyranny and panic and not by plan. His old world has been shattered, and he is bent upon escape, on reaching an asylum. What he actually reaches is the busy New World, teeming with its own problems, intent on safeguarding life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for those whom it accepts as its own.

To the New World, the newcomer is not an exhausted human being who has barely made his escape from overwhelming terror; he is just an immigrant, another alien, one out of millions who have come to these shores to be in due time defeated or absorbed by the American community, by that spirit which is America.

So, the newcomer, unprepared and exhausted, discovers by and by tasks of constantly growing dimensions: first the task of assimilation, of abandoning his national traits, and of absorption of new traits which do not blend with his traditional pattern. He meets with a whole set of new mores, new codes, and he is constantly committing social offenses against mores which he does not recognize as such. He is so eager to conform, but he does not know to what to conform, except in relation to the surface differences. How can he know that it is part of the American mores to be good-natured and pleasantly considerate in superficial con-

tacts; to hide grief and struggle; to express appreciation for partial achievements or even for an effort, irrespective of results; to cooperate quickly and without comment; to accept the trial-and-error method as a practical working way of getting things done? His own set of values is traditionally different in many respects. Even when he begins to recognize basic differences, he is not always ready to accept them as truly basic and important.

The world around the refugee is indeed preoccupied with many important issues not in the least related to him; but the refugee is also preoccupied. He is concerned with the problems of a war-torn world, 3,000 miles away, which is very close to him and of which he is still a part, but which seems rather distant from the pleasant, busy, polite American community. He is filled with haunting fears for the fate of friends and relatives who are still in Central Europe and those who, having found temporary refuge in European countries now overrun by war, are threatened again by the same sinister powers which they have just escaped. He feels in every nerve, day and night, their helplessness, imagines their desperate outcries for protection, the tortures of mind and body they are facing. He wants to do something to rescue at least a few of them—the very young, the very aged, those whose powers of resistance must be weakest—and he is completely preoccupied by fantastic schemes for their rescue. Here is a matter of life and death, tremendously urgent, calling for the utmost concentration and immediate action, something of absorbing interest to him, and to him alone. What does he care, just now, whether he has made another slip in social form, whether he has intelligently conformed to certain requirements which he has barely understood and which seem trivial to him in the midst of his own preoccupation?

May we plead for time for him and for some intelligent interpretative help so that he may begin to grasp the significance and power of the mores of his new country, the need for accommodating himself to them, the need for full assimilation as an essential goal for his new life? After all, it will be the quality of his human environment which will teach him an appreciation of American values and give him a desire to share them to the fullest possible extent. When he first comes he is ready to accept them in

gratitude—gratitude to a nation which through the fairest immigration laws in the world has given him permission to enter its country, not only for temporary refuge, but for permanent residence, endowing him with the right to seek employment; a nation which has felt so secure in its national characteristics that it allows the newcomer, with very few limitations, to take immediate steps toward acquiring the full rights of citizenship.

When the refugee first arrives, he visualizes America as a continent still in the pioneer stage, wide open to immigrants, underpopulated, full of opportunities for anyone who is eager to work, and actually in need of European skills. A rude awakening is bound to follow. The refugee begins to realize with a painful shock that the American community questions both his ability to function as a satisfactory wage earner in a new setting and his moral claim to find an opportunity for gainful employment. It may see him as a competitor, while he fully believes that European training and vocational experience are badly needed, and that he has something to offer for which America is waiting. Just as American mores are strange and bewildering to him, unreal in their significance, so is the pattern of American educational and vocational life. He needs help to understand realities and to face them frankly, but the busy American community, preoccupied with its own struggles for expansion and survival, can hardly be expected to meet, without interpretation, the needs of the stranger within its gates.

In recent days, the challenge of speedy assimilation within the cultural pattern and the challenge for vocational reorientation have lost a good deal of their significance under the impact of a new problem with which the newcomer is faced. What about his political loyalties? Is he ready to take sides against an aggressor nation which seems bent on the destruction of peoples and moral principles in an ever widening range? It is the same nation with which, until recently, he has been identified through many generations, whose language he cherishes as his mother tongue, of whose culture he was once proud.

It seems of singular significance today to have the refugee in this country face this issue with frankness and deepest sincerity. It



also seems important to help the community, demanding an unqualified answer, to understand the immigrant in a situation which may be considered ambiguous and yet which basically is not. The entire refugee community is on the side of democracy, eager to strengthen it and to see it victorious, willing to share any responsibility which may be involved in democracy's titanic struggle. The refugee has no political loyalty whatever to a government which stands for ruthless expansion and the destruction of minorities and which has forced him out by tyranny. He has experienced the poisoning, deadly power of its philosophy, and his mind is still filled with the unspeakable horror of his experience which can never be put into adequate words—words which would carry meaning to those who have not shared it. He has seen this same horror creeping over new territories, reaching out for further destruction, and he has pleaded innumerable times with the leaders and peoples of the democracies to wake up to the sinister implications of such a movement, to take action against it, worthy of free people who want freedom, and to consider the protection of human and moral values as their own treasured right and responsibility. These values have been in danger for some years now, and the stream of refugees from Central Europe and the dictator nations has borne living testimony to it.

Now the world is aflame, visible to all of us at last, due to the same powers and principles which have made outlaws and outcasts of peaceable citizens who had deep roots in the cultural and economic soil of their country. Can there be any question where these people stand now? What group could feel more strongly the need for a powerful socially minded democracy as a supreme form of government for all people who respect each other and love freedom?

There is another aspect of this problem, however, which the American community may also wish to understand. Most of the refugees have made a valiant effort to keep their own spirit free from hatreds and wholesale rejection of the majority group which has rejected them. They have tried hard to accept, without all-embracing bitterness, a fate which has singled them out as individuals and dealt them a crippling blow. But it is so much more

than an individual fate; it is another symptom of a titanic, world-wide conflict between the power of a dying capitalism and a new social order, slowly emerging.

The refugee's memories may be filled with sinister pictures branded on his mind in recent years of bitter plight, but there are other memories blending with them of fellow sufferers of every creed and race who must remain members of the old home community, inarticulate, deeply wounded, fervently hoping and working for a change. There are memories of friendly neighbors, much loved and tested friends, people who have been true to their own set of values despite threats and danger; memories of many, many kind and courageous actions, services shyly offered to an outlawed group; memories of deep resentment of the principles which made them outlaws. There are memories too of a centuries-old pattern of cultural life, identified with the country of Walther von der Vogelweide, Goethe, Kleist, Beethoven, and Bach; with hardworking, honest people in workshops and on farms, scattered throughout a countryside of soft and endearing beauty. Must all of these be forgotten? The refugee fervently prays for a victory of the democracies and of the eternal principles for which democracy stands. Is such a hope incompatible with thoughts of suffering fellow beings of whatever nationality? Is it incompatible with confidence in a survival of essential human values even in countries which have been subjected to the iron rule of a dictatorship and have accepted it temporarily?

The psychologist tells us that man has only two innate fears: the fear of loud noises and of losing support, of falling. All other fears are learned, and can be unlearned. Fears are creeping up everywhere today in our struggling, chaotic world. The very anguish of the battlefields of Europe, of the armies of refugees driven by armies of soldiers, reaches across the ocean to the American continent, which until recently had lived in isolation. We were unprepared for the terrible impact and will need time to rally. Because we have trusted so much and so easily to the good will and innate fairness of each and all, dictators included, we are sorely disillusioned now and begin to be very suspicious, even of the strangers in our midst, who were the first victims of the

tyranny which we are now beginning to understand in its true implications. They would not be here today if our government had not applied the principles and laws of democracy which have given them the privilege of asylum and a claim to a new national home.

Now it is up to the newcomer to express his appreciation in terms of a useful coöperative life and in free and willing acceptance of the American pattern of living. It is up to the American community, a people raised to respect individual differences, to give their new neighbors the basic security which comes from understanding; to provide, in American attitude and action, under trying pressure, the test of a strong, invincible, living democracy in which we may place supreme faith and trust.

## THE ESSENTIALS OF AN ADEQUATE RELIEF PROGRAM

*C. M. Bookman*

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ON MARCH 28, 1940, a group of social work leaders, ministers, educators, public officials, and others addressed a letter to the President. This letter stated in its introduction:

This memorial we address to you because of our concern for the desperate need of millions of our people and because of our conviction that these needs can be met only by prompt and effective action by the national government.

As President you represent the whole people of the United States. We, therefore, appeal to you because there are in this country today millions who are in need. Under your leadership great gains have been achieved through the development of extensive national programs of relief and social security. These were established to aid states in a task they were unable to assume. Since there is still a vast amount of unmet or only partially met need, we call upon you to use your great office to prevent undue curtailment of the WPA program and to remedy continuing inadequacies in current relief efforts.

Back of that appeal lie untold human suffering and destitution of men, women, and children in all parts of the United States. Tied up in that appeal is an earnest hope that the evident good intentions of the administration may be still further translated into helpful action.

In preparing this address I have had the assistance of Dr. Ellery F. Reed, director of the research department of the Cincinnati Community Chest, in analyzing the various pronouncements and programs issued by the American Association of Social Workers, many social work leaders, the American Public Welfare Association, and the reports of the various government departments charged with responsibility for work and relief.

While I accept full responsibility for the conclusions reached,

I am confident that these interpret in great measure the position of organized social work on the subject of a long-time work and relief program for the United States.

Unfortunately, social security and relief have become associated with the fortunes of the major political parties. We find it even more difficult in 1940 than in any one of the depression years that preceded it to get intelligent consideration of a long-range work and relief program. Social insurance, the WPA, the CCC, the NYA, and other efforts at security have come to be identified with the New Deal, both by those who favor and those who oppose the economic, social, and political theories of the present administration. The problems these various efforts try to solve are numerous and complex when considered by themselves, but when political expediency enters, they become almost insolvable.

If we can lay aside our prejudices and consider the various efforts at security on their own merits, I believe we will admit that greater progress has been made in the last seven years toward providing continuing security for large groups of our people than in any other seven-year period of our history. We have moved rapidly. We have done a great deal in a short space of time. We have been unable to stabilize what we have done. We are still confused over what is emergency and what has become normal. We have been so busy installing new measures that we have not carefully analyzed how some of these measures are working and the extent to which they are offering the security we intend them to offer. We have not been able to adjust our economic system to the load that has suddenly been put upon it. In correcting some inequalities we have created others.

Social statesmanship will consist in consolidating the gains we have made; in being willing to admit and correct failures; and, in being just as willing to recognize sound improvement when that has been the result. Is this expecting too much in a presidential election year? I am hopeful that it is not. Certainly we can say to all major political parties and candidates as they outline their programs for the four years ahead: The citizens of this country expect much from you and will have little respect for a party or a candidate who, whether in the guise of economy or in

any other guise, attempts to gain office or power at the expense of hungry, hopeless, destitute victims of an unprecedented depression era.

We see signs of returning prosperity. When it comes, is it to be a prosperity in which each citizen has a chance to share, or will the fortunate ones go their way, leaving behind the hopeless, defeated victims of the past ten years? Such a course would condemn the civilization we are trying to uphold and perpetuate. Opportunity of work for all, with as many and as varied programs of helpfulness as the needs of people demand and our resources justify, should be the objective as we endeavor to build our future security. Isn't there a common ground from which we can start consideration of our future program?

1. Can we not admit that the present policy of furnishing old age security in some form should continue, as well as unemployment insurance and the various categories of assistance now included in the Social Security Act? Isn't the problem which is before us that of how and when to extend the provisions of this act to include those persons who are not now included but who are as much entitled to the same benefits as the ones now receiving them? Certainly we do not expect our government to play favorites. Our social security should not be like an athletic event in which the prizes are for the strong and capable, or where first come are first served.

2. Must we not admit that the Social Security Act needs re-vamping in several particulars, especially in administrative setup?

The administration of the Social Security Act should be divorced from politics entirely and forever with a personnel selected through a merit system that has been approved by Washington and is compulsory on the states.

3. Can we not admit that general relief is wholly inadequate, and that there must be a long-range work and relief program as an assured method of giving help to those persons not covered by the act?

4. Has not the past ten years' experience convinced us that we must have a sound public works program to assist those unable to find private employment?



5. Has not the national nature of relief been demonstrated?

A few years ago the President of the United States declared that the Federal Government must get out of this business of relief. I presume that what he meant was that the Federal Government must get out of direct general relief, for the Federal Government at that very time established a far more expensive work-relief program through the WPA, and it has since developed the special assistance categories of the Social Security Act; also, surplus commodities, the CCC, and the NYA have been continued. Despite all these efforts, unemployment has continued on such a vast scale that these provisions have been unable to care even for the groups they were intended to cover. Large numbers of persons throughout the country have been left dependent on general relief and surplus commodities. General relief has been returned to the states and local communities and has been so inadequate that there is today a widespread condition that has been aptly described as "slow starvation." It has weakened the resistance of thousands of men, women, and children; has contributed to the development of physical deficiencies, illness, and defects; has broken human morale and, to a very serious extent, destroyed employability. The situation is so grave that far-reaching changes in our relief program are urgently needed.

With so many facts revealed by a large number of investigations and surveys, it does seem strange that anyone should doubt that the relief problem has become a national problem in all respects, with the possible exception of certain administrative features. One reason why it has been erroneously considered a local problem is that the people to be helped are at the time living in the local community, and relief of their distress must take place locally. Rehabilitation efforts, with case-by-case consideration, must be made at the local level. The details of administration need to be adjusted to local conditions, and the processes of administration should be carried out largely by people living in the given locality. In no other way can the citizens of a community be kept alert and sympathetic to the needs and willing to contribute taxes—local, state, or national—to meet those needs.

The point of view that relief in all its ramifications is a local

problem ignores many of the underlying conditions that make relief today a very different and much more serious problem than it once was. It cannot be handled economically nor effectively until its national nature is recognized.

Relief is a national problem in respect to its most important causes. The largest number of persons today on relief are there because of unemployment—and unemployment is definitely a national problem. Estimates of the number of unemployed at the present time range from nine to eleven million. While unemployment is greater in some communities than in others, each community is affected in its unemployment by national conditions over which it has no control. These facts are most important in considering the nature of a sound relief program. The causes of unemployment, its irregular distribution, as well as the great numbers involved, make unemployment relief a national problem of major importance.

Then, too, the present distribution of the national income is a cause of destitution, and problems of national scope have arisen in consequence. The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Home Economics in collaboration with the National Resources Committee made a detailed study of incomes in the United States during 1935-36.

The study indicated that 4,000,000 families, or 14 percent of the population of this country, had average incomes of only \$312 for the year; that 27.5 percent, or 8,000,000 families, had average incomes of \$758 a year; and 23 percent or 7,000,000 families, had average incomes of \$1,224 a year. In other words, nearly two thirds of the families in the United States were found to have incomes averaging \$1,224 or less a year. Certainly no one could question that at least 14 percent of them, with incomes of only \$312 a year, were living at an exceedingly low level. Are we surprised, with these facts before us, that there are widespread conditions of destitution today that call for positive action?

The statement of President Roosevelt that one third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed appears very conservative in the light of this and other studies. In fact, the lowest 14 percent of the families in the United States were found by this

same study to be consuming only 6 percent of the food of the nation. Their expenditures amount to slightly more than one dollar a person a week for food, or about five cents a meal. Such conditions must not continue to exist in America.

The uneven distribution of income among occupational groups is also a national condition which must be taken into account in determining the nature of the relief problem. Farmers make up 25 percent of the population of the United States but receive only 11 percent of the national income. There is a large unmet relief problem in rural areas, particularly in the South. Areas of drought, floods, and windstorms and exhausted agricultural lands, as well as areas where mechanized agriculture is taking the place of the one-tenant, one-mule homestead, have developed overwhelming problems of poverty and suffering and enforced migration. Such problems can be adequately dealt with only by national action.

The uneven distribution of national income among communities adds another phase to the national character of our problem. For example, some coal-mining communities and specialized industrial areas are concentration points of unemployment and its consequent destitution. These communities cannot begin to meet their relief needs without help from all of us. Can it be that we have overlooked the national nature of industry itself under its corporate form of existence? Wealth may be produced in one section of the country and flow almost uninterruptedly to remote financial centers. A corporation may decide to discontinue a plant in one city or seriously curtail the scale of production in another, leaving thousands stranded with no work and the community unable to do much or anything to relieve the consequent distress. Can we for a moment consider the relief that grows out of such an economic setup as a local problem?

The demonstrated fact that relief standards are almost universally low where need is greatest accentuates the national nature of the problem. An analysis of data gathered by the United States Children's Bureau in twenty-nine cities classified according to levels of living shows relief expenditures per capita of population from state and local public funds to be only one-half as much in

the cities with a low level of living as in cities in the more prosperous communities.

The same condition prevails in whole states, including their cities. For example, in November, 1939, Mississippi granted \$3.55 average relief per case for the entire month; Oklahoma, \$4.22; and Arkansas, \$5.33. Similar illustrations can be multiplied. In spite of surplus commodities and the WPA, large numbers of men, women, and children are in great need of the bare necessities of life in many sections of the country. This terrible inadequacy of relief where relief is most needed is a condemnation of the present system of locally financed public relief.

The financial limitations of local communities with the resultant inadequate relief allotments help to make relief a pressing national problem. Local communities are limited largely to general property and sales taxes and, with the best intentions in the world, they cannot adequately finance relief. Let us not forget the fact that those communities with the least financial resources have relatively the greatest relief need.

Brief reference must be made to a special group that has needs peculiar to itself: the migrant and nonresident group. The United States Department of Agriculture is authority for this statement: "At least 350,000 American families, more than a million men, women, and children, are wandering from state to state in a desperate effort to earn a living as migrant laborers." The social conditions under which these migrants live beggar description. In rickety automobiles packed with their only possessions they follow the crops, often traveling as many as 3,000 miles a year. Their only homes are wayside camps. Their children have little chance for education or medical care. Disease and malnutrition are common.

Can anyone question the national nature of their problem? These conditions are dangerous, as well as costly in the destruction of human resources. The Farm Security Administration has recognized this problem as national in character and has done most interesting and constructive work in so far as its limited resources have permitted. It needs the backing of an enlightened

public opinion as well as increased funds so that it may extend its services to all in this unfortunate group.

A large number of industrial and city transients and nonresidents constitutes a similar problem obviously national in nature and one concerning which the National Government has done nothing since 1935. One of the logical and sound aspects of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was its program for transients, but this program was scrapped along with the FERA itself in 1935. The neglect and punitive treatment of the transient and nonresident groups is one of the darkest and most wasteful aspects of the present reliance on states and local communities for relief financing. The problem of transients will never be remedied until the Federal Government again recognizes it as a national problem and forever brings to an end the passing of these unfortunate people from city to city and state to state after the local community has fed them for a meal or two from the crumbs that fall from the scantily served local relief table.

Evidence can be piled upon evidence that we must recognize the national nature of our problem of relief and attack it in the same courageous way that other problems have been attacked. Present-day conditions and facts must be recognized. The present reliance on the state and local community to finance general relief is unsound, inhuman, and disastrous. It is important that the most careful study be given immediately to the formulation of a long-range work and relief program. Fortunately, an extensive study is being made by a committee of the National Resources Planning Board. I think we may confidently expect that this committee, after diligent research and with unmeasured opportunities for collecting data, will be able to present a sound long-range work and relief program.

Relief in whatever form it may be camouflaged cannot take the place of a real job. I am optimistic enough to believe that the economic resources of America are such that a way will be found to furnish work opportunities to practically all our people, even to many of those now classified as unemployable. But even in the most perfectly organized society of which we can conceive, there



will always be a residue needing help. We must plan to furnish help to these people in a humane, efficient, civilized way.

The problems out of which the major portion of relief needs arise today are of such a nature that a logical and intelligent program cannot confine itself to direct relief. When all other methods fail and relief must be resorted to, people must be helped constructively if their relief is to be effective. This, of course, is an old principle of social work, but such large numbers need help today that giving them help involves large-scale national organization. In addition, the conditions that create need must be faced nationally and corrective measures instituted without delay.

The national situation, with its wide differentials of employment and unemployment, its areas of population pressures, areas of worn-out agricultural lands, and blighted industrial areas, indicates clearly the necessity for a national program that deals with the problem of resettlement for many of its victims. People in these areas need assistance either to re-establish themselves in their own communities or to migrate and establish homes in more favored areas. An effective resettlement program involves an adequate employment service, vocational guidance and training, and financial help for the people in stranded areas so that they may take advantage of training and vocational opportunities. Such a national program should be worked out with careful regard to the circumstances, capacities, and aptitudes of individuals and families. In other words, case work principles must play an important part. We certainly do not want forced or arbitrary movement of people by government agencies.

Large-scale planning and proper development in large areas of the country for the purpose of utilizing to the best advantage their natural resources are involved in such a program. The Tennessee Valley Authority has undertaken a very significant experiment in rehabilitating and developing for their proper usages the land and resources of the Tennessee Valley area. It is to be regretted that the "power" feature of this experiment has been the part that has received the most discussion. If the reclamation feature of the experiment is a success, it may go far toward providing a measuring stick for resettlement and reclamation projects else-



where, even if it does not prove to be a measuring stick for power developments.

We should be willing to consider with open minds the principle that if industry cannot put men to work, government should do so to the extent that is feasible and possible. Unemployment as it has existed for ten long years cannot be borne indefinitely. If we are to increase the national income, men must be given the opportunity to work and produce wealth. Any other theory is unsound and any other policy is too dangerous to contemplate. Out of human want, economic breakdown, and unemployment arose many of the isms of Europe. Human needs must be met as a first responsibility of a society, or that society is in real danger.

As one part of a security program, men who are employable but unable to secure employment in private industry so far as possible should be put to work on socially useful government projects which will utilize their skills and abilities. Two things only should be required for eligibility for such work: unemployment and the necessary qualifications for the work to be done. Eligibility for relief should not be required since this generally means that families are subjected to the ruin and the tragedy of complete destitution before being given employment.

Inhuman and wasteful as this policy is, nevertheless, it is now the common practice under WPA regulations and local work-relief programs. Sound social policy requires that public works programs be done on an efficiency basis and paid for at hourly rates of wages, meeting minimum legal requirements and standards, that prevail for similar work in the localities where the work is performed. The dignity and much of the benefit of work are destroyed when men are forced to work on substandard projects and for substandard wages. Such work is punitive; it is a badge of defeat, not the recognition of worth which every honest man so much desires and so much depends on for self-respect.

Public works of this type need not and should not interfere with private industry or private placement and should not be such as to displace regular government employees. The cost of public works projects should generally be borne partially by the local community, since these projects, of necessity, should be of

special value to the local community. The PWA has demonstrated that such work, while expensive, yields substantial values in return and so produces wealth, and in the long run is economically sound. Low-cost housing; reclamation of land from drought, windstorm, flood, and erosion; reforestation of denuded hills and mountains; building safe and efficient highways, rural schools, and hospitals; and rural electrification are but a few of the great worth-while public works that await the willing hands of the unemployed. These and other similar projects should be undertaken on a large enough scale to be effective, especially in times of depression.

Some type of social security has become an accepted policy of all enlightened governments including our own. The social security measures we have adopted should be perfected, developed, and extended as rapidly as practical to those who are not now included but who are just as much entitled to them as those who are included. Probably the most glaring omission from these measures is health insurance. At the present time we are in the position of providing unemployment compensation for the well man who loses his job but denying any compensation to the man who is unable to work because he is sick.

What of the special or categorical assistance programs under the Social Security Act? These special assistance programs provide relief or security for certain groups, such as the aged, the blind, and dependent children. They have had a great and increasing usefulness in our national relief program. Our social security efforts were probably developed through these categorical programs because it seemed to be easier to secure public approval and support for them than for general relief. These special types of assistance have grown rapidly so that now they bulk greater in both the number of cases and the money expended than the total public general relief in the United States. Careful study of those included and the amount of the grants shows that these programs must not be considered as final since they do not aim to protect some groups as much entitled to such coverage as those now included. Furthermore, we are not making full use of the present measure. Appropriations—local, state, and Federal—

do not now take care of all dependent children, all the aged, nor all the blind eligible under the present laws.

The experience of the past five years has made doubly clear that it is disastrous from the standpoint of humanity, of the conservation of human resources, and of public economy itself to return financial responsibility for direct relief entirely to the states and local communities. Federal assistance and Federal help in setting the standards that should be established and the outlines and principles of administration are needed.

While there is some difference of opinion among social workers, there seems to be a somewhat general agreement that the Federal Government should apply the grant-in-aid principle to general relief as it does in connection with the special assistance categories of the Social Security Act. The very wide differences in the extent of unemployment and relief needs in different parts of the country, the tendency for the need to be greatest where the resources are least, and the extreme suffering which has resulted from the present policy seem to indicate that the Federal Government should finance a rather high proportion, probably two thirds, of the cost of carrying the total relief load, at least until unemployment is brought under control. Even with such a generous Federal grant-in-aid, experience and study indicate that resources in some communities and some states for this purpose are so meager and the need so extensive, that a Federal "equalization fund" would be necessary to supplement the regular grants-in-aid in such areas.

The broad general outlines and standards of administration of a national relief program should be determined by the Federal Government somewhat along the lines set up by the FERA in 1933. While I believe fully that administration of the details of a general relief and work-relief program should be centered in the local community, I also believe that sufficient control should be exercised nationally so as to avoid a wide variation in standards. Furthermore, if the Federal Government is to make grants-in-aid to states and local communities for general relief, it is fair and logical, as well as expedient, that the Federal Government should exercise some general control over administration.

There needs to be careful thinking on the question of administration. There are general principles and standards that it seems to me should be enforced by the Federal Government in a Federal grant-in-aid program for general relief. To be specific, it is suggested that the Federal Government adopt and enforce the following administrative requirements as conditions under which it would make grants for general relief:

1. It should be required, first, that approved plans for handling general relief should be submitted by each state just as is now required before Federal grants are made under the Social Security Act.

2. Selection of personnel on a merit basis according to approved standards should be a condition of Federal assistance.

3. Proper accounting and reporting should be required of the local community and the state on a uniform basis prescribed by the Federal Government.

4. The national rulings should insist upon the furnishing of relief on the basis of need with no arbitrary restrictions. Anyone who has studied the arbitrary restrictions now prevailing in many localities will understand the need for such a provision. All too often we have heard these and other reasons given for refusing relief: The individual is eligible for old-age assistance; an employable member of the family is certified even though not assigned to the WPA; the wage earner is only temporarily ill; the employable member of the family has a nonacceptable work record; the family is not worthy of relief.

Just what it is expected should be done with families who are hungry but classed as unworthy, I do not know. In some instances the application of these arbitrary restrictions results in so much suffering that chloroform might be a more humane suggestion. Such regulations disregard human need as a base for eligibility. In many cases they work great injustice and suffering. Under a Federal grant-in-aid plan for general relief, the Federal administration should insist that general relief be based, case by case, on carefully ascertained need.

5. Minimum budgets that will provide health and decency

should be assured as a condition for Federal assistance for general relief.

6. Basic human need should be the first claim on available funds. Relief funds should not be used for relatively expensive work programs for some clients while others virtually starve. This seems an obvious principle, yet under the present prevailing system of relief in this country, it is widely disregarded. If work relief is undertaken as a part of a local general relief program, using in part Federal funds, it should be done only after the essential needs of all have been assured.

7. If local work programs are developed, using in part Federal relief funds, it should be required that prevailing hourly rates of wages be paid and the requirements of minimum wage laws met for a sufficient number of hours to satisfy essential needs of the family involved; otherwise, such labor may be justly characterized as forced and unfair. In considering the advisability of establishing work-relief projects on the local level as part of a general relief program, we must not be misled by the ineffectiveness, in the main, of present local work-relief programs. For example, the present programs can undertake only those projects remaining after the WPA has made its selections and are consequently quite inferior. Then, too, it is suggested that standards be set nationally when Federal funds are used in part.

8. No unreasonably low or arbitrary limitations should be placed on expenditures for service and administration in connection with relief. Such limitations result in excessive case loads per case worker and, consequently, in inadequate investigation and rehabilitation service. Such limitations are, in fact, wasteful of public funds.

9. The Federal administration should require as a condition of grants-in-aid that there should be a proper coördination of security and relief programs on Federal, state, and local levels. This should normally include the administration in county welfare departments of all forms of relief which involve Federal grants-in-aid. Similarly, grants to states should be made to a state welfare department that coördinates similar programs. Many of



us believe that the same process should also be followed on the Federal level through a Federal department of welfare.

What is to become of the WPA in a national relief program such as I have outlined? The WPA has been too much maligned. It has accomplished a great many things that will be permanent benefits to communities all over the country. The WPA in a recent report stated that it has assisted during the past five years a total of 7,000,000 unemployed needy persons, who with their families number approximately 20,000,000 men, women, and children. The WPA during this period constructed approximately 4,000 schools, 150 hospitals, 6,400 recreation and community buildings, and built or improved 470,000 miles of road. The list of other services is too long to be included here, but it is an impressive one.

There have been charges that the WPA is politically controlled and wasteful in operation. I am not much impressed with the evidence submitted. I am, in fact, reassured of the integrity of democratic government when so much money can be spent on often improvised and emergency programs in the largest cities as well as in the smallest hamlets of America with so little demonstrated waste or graft.

While I have disagreed with the WPA program from the first as a relief program, I do not wish to pass judgment on it as an emergency measure to speed up recovery if the pump-priming theory is accepted. I do not believe anyone knows the extent to which it has helped speed up recovery. My criticism of it is entirely as a relief program or as a public works program or, to put it another way, as a program that meets the needs of the nation's unemployed and their families. As a public works program it did not meet the prime requisite of providing employment for qualified men who were registered for work but not necessarily for relief; nor was it operated entirely on an efficiency basis. Men were selected from the relief lists, and thus need was made a prerequisite of securing a job.

Through this process public works took on the characteristics of a relief program. As a relief program, it is inadequate and unfair. At no time has it employed all the employable unem-



ployed. At no time could there be a certainty of its continuance even at the level it was at any one time operating. In the severest weather some work had to be suspended, and the workers were dependent entirely on local relief grants. In 1939 the WPA absorbed about 43 percent of all relief funds in handling 36 percent of the relief cases, while many in just as great need received little or no relief at all.

If we admit all the virtues claimed for the WPA by its warmest friends, we cannot overlook the fact that Bill Smith, living on the north side of Bank Street, who was fortunate enough to secure employment through the WPA, had a fairly ample income to care for his family; while Sam Jones, living on the south side of the same street, who was just as employable and just as needy, was forced to live on a very much lower and very much more inadequate relief budget, often no more than one third of what his neighbor received. Neither can I forgive the WPA for classifying the unemployed as "employable" and "unemployable," killing what little hope is left in the hearts of thousands of men that some day they may be once again independent workers providing for their own families. Even though such classification seemed advisable, I cannot understand why the Government should place the strength of the nation back of those who can work and force the more destitute who are sick or unable to work on the uncertain relief programs local communities are able to finance.

I am not prepared to say how the WPA program would have worked or whether it would have proved to be too expensive if it had been supplemented by a Federal general relief program. I feel strongly that the first concern of our government in its program of relief should always be to meet the essential needs of all our people and then to make available all possible funds for real work on an efficiency basis independent of relief and on a limited therapy basis in connection with general relief. The FERA in 1935, its biggest year, granted relief totaling \$1,433,000,000 to 5,058,000 cases. The WPA the next year, 1936, paid \$1,592,000,000 to 2,544,000 workers. In other words, it cost the WPA \$160,000,000 more than the FERA to care for one-half the number of cases. The WPA has never been able to provide jobs for

all of those it accepted as its special task. In 1939 it supplied employment for less than two thirds of all the employables asking for WPA work.

What the Federal Government did, in fact, when it discontinued the FERA was to adopt a more expensive relief program and pay all the money to a fractional part of the needy unemployed, leaving the rest unprovided for except as they could get relief from local sources. I am fully aware of the theory of the Federal Government back of this program. It was its belief that through this method the states and local communities would be forced to aid the unemployables and thus the maximum amount of money would be made available for relief. The theory simply has not worked out.

It would be a tragedy, however, to do away with the WPA or unduly restrict its operation until something more satisfactory is provided in its place. It will be noted that the national security and relief program as outlined in this address includes, first, a public works program on an efficiency, not a relief, basis. The public works program probably can be improved over the present PWA by profiting from the experiences gained by the WPA. This recommended public works program would be open to anyone unemployed who has the skill and ability needed for the particular work available. Projects should be planned well in advance and should take on such characteristics as to employ the largest number of persons needing employment at their particular skills as shown by statistics gathered continuously by an improved employment service.

Under the general relief program above outlined, there is also provided the possibility of locally operated work-relief programs on a therapy or individualized basis in connection with the general relief administration—operating, of course, under definite standards set by the Federal Government. It will be recalled that such local work-relief projects were developed in the FERA program in its early days.

The CCC and NYA programs for youth have been comparatively little studied or discussed. They deserve more attention than they receive. They have been devoted to constructive pur-

poses for unemployed youth and youth seeking educational opportunities. In 1939 the CCC gave employment to approximately two hundred and eighty-one thousand young people, and the work program of the NYA added 235,000 more. The NYA also assisted an average of three hundred and seventy-five thousand young people to continue in school. These forward-looking programs have permitted the inclusion of only a small percentage of the unemployed youth of America.

The greatest challenge that confronts this nation today is the millions of young people with little or no chance for either education or employment. We certainly do not want the regimentation of youth for the purposes that prevail in totalitarian states. However, we do want these young people to have opportunity for a normal life and development; otherwise, they will lose confidence in the institutions of America and in democracy itself. Opportunities must be furnished to them in a broader and more inclusive way than we have attempted under any of the present programs.

The essentials, therefore, of an adequate relief program as here outlined include:

1. The acceptance of relief as a national problem.
2. Population adjustment or movement relative to national resources and industrial and agricultural changes.
3. A public works program on an efficiency basis.
4. The strengthening and perfecting of the insurance and assistance provisions of the Social Security Act.
5. A general relief program on a Federal grant-in-aid basis with minimum standards set by the Federal Government. After providing for essential human needs this general relief program might include a limited amount of work relief adapted to the individual need of the client.
6. The selection of all welfare personnel on a merit basis.
7. A national program for migrants, transients, and nonresidents, financed and administered entirely on a national basis but coördinated with other relief programs on the local level.
8. An extension of the Federal Government's efforts to assist youth through such programs as the CCC and the NYA.

Such a program would not eliminate a single constructive feature of the present program but would strengthen it immeasurably in places where it has been proved weak. It would bring hope, as well as help, to millions of persons who, through no fault of their own, have been desperately in need of a friend.

## GENERAL RELIEF: ANOTHER CATEGORY OR A BASIC FOUNDATION FOR PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION?

*Harry Greenstein*

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IN 1933, FOR THE FIRST TIME in the history of America, a vital national principle was established, namely, that the Federal Government has a definite responsibility for the relief of its distressed people. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was accordingly created and vast sums of money were appropriated. It is unnecessary at this time to review in detail the successive steps which followed, the broad program of the FERA, the organization and liquidation of the CWA, the creation of the WPA, and finally, the passage of the Social Security Act, with the corresponding state legislation and appropriations.

In 1935 the Federal Government announced its determination to withdraw from the field of general relief. Since then a sharp difference of opinion has developed with regard to the best method of financing and administering this fundamental aspect of our public welfare program. There is general agreement on the basic principle that government should care for those in need. The conflict arises in attempting to apply this principle to our different levels of government.

The following points are made by those who hold that the Federal Government is fully meeting its share of responsibility for relief through the WPA and through the different provisions of the Social Security Act. It is argued that the Federal Government must adhere to its philosophy of giving work and not direct relief to the unemployed; that it would be fatal to mix the two, otherwise we will be playing into the hands of those who are

anxious to provide an instrument through which a direct thrust and attack can be made on the work program. Grants-in-aid to states for direct relief would mean the whittling away and ultimately the abandonment of the work program. This would result in a general lowering of relief standards to the unsatisfactory low levels now prevailing in many states. It is also stated that with very few exceptions state and local governments have ample resources to provide for general relief and there is no reason why this responsibility should be transferred to the Federal Government.

The other school of thought, which includes most of the social workers in this country, insists that the Federal Government should be concerned, and ought not to limit its responsibility to any small fraction of the population in need; that in the final analysis it has a stake in the welfare of all of its people who are in distress. Furthermore, it is urged that it is entirely sound for the Federal Government to provide grants-in-aid to the states for general relief. There is little difference in principle between a general relief program and categorical assistance in so far as Federal responsibility is concerned. It is emphasized that there is no fundamental reason for considering the individuals and their families on general relief as any less worthy or deserving than those on old age assistance, aid to the blind, or aid to dependent children. This country has not yet accepted the principle that pensions should be provided for all aged persons as a matter of right; old age assistance is now granted to "needy" aged persons on the basis of a more or less strict appraisal of family and individual resources. All public assistance and all general relief provided on the basis of need necessarily imply the use of a needs test. The only reason for selecting special classes or categories of needy is to obtain for those classes more adequate funds or higher standards of care. In principle all those special classes and residual general relief cases are fundamentally alike in that they are needy persons dependent upon the community for support.

Furthermore, even when we look at the individual cases, we do not find any essential difference. The man of fifty years of age who has developed heart trouble and can no longer work at his



trade may be just as deserving of public assistance for himself and his wife as the older man at age sixty-five who can apply for old age assistance. The family of a young man who has been injured in an automobile accident may be just as worthy as the widow with minor children who can claim support under the aid to dependent children program. And certainly no one would contend that the able-bodied unemployed man who has to accept general relief because no jobs are available on the WPA is any less deserving than his fellow worker who was dropped from private employment a few months earlier and who is now at work for the WPA. The stigma which is so often attached to general relief does not belong there any more than it does to the other categories of public assistance. The cases on general relief are as worthy of Federal support as the others.

What are the realities of the present situation? When the Federal Government took the position that direct relief was the primary responsibility of state and local governments, something vital was taken out of the relief program. The withdrawal of Federal funds for relief has resulted in a low grade of pauper treatment over wide areas. There has been a reduction in relief grants, lowering of personnel standards and administrative practices in many sections of the country. Intense suffering and demoralization attendant upon harsh and oppressive relief measures have been the rule for vast numbers of people during the past few years. Only a few months ago we witnessed the sorry spectacle of bread lines and near starvation in one of our most populous and prosperous Midwestern cities.

Many local and state governments have not taken over, and are unable to assume the residual relief burden left with them by the Federal Government. They are financially unable to do so because of constitutional and fiscal limitations.

There is certainly convincing evidence that there are many sections of the country where needs are not being met. Prevention of suffering and want now and for years to come can be accomplished only by the coöperation of the Federal Government in every phase of the relief problem. It is no answer to say that the Federal Government has set up the WPA to provide jobs for

those in need, or that millions of dollars are being made available to state and local governments for the different categories of assistance under the Social Security Act. Cuts in appropriations for relief and the eighteen-month clause, which makes necessary the automatic dismissal of all workers on WPA projects who have been on the rolls more than a year and a half, have made the problem even more acute. Authoritative studies reveal that all of the combined relief measures now in effect are inadequate; that there are certain groups of needy families for whom, except for certain surplus commodities, no relief of any kind can be secured. WPA jobs available through existing funds fall far short of present requirements. While offering the opportunity for work to a large proportion of those in need, withdrawal of Federal relief has, in effect, abandoned the remainder of families in need to a precarious existence, dependent upon inadequate and often nonexistent local resources. Great numbers of able-bodied employables cannot secure placement on projects because of quota and other restrictions. This group of able-bodied persons added to those who have been arbitrarily labeled "unemployables" make up a vast number of individuals. Funds needed for direct relief have placed a drain on available local and state resources which threatens the adequacy and continuity of relief in many areas. Relief allowances, already in many instances below levels necessary to maintain life and health, have been pared. The greatest single obstacle at the present time to a stable public welfare program is, undoubtedly, the unwillingness of the Federal Government to take any responsibility in the field of general relief.

There is another important reason why the Federal Government should provide funds for general relief. National attention has been focused in recent months on the migrant problem. The general public is now aroused to the seriousness of the problem. Federal and state commissions are studying the possibility of developing a work program for transients, of providing social security benefits, and also of making relief available for those for whom jobs cannot be found. The old FERA program for transients was abandoned. Nevertheless, everyone agrees that by its very nature this problem cuts across state lines and therefore

cannot be dealt with by the states alone. Federal funds should be made available for the care of transients.

Would Federal participation in a direct relief program be a threat to the WPA or a Federal work program? On the contrary, it could serve to support the work program in a way not now possible. One of the criticisms leveled against the WPA is that it is impossible to develop sufficiently diverse socially desirable projects to utilize to the best advantage the skills of those on work projects. As a result, the unemployed in many instances are artificially fitted to the projects, with loss of efficiency on the job. If relief funds were available to care for those who are not employed on the WPA, or who are cut off, the projects could be developed on a much more selective basis, and the residual relief group could be cared for through Federal and state funds. This would serve to strengthen the WPA or any Federal work program rather than weaken it.

No one urges relief as a way of life. The obvious remedy for unemployment is employment, either in private industry or under government auspices. If under government auspices, work should be provided without a needs test. Where the work program is not adequate to meet the existing needs and where there are not sufficient jobs to go around, Federal funds for relief should be made available. It is tragic but unfortunately true that economic conditions have created a surplus of workers who cannot at the present be absorbed in industry and who must be cared for in some way.

Assuming, then, that it is vital that the Federal Government should accept some responsibility for general relief, what is the simplest and most likely way in which such a program of Federal aid might be implemented and administered?

Here again there are divergent social work philosophies and conflicting points of view. One group feels very strongly that the only way to advance our public welfare program is through categorical assistance. It is impossible, this group urges, to make progress through general undifferentiated mass relief. It is much more effective to focus public attention on particular problems such as the distinct problem of disability, of unemployment, of

old age, of aid to dependent children, of the blind, etc. The public can instantly identify and visualize these problems, and by finding social answers to the care of these groups we shall go forward.

The creation of categories has helped to secure large appropriations for special needs which would not otherwise have been possible. They have also developed a militant and loyal group of supporters who have prevented reductions in appropriations and who have aided in safeguarding the public welfare program. The necessary appropriations for a general undifferentiated relief program cannot be sold to Congress and to state legislatures. The public accepts categories of relief much more easily as a basis of helping people in need.

With a great deal of persuasiveness the point is also made that we can look back to the days of general institutional almshouses and see how successful we were in promoting the total social work program by taking out the insane, the tubercular, the dependent children, the aged, and the sick from the undifferentiated group of destitute people receiving institutional treatment. On the other hand, it is argued, likewise with a great deal of force, that it is merely confusing the issue to say that we must have either categorical relief or the alternative of a destitution level for all other groups.

We do need to classify our problems into different categories, but not necessarily to treat people by these classifications. The advocates of noncategorical assistance also call attention to the fact that categories are based upon the principle of insurance which has no relationship per se to the field of public assistance and merely tends to confuse the issue. We should make a clear distinction between categorical insurance and categorical relief. Insurance is presumably on an actuarial basis, supposed to provide automatic benefits. The giving of relief is based on need.

Categorical assistance is extremely difficult to administer because of the artificial limitations so frequently written into the law, and creates a shadowland of pauperism for those groups who cannot possibly be included in the different classifications of need which may be developed on a categorical basis. It is

also urged that while in many instances the creation of categories has resulted in higher standards of assistance, the inevitable by-product has been to create a hierarchy of relief applicants which has resulted in penalizing those groups who are not covered by the different categories. The situation in Colorado is cited as a classic example of the preferential treatment and the extent to which old age assistance has become a real threat to the maintenance of all other public services in the state.

A categorical system of relief inevitably must fail, it is further argued, because not everybody can be classified. There necessarily must always be limitations in administering categories with no realistic relationship to the needs of individuals and families. One group benefits at the expense of the other simply because one group may have a greater emotional appeal, or is more articulate, or politically powerful. It would, therefore, be better to abolish all categories, it is urged, and establish a general classification of assistance which would include every group regardless of the nature or character of dependency.

In the face of these differing points of view what program should be adopted which will best serve all those in need? It is important to recognize that a pattern of public assistance has already been developed which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to change overnight. It would seem wise to build on the foundation which has already been erected.

The easiest and perhaps the wisest approach to the problem at this time would be to add another title to the public assistance section of the Social Security Act, giving to the Social Security Board the power to administer this section in addition to the present categories. This provision should be broad enough to cover all those in need, not included in the present classifications. The Federal and state machinery is available; the state welfare departments, with their respective personnel, could administer the program without difficulty. These Federal grants-in-aid for general relief should be made available to the states on a 50 per cent matching basis. The Federal Government should be given the power to fix minimum standards of relief and relief administration. This, of course, is not an easy thing to work out, but



unless minimum standards are fixed by the Federal Government, we will find that even with Federal funds available for general relief, millions of people will continue to be maintained on an inadequate basis.

The program should also be flexible enough to include care of nonresidents. To bring this about will involve a change in the attitudes and prejudices which are all too widely prevalent at the present time. It is important that local and state governments accept the fact that nonresidents are simply a cross section of the general population; that in large numbers of cases economic conditions have made it necessary for individuals and families to be on the march; and that by and large they have the same strengths and weaknesses as residents, and are subject to the same problems and difficulties, though perhaps they are more complicated and aggravated.

How would the above program be related to the administration of the categories? If the standards of care are reasonably equivalent to those of the different categories, most of the past difficulties would disappear. When we had reimbursement of one third from the Federal Government for aid to dependent children, one half for old age assistance, one half for aid to the blind and nothing for general relief, the categories became sharply differentiated in the public as well as in the administrative minds. If, however, we have Federal participation in a general relief program, on the same basis of reimbursement as the present three categories, then the differences in large measure would become a matter of administrative convenience. The categories could be retained without impeding the program, and their value in dramatizing special needs and helping to secure necessary appropriations would remain. The lines separating the categories would tend to converge and ultimately would disappear.

Summarizing, then, we should think ahead in terms of a long-time program of public assistance and should work toward this end step by step. The existence of human needs should be the primary basis on which our total program should be developed. We should not attempt to break down at this time the categories which have been set up. It is certainly true that we have made



decided gains in our public welfare program through the development of categorical assistance. As our first step we should try to bring together in one unit of administration the various types of assistance and consolidate them in one administrative unit on local, state, and Federal levels. For example, old age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, and general relief might all be concentrated in a single agency with the same staff handling all types of cases. Special needs of particular clients could be met by adding specialists to the staff. This would be simpler and more economical than having different agencies with entirely different staffs. In actual fact, a large number of states have already moved in the direction of such an integrated assistance and relief agency, although there are other states in which two or more agencies administer such programs. Federal sharing in general relief is the key to the entire structure. Federal funds for general relief would help to supplement inadequate payments on other programs, and care for the residual load not eligible (or not cared for even though eligible) for any of the special programs.

We should, then, attempt to transform our poor-relief system in each state into a modern system of public welfare. Hopefully, we should seek Federal and state legislation and appropriations to help bring general public assistance up to the general level and standards that characterize the best categorical relief.

It is important that a carefully worked out equalization plan be developed in relationship to Federal contributions for general relief, so that each state shall bear its proper proportion of the financial costs to the extent that its resources permit, and so that the more resourceless states shall be able adequately to take care of relief needs.

It would also be desirable to increase the Federal grants for aid to dependent children. Experience throughout the country indicates that the burden falls heaviest on the families with only one or two children. This group represents by far the largest number of families receiving assistance for dependent children. These are the families where additional help is needed to provide adequately for the varying needs of children under care. Supple-

mentary grants are now being made from state and local funds to meet these needs, but in many sections of the country it is not possible because of lack of funds.

After we have worked out the above program and have secured Federal participation for general relief, flexible and broad enough to cover all needs regardless of length and place of residence, and have brought together the different types of public assistance in one administrative unit, we will then be in a position to level out any inequalities and inequities which may exist, and to fill in all gaps in our program.

Since 1933 the Federal Government has made a notable contribution in the development of a new sense of social responsibility for our people. We should constantly extend the partnership which now exists among the Federal, state, and local units in the field of public welfare and try to develop an interrelationship and an interplay which will make for complete coverage, for sound administration, and for coöperative effort.

## RELIEF, THE NO MAN'S LAND, AND HOW TO RECLAIM IT

*Edith Abbott*

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THIS CURRENT YEAR IS THE BEGINNING of the second decade of the tragic era that we have come to call "the depression," and this decade has seen revolutionary changes in our social welfare system. In spite of the vast changes and the wonderful new sources of help that we have been organizing in these last years, a great army of people whom we call our clients is still there, clinging desperately to the relief lists—men, women, and children who are still destitute and in tragic despair of getting the help they need.

We have had several revolutions in methods of dealing with the relief problem, but we find ourselves still with a vast number of unemployed and their families dependent on general relief, or excluded from general relief when they are in desperate need—as full of despair as they were a decade ago. The tenth year has passed, and a new decade has begun, and we are still trying to understand why, even with vast new undertakings in the field of social welfare, and in spite of the very large sums spent for relief, the sufferings of the unemployed can be as severe as we know them to be at the present time. We have not yet found a way of release for our clients, and the people at the bottom of the ladder continue to carry the heaviest burdens of the depression.

There are now reported to be 1,000,000 persons on the WPA waiting lists, and I believe that recent excellent statement issued by the American Public Welfare Association indicates that during the past year there have been more than a million. Of course, I do not need to tell you what it means to be on these waiting lists; these people are certified as being in need, but when WPA jobs are not available, many, probably most of them, are not put

on relief, because large numbers of local communities will do nothing for them. They are people in need; they are without money for rent, for shoes, for clothing, and they are eating surplus commodities or remnants of food picked up here and there, and hunting through garbage cans. These are the indignities to which we have subjected these honest, hardworking people who are unemployed through no fault of their own.

We are the greatest and the richest country of the world—and we let our unemployed men and women, citizens of our great republic, go hungry and subsist on the most inadequate doles of food grudgingly handed out. The children of the unemployed have not had shoes to go to school or decent clothes to wear. We would all agree that in spite of the FERA, the CWA, the NIRA, the WPA, the CCC, and the NYA, our unemployed have been driven from pillar to post, from garret to basement, and then put in the street.

There are many theories about what to do, and I shall begin by suggesting that whatever we do there is one thing we must *not* do. We must not turn the unemployed back to the states and minor local authorities, either on a grant-in-aid basis or on any other basis, and the responsibility of the unemployed who in 1935 were returned to cities, townships, and counties should be assumed by the Federal Government.

Some of our friends have proposed to turn over to the states the large funds now being spent for the Federal work program and to let the states determine whether they will give work or relief, and the kind of work that they think is desirable. There has been some inclination on the part of social workers in some areas to accept this as a desirable policy, and I wish to emphasize the dangers that lie in this direction. If we turn these funds and this program to the states, we shall have not forty-eight, but hundreds of miserable substitutes for the great national work program. What we shall have has been shown in the varieties of local "work for relief" now being carried on in state after state. In an important article in a recent *Survey Monthly*, Mr. Gill, of the WPA, gives some facts about these local projects that are very interesting. He tells us that such work programs are operating in

at least twenty-four states and that nine other states have legislation authorizing such work. In individual states the percentage of total relief families with local "work for relief" jobs ranges from less than 2 percent in Virginia to over 25 percent in Kansas.

These unemployed men and women working for their inadequate relief allowances are constantly creating new additions to the army of the unemployed by displacing those who were formerly regular full-time workers in public employment. We are told that local relief clients who are given "work for relief" are frequently "performing regular functions for which it would otherwise be necessary to employ regular municipal workers." These relief workers are found acting as "janitors, cleaning and making repairs on public buildings, cleaning streets, and doing light maintenance work on streets and highways. In some communities they are collecting garbage. In one eastern city, when the sewage disposal plant became stopped up, relief workers had to clean the disposal vats because the city engineer stated that there were no other funds available."

That is, we are told that there is an "inherent trend" in these local work programs toward the displacement of regular public employees by cheap "labor for relief."

Ten years ago there was more than an even chance that our clients who asked for help would be given aid by a private social agency. But in this decade there has been a great change in all of our work. The last number of the *Federal Social Security Bulletin*, which gives the assistance statistics for 1939 for 116 urban areas, shows total expenditures of \$1,275,000,000 for public assistance, with 99 percent of this work done by the public agencies and with only one percent by the private societies in these 116 cities. However, these private agencies are still very important even if the percentage of the work which they do directly is a small and decreasing percentage of the total volume of services for our clients. For the private agency directors are the great interpreters of social work and they often are, as they should be, the staunchest friends of the public agencies that now meet the needs which they know are far beyond the scope of private agency

resources. They should be busy, and large numbers of them are busy, with constructive planning for this great 99 percent of the people who need help but who must now be cared for by a public agency.

We need now a united effort in a great reclamation movement. What are we to reclaim? We are to reclaim the long-lost land of opportunity which has been taken from our self-respecting American working men and women.

There is a wonderful book that was written and published in the late eighteenth century—a very beautiful book, written by a poor French immigrant and called *Letters from an American Farmer*. Like all our millions of immigrants who have been coming to this country for more than three hundred years, he gloried in calling himself an American. He tried to point out to the hosts of people still suffering in Europe under grievous burdens of wars and heavy taxes what he thought America had done for the poor of Europe:

In this great American asylum the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes . . . here they came. Everything has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men; in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger and war; but now by the power of transplantation, like all other plants, they have taken root and flourished! Formerly, they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. . .

And then the "American farmer" went on to compare his lot with theirs:

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him. His country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection and consequence; *Ubi panis ibi patria*, "Where bread is, there is my country," is the motto of all emigrants. . . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile depend-



ence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to vigorous and rewarding toils.<sup>1</sup>

This account, written by that immigrant "American farmer" in 1782, is the traditional picture of America for more than three hundred years. By offering them opportunities to work, we have lured millions of men and women across the seas. We have encouraged them to hope for success where in recent years they have found only defeat.

To reclaim this lost land of opportunity where men and women have struggled hopelessly to maintain their independence and have sunk into the morass of our inadequate relief system, we need something more than new grants-in-aid. We need to open new frontiers and give these people new hope of a life of self-respect.

An English statesman recently said that the lamps have been going out one by one all over Europe, and the destruction is so complete that we shall never see them lit again within the generation of those now living. That is true. But it is also true, and we must not let our Congress forget, that the lights have been going out in this country for millions of people since this depression period began more than ten years ago, and for millions of our clients the destruction and the demoralization are now so complete that the lights can never be rekindled. These people have lost everything and live in a wasteland where the hope of rescue has been growing dimmer and dimmer in the last five years. A method of reclaiming this vast area means a new recognition of the dignity of man. Let us face our issues squarely. These unemployed men and women do not want anything labeled "relief."

There are some among us who have been taught to call every form of state benefit, except the public schools, "relief," but this word "relief" has come to have hateful connotations from which it can never be emancipated. I hope and believe that we shall some time come to conferences when we shall not hear the word "relief" spoken.

<sup>1</sup> J. Hector St. John de Creveone, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782).

The policy for the future is to reach into this no man's land and bring out first one group and then another. Call them categories if you like that term. I don't like it because some of our friends have insisted on talking about "relief categories." That finished the term "categories" so far as I was concerned.

Let us make a new examination of this great problem. If we take all the unemployed off the relief lists—all the men and women who are able to work—this will include all those who have been certified for the WPA plus all those who ought to be certified for the WPA. If we did this, we should immediately reduce our relief problem in many areas by 50 percent. I propose that we take this great group of the unemployed and give the Federal Government complete responsibility for salvaging them. That is, a Federal system of work for the unemployed plus Federal responsibility for those not provided with work. No grants-in-aid for this group, no local work-relief systems, no hanging on to general relief—what we need is a continuation of the Federal work program with a new parallel Federal program for all the unemployed who cannot be given work.

I should like to propose, although I fear that it is not feasible now, that we put this new work and employment security division, this new program for the unemployed, in the Department of Labor. The care of the unemployed ought to be centralized there; the employment service which the "reorganizers" recently took from the Department of Labor ought to be restored to that department, and unemployment compensation ought to be placed there. If any group belongs to a department of labor, surely the unemployed belong there. They belong to a department of labor and not to any relief category.

However, I believe in being realistic, and since we now have a separate Works Agency, it would undoubtedly be wise to have this continued and to give the whole organization to the new Federal "Works" organization and let it take on the whole job. That is, the various forms of assistance to the unemployed—supplementing unemployment compensation, supplementing the wages from the work program when that is necessary, and, most important of all, providing unemployment assistance when work

is not provided for those able to work—certainly all belong together.

We have had five years of the great program that we call the WPA and we are determined that this program shall not be destroyed but that it must, instead, be enlarged and strengthened. We propose to bring this about, first, by the method about which there seems to have been a surprising amount of agreement at this conference—by abolishing the means test for the Federal work agency as soon as this can possibly be done. This obviously looks toward a combination in the future of our two competing services, the PWA and the WPA.

Second, we must find a way to prevent the tragedy of the past five years which has given work to some and starvation to others. I am convinced that this can be done only by making the same Federal agency responsible for all provision for the unemployed. I wish to go back to the time-honored labor slogan—the demand for “work or maintenance,” and this means maintenance on a self-respecting basis. We have here a basic demand that goes back to the very foundations of our democracy. What basis is there for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness if men do not have work, do not have food for their children, do not have a roof over their heads?

That is, this Federal agency must be made to provide not only work, but maintenance until work can be given, or until some new plan can be made for the unemployed man and his family—maintenance during a resettlement or retraining period—and special provision also for migratory laborers.

Now let us look more carefully at the proposal to abolish the means test and see whether we understand just what it will do to our clients. Both the American Association of Social Workers and Mr. C. M. Bookman have endorsed a work program divorced from relief, and I think we are all in agreement, in theory. This is our goal, our objective. But are we realistic about this? Do we realize just what this means?

How many unemployed are there at the present time? No one knows. But although there is a good deal of disagreement on this point, some reasonably satisfactory estimates are made. Mr.

Bookman stated that there were from nine to eleven million unemployed. I would say 12,000,000 myself. On the other hand, the National Industrial Conference Board makes conservative estimates, and their estimate a month ago was 9,304,000. Anyway, whatever figure you take, that is a very large number to employ without a means test.

The next question is: How many of the unemployed are on the WPA? You know the answer to that question. During the last year we averaged about two million, and the appropriation that will be available for next year will provide for only 1,320,000.

Now we see what is ahead. We believe in abolishing the means test, but we must agree, I think, in believing that no Congress will immediately combine the PWA and the WPA and set up a new program that will provide work on a full-time basis for any large proportion of our nine to twelve million unemployed. Since this is to be full-time work, a much smaller number of jobs will be provided for the same amount of money. If you could double the amount of money that the WPA has had for its part-time jobs, if you tripled it, quintupled it, sextupled it, and so on and on, you still could not provide work for all the unemployed. And the result will be that if the means test is abolished, and a full-time employment program substituted for the WPA, and Mr. Bookman's efficiency program of "firing the incompetent" is rigorously maintained, these clients of ours who are now on the WPA will not be employed at all. At least only a very small minority will be employed in the new program. That is, we may believe in theory, in abolishing the means test—I certainly do; it belongs in any statement of principles—but in practice we must at the same time concern ourselves about the millions who are at the bottom of the ladder and who will not get any work under any program which employs those who are not in need and sets up a work program solely on an efficiency basis.

It is at this point that I differ from Mr. Bookman. (It is at this point that the Chicago chapter fell out with the A.A.S.W.) Mr. Bookman apparently recognized this difficulty, but he would solve it by creating a new grant-in-aid system to take care of the un-

employed in a new general relief category. I wish to get this group of our clients out from any general relief program and give them a kind of service that no omnibus relief program can ever provide.

General relief is a survival of an old, inadequate, outworn system of social welfare. I am ready to go along with Mr. Bookman and the A.A.S.W. in asking grants-in-aid for general relief for those not in the unemployed group until some better method of salvaging other groups from this relief pool can be found. But I do not want the unemployed there. Theoretically, we got them out five years ago. I wish to remind you that the President is committed to providing for the unemployed in another way. The case against relief for this group was very vigorously put by the President in the famous message he sent to Congress on January 4, 1935, in which he discussed "the task of putting people to work."

In this message, having described the vigorous efforts that had been made by the FERA, the CWA, the NIRA, and the PWA, he came to what he called "the stark fact" that great numbers still remained unemployed.

A large proportion of these unemployed and their dependents had [he said], been forced on the relief rolls and the burden on the Federal Government had grown with great rapidity. Continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is contrary to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers.

Mr. Bookman proposes a grand new general relief pool with grants-in-aid. I agree with him, of course, in condemning the old system. I agree with him in his hope about some new things that he would like to see in the new system—good personnel, proper accounting, competent reporting. He thinks he can get this by waving grants-in-aid like a magic wand, but you know the old political personnel and the old hip-pocket method of record keeping are not going to be abolished by any new system of grants-in-aid for many a long and weary year. I agree that we



would have a somewhat better relief organization with new grants-in-aid, and I shall be glad to have grants-in-aid for the remaining groups, but even with grants-in-aid this will still be a ramshackle system of relief with forty-eight different kinds and varieties of inadequacies. And let us not forget that with the abolition of the means test you will have most of the WPA and most of those who ought to be on the WPA thrown on the new relief organization. Do you think your grants-in-aid will provide adequately for them?

Let me come back again to the time when the President announced his plan for the WPA, early in January, 1935. At that time he said the new organization would take care of those whom he called

the victims of a nation-wide depression caused by conditions which are not local but national. The Federal Government is the only governmental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. We have assumed this task and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States to give employment to all of these three and one-half million employable people now on relief pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment.

If we are to go forward and not backward, we must have a Federal program for the unemployed, Federally financed and Federally administered, and not a grant-in-aid program. A proper program for the unemployed must be a Federal program, because unemployment is a national problem; because it calls for heroic remedies and heroic expenditures that are beyond the resources of the individual states and beyond any but a national administrative system; because dealing with the question of unemployment calls for skilled and specialized administrators; because it calls for a pooling of the nation's best brains and most vigorous, courageous action, pooled on behalf of the whole forty-eight states instead of the grant-in-aid system with good work in one state and miserable, makeshift, halfhearted efforts in another.

Then there is that other magic word, "equalization," and we hear many proposals for grants-in-aid, always with the provision



that, of course, this must be on an "equalization basis." But how is this mythically fair distribution of Federal funds to be carried out? Magical formulas are produced, but it is no secret that these formulas do not work when vast sums of public money are at stake and every local statesman, not to mention the local politician, thinks he has as good a right to use methods of subterfuge and concealment of resources as the next one. We all saw the beautiful formulas that the skilled financial wizards set up for our old friend Harry Hopkins, and we know that Harry looked at the formulas and went serenely on his way distributing his funds by a kind of superguesswork process. The states that were successful in "playing poor" got more than they should have had, and others got less. The truth is, of course, that some states are unable—and others are unwilling—to carry the load, and the only method of true equalization will come through complete Federal support for a federally administered program. Everyone knows that there are "equity and justice" in the Federal taxing machinery that are entirely absent from local property taxes and local sales taxes. Therefore I emphasize as one of the great merits of the proposed Federal system that it provides a proper method of securing equalization.

Those of us who come from the West (and I sometimes think that most of the social workers in the East came from the West) are not afraid of crossing frontiers. The old method of relief that provided the only care furnished at public expense gave a kind of rude security that belonged to pioneer days. The poor laws were the covered wagons that carried people who were in need and in trouble over the frontiers of an earlier generation as the covered wagons carried our pioneer parents and grandparents westward to the land of promise. But the twentieth century demands that people should not continue to endure these same hardships in the settled country of today and in a country that is supposed to be a land of plenty.

Another president, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, said in one of his state papers that he believed that "the leading object of the government is to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of

life." Do you think the unemployed are going to have this "fair chance" after we throw them back from the WPA to forty-eight state relief programs and thousands of different county and township programs?

We need both courage and faith in dealing with this question—faith in our clients and courage to work out a new road to freedom that they can follow. I was asked recently how the details of this plan could be worked out, and I said that of course it would not be easy and there would be difficulties, but it could be done. The easy way is to go on along a well-worn path, whether it leads anywhere or not. But that is not the method of social work.

The way of the social worker seems very hard at times, and we often walk by faith. But if the work is hard, it is for that very reason, perhaps, infinitely rewarding. Social workers are not afraid of difficult tasks. We are not afraid of failure—we are only afraid of "living in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat"—and I have a firm conviction that several battles will have to be fought and lost before this frontier is opened.

I was asked to find a method on which everyone would agree. Last December I proposed this remedy at the American Public Welfare Conference in Washington, and if any of the delegates—any at all—approved it, they didn't speak up so that anyone could hear them. I proposed it at the White House Conference committee meetings on public assistance, and it was voted down with little argument. Finally I proposed it as a Chicago chapter delegate to the A.A.S.W. Conference, and there it was really discussed, and it has not yet been voted down. The A.A.S.W. is going to take three months to think it over before they vote it down, so we have made some progress. This is, in part, a system that has been used in Great Britain under the Unemployment Assistance Board since 1934, and used successfully. I commend it to your further consideration.

## PROBLEMS CREATED BY ASSISTANCE CATEGORIES

*Ruth Taylor*

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FOR SOME YEARS NOW the public assistance categories have served the country well in focusing attention on the problems of the aged, of the family of young children deprived of the earnings of the breadwinner, of the blind, and of the physically handicapped, and in securing for these special groups appropriations of public funds far in excess of those that could have been obtained for a lump-sum general relief program.

By looking at each category separately we have noticed the individual characteristics and needs of each group, and have thereby gained more knowledge of the special problems they present. In some communities, high standards of relief and administration in the categories have raised general relief standards or focused attention on their inadequacy. The country fully recognizes the many advantages that have been gained through the categorical approach to our relief needs. It is now time to face squarely the problems in public welfare administration that it has brought and to plan as constructively as we can to hold fast to the advantages of categorical relief while minimizing as far as possible its negative aspects.

The categories have brought more routines and procedures, more rules and regulations—in brief, more governmental red tape—into the relief situation. Hence we find generally throughout the country either higher cost of administration or less staff time for the vital social services to people, or both at once.

This high cost of administration of the assistance categories deserves more attention than it has received. The burden of paper work in relief—the costs of bookkeeping processes, the great expense of the constant audits of state and Federal Governments, the great amount of time required by clerical and social service

staffs in keeping not only adequate social service records, but also varying numbers of indices, forms, and financial statements—is a large item of expense for the taxpayers. In these days of pressure for economy in relief expenditures, we should study increasingly the difference in cost of administration of the complicated laws of some of the states such as New York, and the simpler laws of states like Rhode Island and Kansas, and should evaluate these costs in relation to the efficiency of the systems developed under them. The years ahead look increasingly difficult for taxpayers and, hence, for public welfare agencies on all levels, local, state, and Federal. If we value the type of work we have set out to do and the standards that we have fought to establish, we cannot turn our attention too soon to the task of economizing at every proper point. We should turn all our abilities to the problem of finding out how to safeguard the expenditure of public funds in this country without developing so vast a machine for checking and counterchecking that the machine itself expends more than it saves. Some state systems and some local agencies seem in danger of being strangled by their own red tape.

A second problem brought us by the assistance categories is the great increase in the artificial barriers between the client and the treatment of his special needs. In spite of the great funds expended in relief, it is frequently hard today to meet the client's individual human problem simply and promptly. The machinery is too obvious; when what he needs is help in his problem, we confuse him and his friends with talk of technical requirements, proofs of age, of citizenship, of length and place of residence. The artificial barriers of eligibility requirements and classifications generally produce misunderstandings on the part of the needy and of the public interested in them or of those already prone to complain about governmental red tape and inefficiency; they frequently result in hostility and unfriendliness toward public relief and public agencies. People in trouble—and the public, when interested in special cases—do not want to have too many conditions set or to be told why a thing cannot be done; they want help brought to the sufferer, and that right promptly, with

no excuses. In such situations our public assistance categories often seem to be thwarting and frustrating.

Along with the great advantage of state and Federal funds as aid to the localities in the assistance categories, we have the marked influence of financial considerations affecting our case work in ways not always helpful. In some states a decided tendency has been evidenced for the categories with their relative novelty and greater emotional appeal to absorb funds needed in part for established institutional programs or for the noncategorical relief functions, such as care of the sick. A lack of balance in program then occurs. Valuable, long-established services as fundamentally needed as those covered by the categories suffer through lack of funds, and standards of work established after long struggle definitely deteriorate.

In many localities the effort to juggle cases from nonreimbursable to reimbursable forms of relief in order to take advantage of additional funds from state or Federal sources has affected the treatment of individual family situations unfortunately. Aid to dependent children has been used in cases where children should have been provided for away from their relatives, even occasionally in a situation where definite neglect of the children is evidenced. Medical care has been given in the home instead of in the hospital in order not to lose the reimbursement which is available in old age assistance or in aid to dependent children, but which is lost through prolonged hospitalization. Aged persons who really want and need the protection of institutional life have been kept in the community.

Elsewhere juggling has gone on between the categories, effort being made to shift a family or an individual from one category to another where the rate of reimbursement is higher. This of itself might not influence case treatment unfortunately, were it not for the fact that it sometimes involves splitting relief responsibility for a family and providing for different members under different categories, as many as possible being crowded into the category offering the largest reimbursement. The complication resulting when workers from two agencies handle the same family or attempt to work out a coöperative basis for treating the fam-

ily group is most clearly evidenced in those states like New York, which have a general or home-relief system under city or town administration, as well as aid to dependent children and old age assistance administered under a larger governmental unit. Here the pressure for shifting cases or individual members of a family from one relief agency to another in order to get additional reimbursement is very great, and much of the workers' time is necessarily involved in making joint plans and maintaining coöperative relationships between agencies. In some areas the amount of time now expended in trying to secure evidence for shifting cases from one relief classification to another is exceeded only by the amount of waste involved in the increasing struggle to shift settlement charges.

The reimbursement aspects of the categories have brought about a great increase in auditing procedures and supervision. While the categories themselves are by no means wholly responsible for the situation, one of the dangerous trends resulting from emphasis upon the financial aspects of relief at this time would seem to be the growing influence of auditors and fiscal authorities generally in the actual case work field. In an increasing number of places in this country financial, even commercial, auditing firms seem to be extending their field of work to cover judgments on social service investigation, case recording, and treatment; and their judgments seem to be accepted by a public not too well convinced that social work is a profession in itself. The influence of auditors would seem to be at the present time a definite threat to social work standards and the wise handling of human problems.

Partly because of the financial considerations, partly because of varying emotional appeal, the categories have brought about in many areas an uneven treatment of equally needy human beings that confuses the relief client and his friends and at worst leads to a sense of injustice and resentment. Old age assistance frequently has a higher budget schedule than aid to dependent children; aid to dependent children cases are allowed a much higher standard than home relief. Yet the unemployed man may be as hungry as the oldster sitting in the sun, the children of a



home-relief family as cold as those of a widowed mother. In many communities, also, general relief is still given in voucher form; the public assistance grants, in checks or cash. The general relief clients seem, therefore, to be a less trusted group, a group set apart from other needy, and we develop in these communities an aristocracy in relief.

The existence of the categories has given an opportunity to pressure groups to exert themselves in the interest of a chosen classification and thus to increase the inequality and the injustice of treatment. In many parts of the country, it would seem that the aged have been made a preferred class over those under sixteen. Many of us have had the experience of finding ourselves arguing for a higher standard of relief for needy families with young children, only to be told that the particular section involved is more willing to give adequate relief to the old person than to the family group. In spite of deep sympathy for the aged, the wisdom of such a preference in our population will easily be questioned by any thoughtful person.

Another problem brought us by the categorical relief system would seem to be its insidious effect on many case workers, especially this depression generation of workers. Many are driven to overemphasize the financial aspects of case situations, the amount of reimbursements, the question of nonreimbursable expenditures, and competition in case costs. The worker becomes entangled in processes that must be followed through to satisfy the accounts of comptrollers—securing affidavits when checks go through without recipients' signatures, meeting time limits in presenting claims to insure no deduction in reimbursements. These financial considerations assume disproportionate importance in her thinking.

Under the pressure of rules, regulations, classifications, all of which the human mind so easily leans upon, there is a tendency to grow mechanical, inelastic, and inflexible in procedures. The workers often think routinely, in compartments; some of them, it would seem, fail to think, and follow the stereotyped pattern that they have developed. They retreat easily behind red tape and eligibility requirements as an excuse for their failure to see

and admit human need and, if necessary, their inability to deal adequately with it. In short, we tend to lose sight of the client and his needs as an individual in the pattern of regulations and requirements surrounding our work.

If we do not believe that the pension or the fixed grant per case is the ideal toward which we want to strive, if we believe that social case work—the wise handling of the individual or the family group with its own peculiar problems—still has much to give to us as a people, we must find ways of keeping alive in our workers the social service attitudes and standards that we have supported so actively in past years; our workers must keep in the face of all obstacles the vision of service to the individual for his especial needs. Eventually, then, when a happier day comes for public welfare, we may continue to progress toward those aims.

If along with all their great advantages the categories have brought us a number of attendant problems, we should now set about working to conserve the values we have secured through the categories and, at the same time, to lessen the difficulties that have arisen or increased because of them. If we had a general relief program everywhere throughout the country to fill in the gaps between the various classifications, part of our difficulties would immediately fall away; many injustices would be righted. We should work toward the establishment of such a program.

We should raise the level of home or general relief and its standards of social service to that of the categories. There should not be the difference in attitude toward and aid to the same type of human beings or families that there frequently is, and that a recent popular novel has attempted to portray. Many families in need of general relief are just as good citizens, just as anxious to maintain themselves, just as self-respecting, and just as much in need as those that happen to fall within the limits of the categories; they should not be handled at every point with much less consideration and adequacy.

A step in this direction would be taken if communities would increasingly work toward the recognition of need as the basis of all relief regardless of titles, and then work toward uniform

budget schedules and resource policies regardless of categories. For example, much can be done to eliminate injustice to individuals in a locality by a recognition of a uniform minimum food-budget schedule.

Many of our difficulties with the categories would vanish if we were to secure equality of reimbursement from our Federal and state governments. Why should old age assistance be subsidized more heavily by the Federal Government than aid to dependent children? Why should not general or home relief be subsidized as well as that kind of family relief now known as aid to dependent children? We would not have the juggling of cases into categories or from one category to another if the reimbursements were equal in all.

The requirements for eligibility in the various categories should be equalized and simplified just as far as that is possible. Residence requirements, citizenship requirements, evidence of need should be the same in all. We should be able to explain our public relief system to the man in the street without making out a many-columned table.

We should continue and enlarge our experiments in generalized case work, emphasizing at first the less thickly settled areas where one worker should cover all types of assistance cases in her territory. We should carry further our experiments in generalized supervision, even in those more thickly settled areas where we have not yet found it economical to have the same workers handle all types of cases. We need constant, thoughtful experimentation as to how best to handle the various categories with the least possible duplication and unnecessary administrative expense, with the best possible, the simplest, the promptest service to the family, while at the same time keeping our accounting of monies as segregated as may be desired.

The categories have served and are serving millions of our fellow citizens well. We have accomplished much through their use that would otherwise have been long on the way. Yet they are not perfect instruments, and it is our responsibility to turn our thoughts to their improvement.

## THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

*Donald S. Howard*

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CONCERN OF SOCIAL WORKERS and social agencies (as distinguished from that of the public and legislators) over questions about costs of administering public welfare springs for the most part from two interests: first, a desire to improve the services for which they are responsible; and second, defense against unwarranted criticism. The defensive interest, in the past at least, has probably overshadowed the more recent, increasingly constructive approach.

Need for defensiveness in connection with administrative costs has arisen from criticisms frequently advanced against social agencies, both public and private. Among these criticisms have been charges that, in proportion to what is spent for relief, too much has gone into overhead, that the cost of spending money is too high, that too much goes to administration and personnel and too little into the pockets of the poor. Frequently, instead of criticisms of the proportion of an agency's total expenditures that go into administration, social agencies are charged with inefficiency because they spend for administration and overhead more than some other apparently similar organizations appear to spend for these purposes.

Against attacks of these kinds a number of defenses have been used. One of these is to point out that although the term "administrative costs" has been taken over by social work from the field of business accounting, it does not mean what it meant in its native habitat where it has a more or less specific definition. At the time of its adoption, unfortunately, its meaning was not taken over along with the term itself. For this oversight social work has paid and paid, and paid dearly.

By the term "administrative costs" as used in business account-

ing, from which social work took it, is meant costs of general superintendence, management, and overhead which cannot be allocated to various subdivisions of a business. Wherever possible (and business accountants go to great lengths in this) costs are charged to various divisions, processes, or stages in doing whatever the business is organized to do.<sup>1</sup> These charges (allocated against various divisions of an organization, or against various stages of a process) are termed operating costs or costs of production. Expenditures that cannot in any logical way be included in these costs of operation because they are too difficult to assess against various units of the organization or stages in a process of production are termed overhead or administrative costs. Among these might be included the salary of a general manager or chief executive whose time was not allocable to subdivisions under his control or to stages in a process under his general superintendence. Further, costs of administration might include costs of a personnel division or an accounting unit that served an entire organization, but whose costs could not be allocated in any rational way.

When, in social work, we take the term "administrative costs" and include within it expenditures which, under a strict definition of the term, do not belong there, it is not surprising that persons accustomed to the normal use of the term sometimes feel that "too much is spent for administration," although there is no agreement as to what represents a normal expenditure for the administration of business.

In coöperation with several business accountants, not long ago, the writer analyzed administrative costs of the New York City Department of Welfare. These costs had been criticized as too high by a representative board appointed by the Mayor to review the work of the department. After this analysis, which showed that administrative costs when computed by methods suggested

<sup>1</sup> Some indication of the degree to which this principle is carried out is evidenced by the practice of charging against a group of machines, for example, not only the cost of operating them and supervising their operation, but also a proportionate share of the cost of rent, light, and heat of the building in which the machines are located. Should one machine break down temporarily, the costs of operation, supervision, rent, etc., charged to the whole group of machines is supposed to be re-allocated to apply—during the inactivity of the one—only to those actually in operation.



by business accountants were far below what they were when computed in the traditional manner, there was no further criticism.

A second device sometimes adopted by social agencies in meeting criticisms that too much is spent for purposes other than relief—commonly called “administration”—is to distinguish between expenditures for administration and those for service. This distinction is aimed primarily at the fallacy of including in administrative costs expenditures for everything which is not bread, butter, rent, clothing, or other direct aid for beneficiaries assisted by the agency. Among costs of service (as distinguished from administration) may be included such items as salaries of case workers who render service either to applicants or to beneficiaries aided by the agency. Thus, it is explained, beneficiaries receive not only that which is reported as relief, but also the service rendered. This obviously helps to reduce the proportion between that which goes to the poor and that which is required to run the administering agency. This device, however, fails to take account of the meaning of the term “administrative costs” as it is used by business accountants. Nevertheless, through its use the proportion which administrative costs bear to costs of relief and service will appear to be lower than when they are related only to costs of relief. In so far as this is accomplished, its use is doubtless thought to achieve an important end.

A third device used in social work to meet criticisms regarding administrative costs is that employed when costs of administering one agency are compared (usually unfavorably) with those of another. The essence of the maneuver normally utilized in such cases is to cry, “But you can’t do that!” To prove this point the defense proceeds to show that organization, programs, and accounting practices of different agencies vary so much that no valid comparisons of their administrative costs can be made. This is the tactic of the squid. It achieves its immediate purpose of overcoming criticism by muddying the waters and stirring up difficulties to prove that the attempted comparisons are invalid. For example, in recent battles of this kind it has been pointed out that salaries of doctors serving an agency’s clients were regarded as relief by one agency and as administrative costs by another. Costs involved



in the accounting work and check writing (no small job in itself) for one relief agency were included among administrative costs, while for a second organization these services were rendered by another city department and not charged against the cost of administering relief. One agency had borrowed its staff from another city department (without charging their salaries to its own costs of administration), while in another agency there were no borrowed workers. In one agency investigators in addition to their other duties made investigations for the WPA, whereas in another they did not. Differences of these kinds amply justify social agencies' claims that without minute scrutiny and careful refinement, comparisons between what are regarded as the costs of administering different agencies are of highly questionable value.

Devices mentioned are, as noted earlier, primarily defense measures. The first and second are attempts to minimize the proportion of total expenditures which are used for the administration of social agencies, and to reduce to the smallest possible figure expenditures that should properly be labeled administrative. On the face of it, this might appear to be a worthy purpose. In reality, however, there are many who object to it. With the growth of the principle of state and Federal aid for administration as well as for the cost of assistance administered, there arises a conflicting desire: to include in administrative costs as much, instead of as little, as possible.

From the point of view of the lower level of government there is an interest in getting from other levels as much money as possible for administration. Too strict an interpretation of administrative costs, therefore, would reduce the amount of reimbursement. From the point of view of the higher levels of government, there is also an interest in interpreting administrative costs as broadly as possible to facilitate contributions to (and incidentally to help in establishing standards for) as many aspects of local administration as possible. Thus there results a clash of interest between those who, for defensive reasons, want administrative costs to appear as low as possible and those who want the term interpreted as broadly as possible. Obviously, this conflict could be resolved in part, at least, by amending laws and regula-

tions to permit reimbursement for costs of both administration and operation or service. These amendments, however, would take time, and to many observers, doubtless, would be regarded as inadvisable. A second alternative would be to interpret administration as broadly as necessary to please the reimbursers and the recipients of reimbursements without regard to criticisms that might arise over failure strictly to adhere to the significance of the term "administrative costs" as used by business accountants, or over the expenditure for administration of apparently large proportions of an agency's total disbursements.

There is a fourth type of defense adopted by social workers and social agencies against criticisms of administrative costs. It is that behind which refuge is taken when costs of administration or service or both—however either is defined and however standardized the process of computation—are reduced to a percentage of the agencies' total expenditures. Relating these costs to the cost of relief is manifestly unfair since some of them, such as thorough investigation of resources and eligibility, result in reductions in the amount of relief given, thereby increasing the percentage of the total spent for administration. Similarly, many agencies render services (such as certification for the WPA and for Federal surplus commodities) against which no expenditures for relief are charged. Obviously, too, an agency expending for administration as opposed to relief a given proportion of its total budget could, by the simple expedient of doubling the amount of relief granted, reduce this percentage by half. Although there is little disagreement over the fact that comparisons with expenditures for relief offer no valid basis for measuring the adequacy or inadequacy of expenditures for administration or service, or both, there is as yet little agreement as to what basis of comparison would be better.

These several defenses which have frequently, and with justification, been used in the past will probably be used as occasion demands in the future also. In the future, however, there will be less justification for the purely defense tactics and rear-guard actions of the past. After all, if the term "administrative costs" is misleading, a new term should be found. If expenditures for relief are a poor base against which to measure administrative costs, a

new base should be discovered. Resorting to a term like "administration and service" does little to clear the air so long as nothing is done to break down these items or to show how much is spent for what.

To make it possible better to analyze costs so that they may be taken into account in improving efficiency, amending policies, and comparing one agency with another, a useful method would be the determination of various functions performed by welfare agencies. Such a method of accounting unit cost would require that the agency's operations be grouped into a limited number of well-defined functions.<sup>2</sup> Among these might be: (a) investigation of applications for assistance and determination of eligibility; (b) computation of budgets, budgetary deficits, and amounts of assistance to be granted; (c) reinvestigation of eligibility of those already receiving assistance; and (d) referral of persons to other agencies or for other services such as medical care.

This list is not exhaustive but is illustrative only. To ascertain the cost of a welfare agency's various functions, it would be necessary to conduct time studies and to analyze expenditures made by various divisions, allocating the proper proportion of their costs to such of the several functions as were performed. Obviously, once such studies have been made, they need not be repeated unless there are changes in procedures, organization, salary scales, or other aspects of the agency's program.

Once costs of performing a function are determined, they may easily be reduced to a unit basis. Costs of investigating applications, for example, may be divided by the number of applications investigated to yield the cost per application. The same may be done for reinvestigations, referrals to clinics, or any other operation, ultimately reducing the cost to some such unit basis as the cost per case reinvestigated or the cost per case referred for medical care.

In the future it may prove advisable to drop the term "administrative costs" except to designate costs of general superintendence and direction. Instead of lumping together into any single

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of this paper contains a résumé of the discussion led by Joel Gordon.

category the costs of performing carefully defined functions, it may prove more useful to report separately the cost of each function.

Detailed analysis of the costs of various functions performed by welfare agencies is sometimes opposed on the ground that it is better to leave well enough alone. This assumes, of course, that present methods of reporting administrative costs are "well enough"—an assumption that is not warranted. Detailed analysis of administrative costs, it is argued, will only call attention to certain services and functions which might be curtailed or eliminated by appropriating bodies if they realized how money was being spent, but who might not have interfered had not attention been focused upon them. Use of old age assistance funds for certifying workers to the WPA is a case in point. Were the fact that old age assistance funds are used in this way called to the attention of appropriating bodies, they might take steps necessary to prevent its recurrence. If, on the other hand, this use of old age assistance funds were not reported so as to disclose this use of these funds, it might be continued indefinitely.

In rebuttal, those who want to analyze carefully and report fully the cost of the several functions performed by welfare agencies claim that only in this way can an agency's program be properly appraised, policies be modified intelligently, and operations be fairly compared with those of similar organizations. To attempt to protect certain services by hiding their costs or by failure to analyze and report them in some understandable way is likely to entail serious consequences, not only for the agency and those who administer it, but also for the entire program administered.<sup>3</sup> In addition to helping to escape difficulties, intelligent analysis and reporting of administrative costs and costs of various functions performed by welfare services are indispensable to intelligent amendment of procedures and policies to give to the public in return for the money expended the fullest possible measure of effective social service.

<sup>3</sup> Those attending this discussion at the National Conference of Social Work overwhelmingly favored the policy of analyzing and reporting costs of various functions without any attempt to cover up or lump together costs of services with which the public or appropriating bodies might be thought to be unsympathetic.

## HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES UNDER EXISTING FEDERAL-STATE PROGRAMS

*George St. J. Perrott*

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THIS CENTURY HAS WITNESSED A SIGNIFICANT change in the concept of governmental responsibility for the protection of health. There was a time when the scope of government health protection was limited to street cleaning, refuse disposal, the provision of a pesthouse for quarantinable diseases, and an almshouse for the poor. Later came the protection of water and milk, sanitary sewage disposal, and the application of specific measures for the control of communicable disease. Tax support of hospitals increased until today mental and tuberculosis hospitals are practically a government monopoly and 27 percent of the beds in general hospitals (exclusive of Federal institutions) are supported by state and local governments. Public health departments are concerning themselves with the control of cancer, venereal disease, pneumonia, and occupational diseases. Problems of medical care for the aged, for families with dependent children, for farm relief clients, and for other medically needy persons beset Federal, state, and local governments. Even the self-supporting wage earner is beginning to ask for government aid in the solution of his problems of medical care.

These developments are the result of population trends and changes in our social and economic organization. We must of necessity pay more attention to the health problems of adults—rheumatism, cancer, diabetes, heart disease, venereal disease, pneumonia—because of the increasing importance of these diseases in an aging population. Hospitals have become essential because of the growing complexity of the procedures of medical science. In urban centers, furthermore, home care of the sick is increasingly difficult in the crowded homes of the majority of the population.



In rural areas, hospitals extend the resources of the physician; here he finds the tools of his trade. The net result has been a gradual obliteration of the line between procedures for prevention and cure of disease; both are means to the same end, a healthy and vigorous people.

The second evidence of change is increasing Federal, state, and local participation in matters affecting the public health. In the early days, the local health department acted as a rugged individualist. Later came state health departments as the first step in the coördination of individual effort for the greater good of the larger area within state boundaries. Today it is clear that maintenance of the national health is also a Federal responsibility. Disease is no respecter of state lines. Furthermore, the financial resources of many states are insufficient to provide even a minimum level of health protection for their citizens without assistance. Hence the Federal Government is playing an increasingly important part, not in the operation of state activities, but in the coöperative solution of problems of national scope.

The past decade has witnessed the culmination of these trends in the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935. This event may be significant chiefly as the first comprehensive application of the Federal grant-in-aid system toward the solution of welfare problems. But the passage of the act has even greater significance for national health, since it marks the beginning of active Federal-state coöperation in this field. The act authorized limited appropriations to the states for the extension of state and local public health services including supervision of maternal and child health and the care of crippled children. In spite of the relatively limited funds available for health services under the act, in 1939, the United States Public Health Service could report that "a greater advance in the public health has been made in the preceding three years than ever before in a comparable period."

The following discussion will be confined to recent developments associated with increased Federal responsibility for national health, in which Federal funds are facilitating the provision of more adequate health and medical services in states and local communities. These are the programs under the Social Security



Act, the Venereal Disease Control Act, and the medical care program of the Farm Security Administration.

*The Public Health Service.*—The provision of a health department directed by a medical officer and staffed by trained, full-time personnel is essential for adequate health service. Experience has shown that if specific causes of morbidity and mortality are to be controlled effectively, primary attention must be given to the development of local health units, directed by a full-time medical officer and staffed by an adequate number of full-time employees who are trained in the various required techniques. The modern public health program is built according to that pattern.

In the four years and three months since funds first became available to the United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, under Title VI of the Social Security Act, a total of \$36,833,000 has been appropriated by Congress for this purpose. Under the stimulus of Federal grants on a matching basis, the number of counties having a full-time medical health officer had reached a total of 1,371 in 1939 as compared with 594 in 1935. Thirty-seven state departments have divisions concerned with promoting health services in various localities within the states; thirty have divisions of industrial hygiene; thirty-three have dental units or bureaus; thirty states carry on pneumonia control programs; sixteen states have cancer control programs; and practically all states have improved their public health nursing, engineering, and vital statistics functions.

Some sixty-five hundred individuals have been given technical training for positions in official health departments. Among these are medical officers, nurses, engineers, sanitarians, laboratory technicians, dentists, statisticians, and others. This program of training for particular types of work is one of the most useful functions carried out in present-day public health practice and is essential to the development of full health protection for all the people.

The expansion of basic health services in the states has not been achieved with Federal funds alone. On January 20, 1940, annual appropriations for health work in the coöperative projects totaled \$58,833,000, an increase of \$27,000,000 since Federal funds became

available. While not all the people of the United States have, as yet, the benefits of adequate local public health service, the goal is being approached rapidly.

*Venereal disease control.*—Under the leadership of Surgeon General Parran, a revolutionary change has occurred in public opinion: a desire for accurate information on the mode of spread of the venereal diseases and a desire for concerted action in their control have arisen. For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1938, the sum of \$3,000,000 was made available by the La Follette-Bulwinkle bill; \$5,000,000 was made available in 1939. Of the latter amount, \$4,397,250 was allocated to state health departments and \$6,000,000 additional was provided by state and local governments.

The basic principle for the control of these diseases is to find the cases as early as possible in the course of their disease and to see that they receive sufficient treatment to insure that they will no longer be infectious and to prevent the insanity and crippling conditions following the disease. By January 1, 1940, there were 2,527 clinics for the treatment of venereal disease, a threefold increase since 1936; new cases of venereal disease admitted to these clinics more than doubled in the two-year period. Over three million six hundred thousand doses of arsenical drugs will be administered in these clinics during 1940. During the first six months of the fiscal year (1940), 4,360,000 blood tests were performed in state and local laboratories, a fourfold increase in four years. Twenty states have passed laws requiring the examination for venereal diseases of both applicants for a marriage license. These examinations include a blood test for syphilis. Eighteen states require that all expectant mothers be examined for syphilis.

Plans have been made to coöperate with the armed forces in the control of venereal disease in the civilian population around the areas selected for maneuvers. From the appropriation for the fiscal year 1940-41, the sum of \$450,000 has been earmarked for this work. The plan is to augment the staff doing epidemiological work so that they can bring under examination and, if found infected, under treatment, those individuals in the civilian population who are exposing the men in the maneuver centers. This

work will be carried out under the auspices of the health officers in the state in which the troops are located.

Social workers have uniformly understood that venereal disease must be detected early and patients brought to treatment, thus greatly shortening the period during which they are infectious. Again, clinic social workers are giving more and more attention to the holding of patients under treatment. It is through such active coöperation that the problem will be solved.

The control of the venereal diseases cannot be accomplished in a short time. An excellent start has been made, and with the continued support of the public, physicians, public health groups, social agencies, and the Congress, it is anticipated that the program will progress to ultimate success.

*Maternal and child health; crippled children.*—The Social Security Act as amended in 1939 authorizes grants to the states totaling \$5,820,000 annually for maternal and child health services and \$3,870,000 for services to crippled children. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in administering these parts of the act, provides a technical staff of physicians, public health nurses, and others, part of whom are available as regional consultants to give advisory service to state agencies on the development of their program. Committees of physicians and other professional persons advise the Bureau and the state agencies on the development of their programs.

The maternal and child health services are administered in each state by the state health agency and carried on mostly in rural areas by health officers and public health nurses with the aid of local physicians. There are now 1,200 centers for prenatal and postnatal supervision of mothers and 2,400 centers for infant and preschool children. More than fifty-six hundred public health nurses assist in these programs.

Improvement in the quality of care is being attained through in-service training of public health personnel and the postgraduate education of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other professional workers. Each state health agency conducts demonstrations to show better methods of rendering maternal and child health services. In some areas, a complete medical care program is being

carried on for mothers at time of delivery and for the newborn child, including medical and nursing care and hospitalization if necessary.

The crippled children's program is a medical care program, administered in twenty-six states by state health agencies, in fourteen states by welfare agencies, and in others by five crippled children's commissions, five departments of education, and one state university hospital.

On December 31, 1939, the total number of crippled children listed by state agencies was 248,627. Each year approximately eighty-nine thousand crippled children are being given diagnostic or treatment service at clinics held in permanent centers or at itinerant clinics held at various points throughout the states. Approximately twenty-eight thousand children are hospitalized each year, and a steadily increasing number are being cared for in convalescent and foster homes. Quality of medical care has been safeguarded in these programs through standards recommended by national and state advisory committees to be used in the selection of surgeons and other professional personnel and in the choice of hospitals to which children may be sent for care.

Children with rheumatic heart disease are now being cared for in ten state programs. Here the problem is quite different from that of providing for orthopedic cripples. The long period of rest or limited activity that is needed usually means prolonged separation from the family, with attendant psychological and social problems of adjustment. The medical-social aspects of care, therefore, assume great importance in the cardiac program.

The Federal-state maternal and child health program and the crippled children's program are still in the initial stages of development. There is need for great expansion of health supervision and medical care services for mothers and children and for the extension of the crippled children's program to make possible care for other types of physical handicaps.

*The Farm Security Administration.*—The Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture has found that ill health plays a major role in causing destitution among rural families. A director of the rehabilitation program in a Western state

estimates that 75 percent of the rehabilitation families have been placed in their present position by some form of illness in the family and the resulting crippling effect of doctor and hospital bills. The object of the medical care program is to assist the farmer in securing adequate medical care at a cost within his ability to pay.

The plans involve forming farmers and their families into group medical care units in which bills for medical care are pooled and paid out of a common fund. These units may cover one county, a group of counties, or a whole state. There are now about 450 such units in thirty-three states with a membership of 80,000 families including 400,000 persons. Some units undertake to provide only physicians' services, others add prescribed drugs, hospitalization, surgery, or limited dental service, or a combination of these. These services are paid for out of funds collected as membership fees at the rate of fifteen dollars to thirty dollars per year.

In this manner, the farmer family puts aside out of its annual income an amount which it is able to afford for medical care. The physicians, hospitals, druggists, and dentists on their part agree to render all needed emergency medical care in return for the payment of the membership fee. In most cases these funds are not sufficient to pay the bills in full; the average payment has been about 65 percent for physicians' service and a little higher for hospitalization and other services. However, investigation shows that these families had heretofore been paying less than 50 percent of their medical bills. Thus payment is more complete than formerly and, in addition, the bills are paid promptly. However, the big advantage of these plans is to the farmers because lack of money to pay fees no longer impedes them from seeking needed medical care.

Migratory agricultural workers in California, Arizona, Texas, Washington, and Florida have presented another medical problem. There have been 15,000 such families cared for in California during the past year and about half that number in Arizona. During 1939 the Farm Security Administration spent some nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars in the provision of medical



care to this group. The work is being carried on through the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, which maintains thirteen district offices in California and seven in Arizona. These offices direct cases to local physicians of their choice and authorize treatment on the physician's recommendation. Some clinics are also maintained with professional assistance by rotating groups of local physicians. Hospitalization, limited dental care, drugs, and special diets on the physician's prescription are also provided.

*Public assistance programs.*—Under Titles I, IV, and X of the Social Security Act, the Federal Government is now matching on a fifty-fifty basis, and subject to certain limitations and qualifications, state and local expenditures in providing assistance to the aged, the blind, and families receiving aid to dependent children. The total cost of this program, Federal, state, and local, in the 1938-39 fiscal year, was \$526,581,000.

Some part of these funds is being used to provide medical care to recipients of these forms of assistance. However, Federal funds may be used to match only such state and local expenditures as are made in the form of unconditional money payments. As is well known, it has proved difficult to meet the medical needs of assistance recipients through the cash grant. Thus if one dollar or two dollars is added to the monthly grant of an aged person, the amount will either be spent for some other purpose—the client having no need for medical care that month—or it will prove entirely inadequate to cover the cost of care actually required. It would seem that the unpredictable medical needs of recipients of public assistance can best be met if medical care is provided in kind with the cost met from pooled funds. To date, no practical method has been developed for creating a pooled fund in which the Social Security Board can participate without sacrificing the principle of unconditional money payment.

As a result of this situation, the states have been forced to resort to a cumbersome method of obtaining Federal aid for the needed medical care of public assistance clients. This method is to increase the monthly grant of a recipient for a particular month or for several months in order to give a family or individual funds with



which to pay incurred medical bills. In one county in an Eastern state with a case load of 2,000 recipients of old age assistance, in order to provide medical care by this method, it was necessary to make 500 changes in individual grants each month for medical purposes only.

It should be possible for the Federal Government to aid the states in a more practical manner in meeting the needs of public assistance recipients. Furthermore, to insure medical care of adequate quality, the medical aspects of the program should be under professional supervision. Only a few states have a medical director on the staff of the welfare department or make use of professional advisory committees. In few states do local or state welfare officials compile statistics of cost and volume of service which are necessary for control and appraisal of a medical program. The amounts expended for this type of health care often exceed the total expenditures by the departments officially in charge of public health; local health officers are becoming increasingly concerned with this tremendous problem. There is great need for some method which will permit Federal matching of pooled funds and the setting of minimum standards to insure medical care of adequate quality.

To quote a recent statement of the Committee on Medical Care of the American Public Welfare Association,

The provision of good medical care for persons who cannot provide it through their own resources is the common goal of public officials concerned with health and welfare of the medical professions of hospitals and of other medical and social agencies. The achievement of this common purpose requires the joint effort and sincere coöperation of all concerned.

From this brief review it is evident that tangible progress in developing state and local health services has been made during the past few years. It is also evident that more remains to be done than has been done. More important, perhaps, than our accomplishments under these programs is the fact that a foundation of Federal-state relationships has been laid. But a comprehensive national health program will emerge only if we continue to build on this foundation.

As Surgeon General Thomas Parran said recently,

In public health preparedness, the United States stands about where it does in the other phases of national defense. Our status is better than ever before in peace time, but there is an urgent need for us to do much more. The industries of the country are going to work actively to provide instruments for national defense. In the same spirit, medical and health professions of the country must join hands in a comparable effort to put medical science to work fully, promptly, efficiently, to lift the burden of preventable illness, to create a nation "physically tough."

## WHAT STATE LEGISLATION DOES A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM DEMAND?

*Michael M. Davis*

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SENATOR WAGNER'S NATIONAL HEALTH BILL, introduced into Congress last year to carry out the program recommended at the National Health Conference, did not pass in 1939 and will not pass in 1940. Nevertheless, we already have a National Health Program under way. The National Health Program is many-sided. That part of it which expands public health services with Federal grants-in-aid was incorporated in 1935 into the Social Security Act, although with smaller appropriations than Senator Wagner proposed in 1939. Expansion of hospital facilities in needy areas has been proceeding in several states with state funds, and in others on a small scale, with voluntary aid. Senator Wagner's Hospital Construction bill of 1940 would make Federal grants for this purpose; and although this act is more limited in scope than the hospital section of his 1939 measure, it involves the same essential principles. This bill seems likely to pass Congress this session.

Those who do not expect everything to happen all at once, in this not quite the best of all possible worlds, will gather from the preceding statement that we are moving toward a health program according to the precepts so often advocated by the American Medical Association, namely, by evolutionary methods. If Senator Wagner's main bill were enacted as a whole, it would expedite the enlargement of public health services and of organized medical care, especially in the poorer states. But even the enactment of this health program as a whole would not take us far without state legislation. The fundamental principle of this Federal program is not a system of medical care administered by the National Government. Quite the contrary. The basis of the Federal pro-

gram is a system of Federal aid adjusted to the needs and resources of the states, not merely to their population; leaving to the states freedom to design the particular plans of medical care which they desire and to determine the particular groups of population to be served within their own borders.

We would need state legislation to effectuate a Federal health program if it were enacted as a whole. We need state legislation now. Sections of the whole program are already in operation, supported by state and local governments and by voluntary agencies. Well-devised state legislation will better existing conditions and services and will expedite and improve future national legislation itself.

Let me recall briefly the scope of the National Health Program and then suggest five kinds of state legislation which are needed. The National Health Program proposed Federal grants-in-aid to the states for the following purposes:

1. Expansion and improvement of public health services, including maternal and child health.
2. Expansion of hospital and health center facilities through aid for the construction of general hospitals, special hospitals, and health centers where needed, and for temporary maintenance grants during the first few years of the new institutions.
3. Plans of organized medical care for either needy or self-supporting persons or both, as the several states may determine, supported either by general taxation or by voluntary or legally required health insurance, or by both taxation and insurance; again as the states may decide for themselves.
4. Cash compensation to workers to help meet the loss of earnings due to temporary disability caused by sickness.

A few illustrations should be given of the flexibility of this program. Federal grants-in-aid for medical care might be used by Louisiana or Mississippi, for instance, to extend their existing state-supported systems of hospital care for needy persons; might be used by Iowa to extend and improve its state hospital and its state-aided home-care system for the needy and for self-supporting persons; might be used by California or Wisconsin to help support a health insurance system, part of whose cost would be paid for by

required payroll deductions from industrial and other workers; might be used by New York to extend and subsidize voluntary health insurance plans so that their costs could be brought within the means of wage earners of lower income than are likely otherwise to join them. The states would undoubtedly build upon their existing systems of public health work, public medical care, hospital service, and their existing plans of voluntary health insurance.

With this background I suggest five kinds of needed state legislation: (1) to extend, coördinate, and improve tax-supported medical services to needy persons; (2) to authorize or facilitate the construction, enlargement, or improvement of needed hospital facilities; (3) to fortify and facilitate experimentation with voluntary health insurance; (4) to establish cash compensation for temporary disability due to sickness; and (5) to establish or to prepare the ground for compulsory health insurance.

*Tax-supported medical service.*—Our states and most local governments now support more or less public medical care in the homes, in hospitals, and in clinics. The studies of the American Public Welfare Association show that tax-supported medical care has developed unsystematically. Thus people who need public medical care in their homes may get it through a department of the local government which may, in turn, receive financial aid from one or more departments of the state government, depending on the category into which the patients fall. If a man is transferred from public medical care in his home to a hospital or a clinic, he will probably come under a medical jurisdiction which is entirely different, though also supported by taxes. Two different systems of tax-supported home care may exist in the same community; one for officially certified relief cases, another for the medically needy. From three to ten different departments or commissions within a state government may be concerned with providing or paying for home medical care, or for different forms of hospital service applying to various economic, age, or disease groups. Efficiency and continuity of care for the individual patient, effectiveness and economy of the time of physicians and other tax-supported

personnel are lessened by the confused organization which is commonly found in our public medical services.

The public money spent for medical care now exceeds half a billion dollars a year, mostly state and local funds, and the amounts have been increasing even during these economy years. A few states have recently improved their public welfare laws relating to medical care; but in every state there is room, and in most states there is great need, for legislation which will systematize public medical care administered by the state, city, and county governments. We need consolidation or, at least, coördination of special medical care programs with one another and with general programs. The form of legislation must vary greatly among the states, depending upon their constitutional departmentalization of state functions and the existing organization of state and local departments administering public welfare, public health, general hospitals, mental and tuberculosis hospitals, children's programs, etc.

State legislation in this field should not only aim to systematize, consolidate, and coördinate the organization of public medical care; it should also lay down certain principles which are necessary to the efficient and economical administration of public medical services under any form of organization. Tax funds should not merely buy medical care for needy persons, they should be so administered as to make sure that the care is worth buying. Reasonably sufficient scope and good quality of care are all-important.

It may be impracticable to consolidate departments or functions; but when this is so, a state law or the governor under the authority of general laws should provide for certain coördinating machinery. The policies for administering public medical care should be defined in general terms by law, and provision should be made so that they may be defined more specifically in state administrative regulations which can be adapted to the varying conditions in different sizes and types of communities within the state. Those regulations should be prescribed by a state council on medical care, established by law, which has members from the general public as well as from the medical and allied professions,



including hospital administration. This council should be advisory to whatever state department or departments administer public medical care. By whomever administered, the law should provide for medical administrators in immediate charge of medical programs, for medical advisory bodies on strictly professional matters, and should empower the state council to prescribe qualifications for the appointment of professional personnel.

*Organization, construction, and improvement of hospital facilities.*—The passage of the Federal Hospital Construction Act would find some states ready to take advantage of it. In other states more or less legislation would be needed. The laws coördinating the organization of public medical services should include the departments dealing with hospitals and with state payments to voluntary hospitals. The state health department should be given authority, if it does not already possess it, to coöperate with the Federal Government and with local governments within the state, as provided in the Federal act. Legal provision should be made, where lacking, for the full utilization of existing governmental and voluntary hospital facilities. Counties and other political subdivisions of the state may need to have legal authority to establish hospitals, to make appropriations for their maintenance, and to combine with contiguous political subdivisions for establishing hospital districts of sufficient size to maintain an adequate institution.

*Enabling legislation for voluntary health insurance.*—There has been a remarkable development of voluntary health insurance during the last ten years. Nonprofit hospital care insurance, a very limited but a serviceable and educational type, has grown from a few thousand to some five million members. Voluntary health insurance plans providing complete medical care and employing organized groups of physicians have stirred and informed hundreds of thousands of people beyond the few thousands served by these plans directly. Plans of this type are on the firing line of experimentation. During the last few years the organized medical profession in a dozen states and a number of large cities has begun systematically to outline its own plans for furnishing medical care to people on a prepayment basis. These medical society plans

haven't arrived anywhere as yet, but they represent a most important initiative of physicians. Labor, farm, and coöperative organizations, and industry, now accept and welcome the idea of the principle of insurance applied to the payment of sickness bills.

Voluntary health insurance, as I see it, is a necessary preliminary and a permanent accompaniment of any plan of compulsory health insurance. At the present time the laws in many of our states are insufficient to give voluntary health insurance defined status. State laws are needed to promote and protect varied experimentation with different kinds of plans for applying the insurance principle to meeting the costs of sickness. State laws should be enacted which will guarantee to both medical and lay groups the right to organize plans of voluntary health insurance. The law should protect the principle of free choice, by patients or potential patients, of the physicians or groups of physicians whom they wish. The law should provide that plans must meet certain requirements as to financial soundness, must be under the supervision of an appropriate state department from the financial point of view, and must include in their governing bodies representatives of those who pay the bills—the members or subscribers—as well as of the professional groups which are concerned with supplying medical care. We already see the beginnings of such laws in a few states, notably New York, but our legislation has been unsatisfactory, thus far, because it has consisted merely of specialized enabling acts for certain particular kinds of proposals.

*Cash disability compensation.*—Our present system of unemployment insurance provides some compensation for wage earners unemployed for industrial reasons, but if a wage earner is temporarily or permanently out of work because of sickness or disablement, he has no compensation to fall back on, though his family must keep going and must meet medical bills besides. The demand for correcting this inequitable situation is becoming widespread. In New York it led in 1940 to the passage of a bill by both branches of the legislature. The bill was vetoed by the governor on the ground that the action was hasty.

A good many people think that cash disability compensation should be a Federal rather than a state program. Compensation

for permanent disability almost certainly should be. Compensation for temporary disability might or might not be. Whatever position is taken as to Federal action, some states may be ripe for the establishment of temporary disability compensation within their own borders. The laws should be carefully drawn in coördination with the existing unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation systems and with due recognition of their medical implications.

*Compulsory health insurance.*—Wage earners, even of small incomes, are now spending on the average at least 4 percent of their annual incomes for the costs of sickness. Therefore, if we are going to use the legislative power at all, there is good reason to ask wage earners, except those with very low and insecure incomes, to pay a part of this 4 percent into a common fund to be supplemented from other sources so far as necessary. To attempt to load this whole burden upon general taxation is neither practicable, because of the large sums of money involved, nor just. In farming sections the same principle but a different administrative method applies. The situation in respect to sickness is different from that of unemployment or old age because in the average family budget there are no existing expenditures for unemployment or old age which can be tapped to help support the parts of the Social Security Act relating to these subjects. Moreover, if we were to try to put the whole burden on taxation, the resulting plan of medical care would be almost certain to grow up as a poor man's system, whereas if a share is borne by the beneficiaries, the whole system will have a different slant and the beneficiaries themselves will be directly represented, as they should, in the administration of the system.

Voluntary health insurance is necessary to set needed patterns of organization and administration, especially on the medical side; but we cannot expect that the voluntary plans will reach all those who need them. I do not think, however, that our states are ready for a comprehensive compulsory health insurance law until their existing systems of public organization for the provision of preventive services and of medical care have been strengthened and their parts coördinated. The Wagner bill of 1939 is admittedly

defective on the administrative side and needs amendment, which I am sure it will have, before it would provide the best stimulus to the states in this regard. A properly drafted Federal law providing grants-in-aid to the states for medical care would greatly expedite the process of state improvement in these respects. For this reason I am in favor of national action before much attempt is made to push state compulsory health insurance laws, though the appropriateness of state action in advance of national action should be judged according to circumstances in each particular state.

My opinion about our present unpreparedness for compulsory health insurance is strengthened by the unsatisfactory character of legislative proposals which have recently been made, even by the American Association for Social Security. The law proposed by the Association, though lately revised, seems to me highly unsatisfactory in many aspects. It would set up a new medical jurisdiction in the state, little related to existing voluntary and public agencies, which would further complicate our already confused setup of public medical care, public health services, and various groups of governmental and voluntary hospitals. The drafters of this bill sought but failed to take the advice of progressive physicians. They failed to provide adequate representation to medical interests at certain points, while in other respects the proposed law would put medical organization and methods of payment in a given area within the strait jacket of the forms approved by vote of the practicing physicians in the area. These are administrative defects, but the draft also includes questionable policies, e.g., it sets an income limit so low as to make health insurance almost inevitably a poor man's system. Also, it offers little or nothing to interest rural areas, a limitation which I believe precludes serious consideration of any such law in most of our states. At this point and elsewhere, it follows, in the main, European patterns. Some of the clearly revealed faults of the British and German systems would, I fear, be saddled upon any state which passed such a bill.

There are important groups which advocate a Federal system of health insurance. What they mean is a Federal system on the financial side, for few people would propose that medical care to individuals should be administered Federally. Whether we favor

direct Federal financing or Federal aid to state and local financing, we must in either case place the medical phases of health insurance laws on a state-local basis, and must design the law with full consideration of the existing private and governmental medical services, coördinating and improving them.

To sum up: Social workers should aid in designing and should urge the passage of state laws which will improve and systematize the present confused and wasteful plans of tax-supported medical care and hospital services. They should promote and support enabling state legislation for voluntary health insurance. They should continue to urge the passage of broad national legislation aiding and improving but not dictating state plans, and should coöperate in drafting and supporting state legislation to effectuate the possibilities opened up by national laws. They should bear in mind that some states, at least, need not wait upon national action for many significant pieces of legislation. Finally, they should affiliate and coöperate with the increasing number of progressive physicians and hospital administrators who have the same ends in view.

## HEALTH PROGRAMS WHICH CAN BE DEVELOPED WITHOUT NEW FEDERAL LEGISLATION

*Kingsley Roberts*

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UNFORTUNATELY, SOME PEOPLE ASSUME that because I am primarily experimenting with voluntary health-protective devices, I must necessarily be opposed to compulsory health insurance or tax-maintained health services. I am entirely in favor of a national health program. I am in favor of it because tax-raised money is essential if large numbers of people are to receive health care and because coördination is essential if that care is to be good, efficient, and economical.

The question, in my mind, is not do we need a national health program, but how soon shall we get one, and how shall we implement such a program? On the first point, it is well to be realistic. Recent events make it highly improbable that, in the near future, the Federal Government will appropriate any large sums of money for this purpose. Moreover, availability of funds is only one aspect. Distribution of services is the other. Experience in this country and abroad has indicated very clearly that there are pitfalls to be avoided. Haphazard spending through disorganized channels has proved to be a very costly affair.

A national health program must be predicated on the assumption that changing needs and means demand new methods of distribution. We must learn new and better ways of utilizing our physicians, our institutions, and our equipment. These are the nuclei with which we have to work. Our task is to achieve an intelligent synthesis. Sections of the medical profession have a tendency to forget the familiar adage that new wine cannot be poured into old bottles. Yet new bottles and, if you will permit me, new physicians cannot be created overnight. They must evolve out of the laboratory of experimentation. They must be tested and tried



before they are finally accepted. It is my belief that voluntary organizations offer one of the most fertile fields for this experimentation. Their relative smallness makes errors not too costly. Their independence makes them far more mobile and adaptable than government agencies. They can experiment more widely and change more rapidly.

At the present time there are being conducted certain experiments in health care services which deserve careful attention. With such organizations as the Group Health Association of Washington, D. C., the Ross-Loos Clinic in Los Angeles, the Farmers' Union Coöperative Hospital at Elk City, Oklahoma, and other examples of the group purchase of health care, I am sure you are all familiar. These organizations are functioning without Federal legislation. Some of them are the beneficiaries of the accumulated experience of more than ten years of operation. These organizations suggest certain phases of a solution of the question, but their experience is small compared to the magnitude of the problem and necessarily limited to those who can pay for the service. Future experimentation is clearly indicated—experimentation that will guide the advance of a national program and provide a method which can, at one and the same time, be applicable to all income levels that cannot, for one reason or another, now obtain modern health care.

To achieve such a program, we must first change our thinking. We must look at this problem with the fresh eyes of a man from Mars and see things as they really are, not warped by our own opinions and prejudices.

Let us watch the man from Mars, charged with the duty of developing a good economical health care program. His first action would be to survey the kind of a world we Americans live in. He would note the rapid rate of change, the extremes between rich and poor, urban and rural, the wide range of thought, and the jealously guarded stress on local initiative. He would see a world in flux, each part dependent for its survival upon an ability to adjust easily and quickly. He would marvel at the recent developments in medical science and wonder at a country famed for its distribution technique in business which has fallen down so

noticeably in medicine. And he would plan a program built on a base broad enough to survive local upheavals and pliable enough in structure to adapt itself to the changing currents.

Gravely he would study the constituents of what we call health care: a composite of architecture, of rugs and curtains, of bedside manner, of time and money, of science and superstition, and of relationships. If he survived this ordeal, he would sit down and make a chart of the essential ingredients, a chart that would look not like a list of groceries, but like a family tree. The science of medicine, like the science of chemistry, is based upon relationships.

The central figure in the program would be the family doctor—not the good old whiskered, white-haired gentleman sitting in a buggy with his little black bag, not the bewildered general practitioner who, as a “specialist in the skin and its contents,” knows a little about everything and nothing much about anything, whose voice is drowned out by the specialists, but the keen, highly trained diagnostician who uses specialists as an extra set of fingers and eyes to serve his patients—the central figure in a group medical-practice unit. The general practitioner, his specialists, social workers, nurses, and other personnel are analogous to the general staff; the hospital, the laboratory and all the technical equipment available, to the mechanized columns. One without the other is helpless.

These are the constituents of modern health care. The next step—to fit the service to suit the people who need it—is a problem in engineering. The man from Mars would look around and his eyes would fall upon the housing developments. Here is a bit of first-rate engineering. Everybody knew that disease, poverty, and crime breed in the slums. Everybody said so but, as is often the case, everybody was nobody. There was a great deal of talk, of learned debate, but no action. Then someone had the courage to say, “The slums must go. Raze the rotten, rat-infested hovels and begin again.” (“What, tear down the home of Johnny Jones?” “What, tear down the major source of income of Mr. Blank?”) But, at last, they began to come down.

The man from Mars would ponder and he would see that there is a very close analogy between the way of housing and the way

of health. Health, too, is an engineering project. What are the health slums to be razed? Where can the health edifice be built?

He would not look very far before he found the health slums: the insane asylums, the tuberculosis hospitals, the institutions for the feeble-minded, the chronically ill, and the incurables; the thousands who might have been saved and weren't; and all the dark pit inhabited by the medically needy who receive little or nothing. And all these slums came about not through lack of science or means, but only because the clogged pipes of distribution reached here and there, haphazardly, without relation to need. There are thousands of ill-equipped doctors' offices, staffed with ill-equipped physicians. These are the solo flyers at a time when only a massed attack can hope for victory. Very, very costly, very, very wasteful slums.

Then he would see the health edifice, so familiar, so time-honored, that its potentialities are invisible. Here, at its best, is a community enterprise, administered by the community, for the community. At its best, it was not built for the rich or the poor, not built for any one segment of the population—an edifice that serves all, regardless of political or religious creeds, and is financed by no single group or method. Here is the heart of medicine, the focal point of medical science, the point where medicine reaches its highest peak of coördination and efficiency. The man from Mars would look at the great hospitals in the country and wonder why such institutions should lavish their favors almost exclusively on the very sick, the bedridden—not because they cannot offer positive health but because through tradition they turn away the healthy and accept only the infirm.

The essentials for low-cost modern health care are: group purchase, group medical practice, and centralization of all personnel and equipment for all types of health care. Incidentally, this affords not only the most economical type of service, but also the best. Other essentials are health conservation and consumer representation. The latter means that all those who pay for and receive health care shall have the right and the responsibility to decide what they want and how they want it. These two essentials sound like a strange team, but they drive well together. Health conservation is

the product of three things: accessibility to physicians, low cost of care, and education. Consumer representation can demand and provide mechanisms for accessibility to physicians. Consumer representation promotes low-cost care since the purchaser and recipient are one. It also promotes education since the consumer participates in the responsibility for the administration of the plan. A health conservation program is an economic necessity to a low-cost health project because by reducing the incidence and severity of disease, we automatically cut the cost of treating it.

The feasibility of group purchase for care from hospitals has already been widely demonstrated though it has been largely limited to the traditional in-patient service. Hospital staff organizations provide the only universal example of group medical practice in America, although many physicians do not realize as they care for the free or service cases in our modern hospitals that they are really practicing group medicine. These hospitals provide examples of joint, lay, and professional administration. They have the best equipment available, and it is equipment equally serviceable for ambulatory patients and for in-hospital patients.

A health center should be a place where the well come to learn how to keep well, where the slightly ill are treated promptly and the causes of their illness are eradicated in so far as possible, and where adequate provision is made for the care of serious conditions. These three groups should not be separated one from the other as though they were different species. In each group the subject and the purpose of the treatment are the same: the human being and his mental and physical well-being. Just as we do not take our car to be serviced in one place and repaired in another, so we should not treat our human machines and their ailments as though they were composed of disconnected, unrelated parts. All phases of health service should be distributed from centralized, correlated units.

The people in the wards or free beds of our best hospitals today receive what is probably the finest modern medical care. That this care could also be carried into the home has been shown by the Meyer Memorial Hospital in Buffalo which, although not a volun-

tary hospital, has demonstrated a method of using the doctors and nurses of the hospital staff for this purpose.

In the care of the free case, voluntary hospitals have certain demonstrations now in operation which could easily be expanded. They treat ambulatory cases in quarters where every unit of time and energy is economically used. These are called out-patients departments or clinics. They treat this class of patient in multibed units with simple but adequate nursing, diet, etc.; i.e., without frills, and they use adjuncts to professional personnel to the utmost.

I firmly believe that there is no more suitable device for the distribution of good low-cost health care than the voluntary hospital. First, it is already there. It has the requisite personnel and equipment. At the present time, it is a drain upon the community because it is not being utilized to capacity, because it is not evolving rapidly enough along the lines of logical development. Its triple system of financing—pay, taxation, and contributions—is sufficiently flexible to insure support if means can be found to balance loss in any one of the three by a compensating increase in another. This could be done by permitting the enrollment of groups on the insurance or spread-cost, share-cost basis. Such a system would make health care immediately available to large sections of the population without waiting for Federal legislation.

The method by which the hospital becomes a health service center, I have dubbed the "V Plan." The hospital would rearrange its organization to permit the distribution of health service in the home, in offices within the institution for ambulatory cases, and in the hospital when necessary. Services would include social workers, nurses, and all personnel necessary for a program of health conservation. The medical staff would be organized into general physicians and specialists. The general physicians would function as family doctors and would treat the patients at their homes and in offices in the health service center. The specialists and the general physicians would form medical-practice groups and would be paid either on full or part time, depending on numbers. Both general physicians and specialists would be under the coördination of the medical director of the health service center.



Under this system, Mrs. Jones selects Dr. Smith on the staff of the health center as her family physician. She and her children visit him at his office in the health center. Perhaps she has a problem which needs the help of a social worker. Dr. Smith calls one in from an adjacent room. They discuss the situation. The social worker takes over and reports back to the physician, who may find in her report the cause of a medical condition which had no physical basis. Mr. Jones is suffering from a mysterious pain. Dr. Smith makes an examination with all the up-to-date equipment of the health center at his disposal. The results suggest several possibilities. He calls in the appropriate specialists who have their offices in the same health center. Then and there the necessary tests are made. Together, the physicians discuss the diagnosis. Mr. Jones needs an operation. The surgeon operates, and he and the family doctor work together to effect a swift recovery of their patient.

Under this system, the well-to-do would receive care as they do now at the present rate schedule, but if they chose they would be beneficiaries of the coördination and integration of services. The middle classes would be formed into voluntary, nonprofit consumer organizations which would purchase health care from the health service center on a capitation basis. The consumer organization would make the arrangements between the subscriber and the physician of his choice. It would also be responsible for acquisition, enrollment, collections, statistics, and supervision.

Those who, even under this system, are unable to pay all or any of their health care would receive free care paid for, as at present, out of taxes or voluntary contributions. But instead of disorganized fragments of charity they would be entitled to consecutive, oriented health care with the accent on prevention. They would receive the equivalent in health care that they now receive in education. That we accept the one and not the other is a strange reflection on our mental processes. No one would suggest that it would be more economical to give up the school system and let wealthy people hire tutors who in their off time would give free education to the poor. But that is exactly what we are doing in medical care. Moreover, as the medical profession has emphasized over and



over again, one of the most important parts of medical care is the continued and intimate relationship between patient and physician. This would be possible under the "V Plan" for all economic levels, thus for the first time bringing this important aspect of medical care within the range of those who now attend free clinics and receive not health care, but first-aid treatment.

This system would not only prove a sound method of providing the community with modern health care, but it would also provide a sound method of financing voluntary hospitals. They would continue to receive the income from those who now pay the full costs. They would receive a substantial increase in income from those who cannot pay under the present system of financing, but who could under that proposed.

The health service center would be paid so much a year to distribute modern health care to those on its panel. These would be resident near the institution whenever possible. Because of the capitation system, the health service center would have a pecuniary incentive to keep its members well, because disease that can be prevented or made mild would not necessitate expensive treatment. Of the funds paid to the health service center by the consumer organization, about one third should be allocated to the hospital as an institution, one third to the general physicians on the staff, and one third to the specialists.

By applying the spread-cost, share-cost system directly to the hospital, a steady source of income is brought to it which would not otherwise be possible. The amount of service which a health service center would be called upon to render to a cross section of the population is predictable within moderately accurate limits. The voluntary hospitals would, therefore, be in a position to expend a known amount and receive a steady known income. This permits a far more intelligent allocation of funds as is witnessed by some of the government hospitals.

Where sections of the population cannot support modern health service plans alone, union or employer help can be sought. And when the care of the needy and medically needy is concerned, tax-raised funds can be used to subsidize the existing voluntary hospitals to care for those people through local organizations, or a

similar "V Plan" could be built around government hospitals. The hospitals would profit not only by receiving more tax money, but by being able to purchase the best, most economically. When tax-raised or philanthropic funds are used, these social agencies should have adequate representation in management.

Just as we need the temerity to tear down slum dwellings in slum areas, so do we need the courage to rebuild the devices for the distribution of health care to those sections of our economic structure which cannot afford to pay for it under our present system.

By the method outlined, existing equipment and personnel organizations could be used to establish yardsticks for costs. These would be of guidance to legislators in drafting new laws to provide health service to the needy. A national health program can be patterned after a design worked out in the drafting rooms of voluntary activities. But to contemplate a national health care system which consists merely of distributing money to disorganized physicians and institutions, when there is such an easy method to test the effect of utilizing each of these in a reliable manner, is to my mind unsound and not in the best public interest.

Let us experiment with the more widespread use of our hospitals as local health service centers to distribute modern low-cost health care. Let us think of health care as we do of housing—a means to a better life. And let us remember that the solution of the problem lies in an intelligent synthesis of existing personnel and equipment.

If we can utilize the existing voluntary hospital system even partially to implement our national health program, we will be solving two serious problems at once.

## THE MEDICAL PROGRAM OF A STATE CHILD-CARING AGENCY

*Joseph E. Alloway*

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AT THE PRESENT TIME, the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians has 35,000 children under its supervision. For purposes of administration, these are divided into two groups: the first, the Dependent Children's Department which was created in 1899; and the second, the Home Life, or Mother's Aid Department, which was initiated in 1913.

Those in the first group come to us through commitment by a juvenile court after it has been established that the children have been abandoned, neglected, or abused by their parents, or after it has been determined that they are not receiving proper parental care because of the illness, death, or imprisonment of the parents. It is the function of the state board to act as legal guardian of the child with full and complete responsibility until the child reaches the age of twenty-one and, in accordance with this, to provide the child with a normal home environment, clothing, and medical care. This group now numbers about ten thousand children.

Those in the second group, the Home Life Department, come under our care because of the inability of the father to support the family because of death, illness, imprisonment, or continued absence from the home. Assistance payments are made to the mother, or some other female standing *in loco parentis* with whom the child lives, until such time as the child reaches the age of sixteen, or the age of eighteen if he is attending school. These payments or grants are based on a demonstrated deficit in the family budget and contain no specific provision for medical care. In this group we now have about twenty-five thousand children.

Thus we find ourselves supervising one group of 10,000 wards of the state for whom all needed medical care can be provided

until the age of twenty-one and, at the same time, a second group of 25,000 children living with their mothers, who must depend almost entirely for medical care upon the facilities available to indigent or low-income families in the communities in which they live. Whether they are in the first group or the second, it is obvious that the health needs of these children are the same, but that the facilities for dealing with them are very different.

The importance of providing adequate health care for these children cannot be overemphasized. A child population is subject to diseases that are generally both more prevalent and more acute than those of an adult group, and at the same time a child's illnesses are more likely to result in prolonged disability or lifelong handicaps. In the childhood period, with its characteristic rapid development, even the neglect of such so-called minor defects as carious teeth and infected tonsils may have very serious consequences. In addition, these children have been subject to the hazards of neglect and exposure to disease which are inherent in the social and economic background of the underprivileged.

Our task includes the discovery and correction of all defective or diseased conditions of the children under our care; the taking of early diagnostic measures to determine the presence of congenital syphilis or tuberculous infection; the long-term observation and treatment of chronic conditions and infections; and the provision for medical care and hospitalization in cases of acute illness and accidental injuries. In addition to providing adequately for their current medical needs, we also consider it our responsibility to undertake protective health measures in their behalf. Since our supervision includes children in every part of the state, and local health regulations are by no means uniformly adequate, safeguards need to be established to protect the child as far as possible against preventable illnesses. In general, the protection against such diseases as diphtheria and smallpox is available in almost every community, and local facilities can therefore be relied upon in securing immunization without delay.

In other cases, however, the fulfillment of our responsibility is more difficult. Milk, for example, is one of the most essential foods of childhood and, at the same time, a dangerous source of disease

if production and pasteurization are not properly supervised. The provision of a safe milk supply is thus one of the most important factors in maintaining a child's health. Again, when considering types of placements, health hazards must be taken into account. The danger to health inherent in crowding too many babies or young children in one foster home is now generally recognized. Likewise, foster parents or the child's own parents or relatives represent a potential source of disease. From these adults there may be danger of infection from unrecognized tuberculosis or communicable syphilis.

In relation to these situations, as well as to many others, we have recognized the need for protective and curative measures as part of our supervisory responsibility. But we have also recognized another need as included in our function, namely, the need for re-education and training in healthful modes of living and in the development of wholesome attitudes.

Having outlined briefly the distinction between the two groups of children under the care of the state board and having suggested, in a general way, the health needs of these children which we conceive it is our responsibility to meet, we may now consider the organization of the health service which has been developed. In order to understand clearly the variance in administrative procedure which will become apparent in the subsequent discussion of our handling of the health needs of our children, it is necessary once more to bear in mind the major difference between our two programs.

The state board, having full legal guardianship, has direct responsibility for health care of the first group of children and the authority to contract and make direct payments for such care. As to the second group of children; those under the Federal aid to dependent children program, the state board's control is limited to restricted payments to the mother, the mother having the obligation of securing and making payments for the necessary health services, subject only to periodic supervision.

As constituted at present, our health service includes an administrative Division of Health, a Health Advisory Committee of professional men and women, and a coöperating staff of physicians,

dentists, oculists, etc. The functions of the administrative division are, in general, to assist in the formulation of the health program and policies, to develop standards and supervise practices, to approve payments, and to foster whatever programs of an educational or relationship nature will insure the adequate performance of the service. The Health Advisory Committee, in addition to its function of giving professional counsel to the Health Division in matters of policy and standards as its name implies, acts in a liaison capacity between the Health Division and local professional bodies. The coöperating staff consists of the approved medical and dental practitioners throughout the state who are available for the performance of the actual health services to the children. It is fundamental to our plan that there shall be a free choice of service from any member of the coöperating staff available in the vicinity of the home.

The administrative devices for fulfilling the health needs of the children in the first group have had to provide not only adequate medical facilities, both in quantity and quality, but also a system of compensation for health services which would be as fair as possible to all concerned and which would operate with a minimum of friction. The plan which we have developed, and which attempts to meet both of these provisions, could never have been evolved had not the state board had, from the very outset, the wholehearted interest and coöperation of physicians, dentists, nurses, hospitals, and the allied health interests of the community.

At the present time, dental facilities have been developed somewhat more extensively than those in other fields. Because of the more precise nature of the work involved, the policy has been formulated of requiring the submission of all dental estimates to the Health Advisory Committee for approval before actual work is begun. Also, within the past two years, a committee of five consultant dentists, representing different sections of the state, has been selected and its members have served as referees in determining professional questions. This committee has also performed the function of interpreting the state board's dental program to the public and to their own professional societies.

In considering the total picture of the organization of our health



service for the children in the first group, it should be pointed out that the coöperation secured from community and county facilities, such as hospitals, nursing services, and clinics, is equally an integral part of the program. Special fees for these children have always been made available by the hospitals in the state. Each hospital has been visited and individual rate arrangements have been made. These have taken into account hospital costs and subsidies from public funds. During the past five years, these rates have been readjusted on a more generous scale and, as a result, relationships with the hospitals throughout the state have been improved.

The community and county nursing services have also coöperated in assisting with the health care of our children. It is usual for these services to be given without remuneration. In one county, a private social service agency, composed of public health nurses, has taken over the supervisory responsibility within that county for all health services requested for the state board's children. The State Crippled Children Commission, Rehabilitation Commission, and Commission for the Blind have assisted us with our handicapped children and the State Department of Health has given valuable counsel on communicable disease, local health problems, and milk supplies. Clinic services have been used almost exclusively for long-term treatment or supervision such as is necessitated by tuberculosis contact, syphilis, cardiac, asthma, and skin conditions.

In meeting the health needs of the children in the second group, within the past two years the state board has employed the expedient of temporarily increasing grants for the Home Life mother to make possible the payment of medical or dental bills by the mother herself. While the system is uniform throughout the state, administratively it is a clumsy device and, at best, its application is uneven and unsuited to many conditions. The situation is somewhat alleviated in the larger centers of population where the reasonably adequate hospital and clinic facilities are available for the second group of children as well as for the first. The Health Division, largely through the state board's staff of visitors, is, of course, able to give advice in health matters to the Home Life

mothers and to supervise, to a limited extent, the health service which the children in this group receive.

A brief mention of some of the specific health activities undertaken in behalf of our children may serve to indicate both the scope of our program and the nature of the administrative problems involved. As has been pointed out, these activities apply almost entirely to the first group of children for whom the state board acts as guardian. Every child in this group, immediately after commitment, receives a complete physical examination by a coöperating physician and a dental examination by a coöperating dentist. The child is also immunized against diphtheria and vaccinated against smallpox, if this has not already been done. Clinic facilities are used almost entirely for these latter services. When such a child is under the age of four, orders for additional milk and cod liver oil are made as a matter of routine. The physical and dental examination is repeated at the ages of five, seven, ten, and fourteen, immediately before and after institutional placement, before transfer from one administrative district to another, and before trial placement for adoption. In addition, at the ages of eighteen and twenty a clinic examination of the chest is made to discover any cardiac or lung condition which may have developed.

As to the child who comes to us in the second group, every effort is made to ascertain his physical needs and to provide correction when necessary. School health services, boards of health, or hospital clinics are most frequently utilized for this purpose. The mother is also advised how and where to secure protective treatment for the child against diphtheria and smallpox. If there is a history of tuberculosis, the cost of milk is specifically included in the regular monthly grant.

For all children in the first group, only pasteurized milk is supplied. Orders are placed with milk companies only after they have been approved by the inspection division of the State Department of Health. In the second group, there is much less control of milk supplies. However, emphasis by the visitor to the home on the advantage of boiling milk before using assists in safeguarding the milk for these children.

Finally, it is generally recognized that the alteration of many

ideas and habits detrimental to a child's proper development, and the establishment of healthful habits and sound mental adjustment, must depend to a large extent on home training and home influences. For this reason, considerable attention is given in our program to the providing of educational information to both mothers and foster mothers which will be helpful in this direction.

In completion of our consideration of the experiences of the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians in its administration of health service to the children under its care, it seems in order to give briefly an evaluation of these health activities. We feel that the 10,000 children under our care in the first group are receiving medical and dental care which is entirely adequate as to quantity, quality, and availability. We believe, however, that there is need for a more thorough health check-up on the adults in the household to ascertain the presence of potentially communicable syphilis or tuberculosis. While this information is usually obtained from the local board of health or the family physician at the time of the acceptance of the home, a periodic check-up thereafter would undoubtedly be helpful in maintaining proper standards of health in the home.

The present plan for health service to this group has proven satisfactory in that it provides for professional supervision and maintenance of standards through the committee of professional persons and the Health Division of the state board itself. The coöperating professional service in the various localities allows the foster parents a wide choice of physicians and dentists with the assurance of a high standard of professional personnel. The hospital, clinic, and public health nursing services in the state seem to have been adequately utilized. There is, however, a marked lack of facilities for the long-term care of chronic cases, such as cardiac or crippled children, who are not eligible for prolonged residence in general hospitals.

Over the past five years the reported health services to our children in both departmental groups has increased from 17,662 to 45,847. In terms of service per hundred children, however, we find that those services in the second group increased only from thirty-eight to sixty-eight, while in the first group of children the

services increased from 127 to 313. Thus at the present time we have the anomaly of 72.8 percent of our child population receiving 36.9 percent of the total health services.

Our most urgent administrative problem is one of finding a method by which we can insure adequate health care to the Home Life children in the second group. The present device of raising the mother's grant to cover the cost of needed health work for these children has proven comparatively unproductive, when contrasted with the amount of administrative effort expended. We are, therefore, confronted with a rather serious situation. We have the supervisory responsibility for the welfare of 25,000 underprivileged children but, because of the provisions of the act under which we operate, we are limited in our administrative control over the financing of their health needs.

Our most recent attempt to solve this problem may be of some interest. With the coöperation of the state medical and dental societies, we have developed a tentative plan which in operation would resemble health insurance. The plan contemplates an arrangement with the county professional groups to provide all dental and medical care needed for these children. For these services a regular amount per child would be paid directly to the medical and dental societies. The applicant for Home Life assistance would be invited to contribute to a pooled fund with which to purchase health care. If she agrees, she would authorize the state board to deduct from her monthly grant the per capita sum needed for this service. This deduction need work no hardship on the family since it could be added to the family budget with a corresponding increase in the family grant. If the Home Life mother does not wish to join, her grant would remain unchanged and the necessary health services would be provided as they are at present. No attempt would be made to force the families to join, and the state board would make no charge for administering the fund.

While the Federal Social Security Board considers such an authorized deduction in the nature of a "restricted grant," we are not in agreement, and it is hoped that there can be a reconsideration of the decision so that the plan may be tested in actual operation.

tion. Certainly there is no greater weakness in the aid to dependent children program than the difficulty encountered in providing adequate health care to the needy children eligible for this form of public assistance.

Toward the achievement of our plan, we have already been in communication with the State Medical Society in order to arrive at a contractual agreement by the terms of which fundamental health services, such as initial health examinations, correction of defects, and treatment of diseases and physical disabilities, would be furnished on a per capita basis. It is conceived that the Society, probably through its county units, would organize its members for this purpose and would take over the responsibility for administering and supervising the professional health services. Arrangements with hospitals could be made on an individual basis similar to those which we now have for our first group of children. Hospital bills would be sent to the state board and paid directly from the pooled fund.

There has been no decision as yet concerning rates, but we have discussed per capita costs on the basis of the amount actually paid during the last fiscal year for the children in our first group. This was about \$1.50 a month per child. Of this sum, 57 percent would be available for medical, 21 percent for dental, and 13 percent for hospital care. Applying the \$1.50 cost per month per child figure to the average population of our children in the second group, which was 24,764 for the year, the sum to be expended under this health program would amount to \$445,752 a year. This would purchase a great deal of health and happiness.

Coincident with our plans in this direction, the State Medical Society has also been interested in developing a system whereby medical service could be insured for low-income groups. As a result, an enabling bill was passed without a dissenting vote in the New Jersey Assembly on May 6, 1940, the provisions of which were: (1) to provide for the incorporation of medical service corporations; (2) to place the organization and activities of such corporations under the supervision of the Commission of Banking and Insurance; and (3) to allow such medical service corporations to finance and operate plans for the distribution of medical care.

There is a further provision in this bill which allows the medical society to regulate rate arrangements at its discretion and to plan for medical care for any special group of the population. This bill is not yet a law but has an excellent chance of final passage. Should it become a law, it will clear the way for the acceptance by professional groups of the type of plan now under consideration by us.

All of this can be summed up in a few words. Dependent children need health care and lots of it. We have demonstrated that it can be made available to a group under complete state control. Present plans for providing health care for children under the Home Life or Mother's Aid programs are generally inadequate or nonexistent. There is a need here that must be met before this important phase of child welfare can be satisfactorily administered. Is a pooled system under proper control the answer? We in the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians believe it is.



## ADMINISTERING A HOSPITAL PROGRAM IN A PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENT

*Clarence M. Pierce*

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LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET that my observations are based solely upon experience obtained in my present position with the Erie County Department of Social Welfare of Buffalo, New York. The problems which this agency encountered in the administration of its hospital program may or may not exist in other communities. Also, let me say that the solutions to the problems existing in a hospital program, as developed by the Erie County Department of Social Welfare, are not considered to be final or lasting solutions. We attempted to meet the problems as we saw them. Other communities may have developed better administrative devices to meet comparable problems.

As I see it, there are three major problems involved in the administration of a hospital program by a public welfare department: (1) availability of sufficient hospital beds and related services; (2) relationship between the public welfare department and public and private hospitals; and (3) determination of eligibility for hospital care for people who are unable to pay for it themselves.

Erie County is composed of one large metropolitan city of, roughly, 500,000 population, two smaller cities with populations of under 25,000, an extensive suburban area surrounding the city, and a rather sparsely populated rural section covering considerable territory. Therefore, three major areas are affected in our hospital program—urban, suburban, and rural.

The city of Buffalo, fortunately, has sufficient hospital beds and related hospital services to provide adequate hospital care for everyone in need of such care in Erie County. This service is provided by a large municipal hospital supported by tax funds from

the city of Buffalo, in addition to a number of well-equipped private hospitals. Therefore, the problem from the viewpoint of the public welfare department was not one of directly providing hospital care, but of making hospital care available to those who required it.

With the exception of the item of cost, which I shall go into later, the first problem was one of transportation of clients to hospitals. The welfare department solved this by maintaining a twenty-four-hour ambulance service which is available to any individual in Erie County upon the request of a physician. This ambulance is owned by the department and is operated by full-time staff members of the department. If this ambulance is not available at any time, owing to unusual demands, the department maintains a contract with private ambulance firms to provide ambulance service paid for by the department. The ambulance service of the department includes a physician.

The second problem which a public welfare department has to face is one of relationship with the hospitals. To see this clearly, it must be understood that a hospital is primarily interested in providing adequate hospital service to those who need it and in securing adequate reimbursement for such service.

At the present time, in Erie County, private hospitals are not able financially to provide service for so-called charity patients. Therefore, the cost of charity patients becomes a legitimate charge upon the public welfare department. But the determination as to what is a "charity" patient and what is a "pay" patient often leads to conflict and misunderstanding between private hospitals and the public welfare department. To illustrate this, let me raise a question: Is any patient who does not pay his bill to a private hospital a legitimate charge upon the welfare department? The private hospitals, who feel that they are unable to meet credit risks, have a tendency to believe that poor credit risks should be paid for by the welfare department. The department, on the other hand, because of its position as a dispenser of public funds, does not believe that payments can be made for hospital patients unless the patient is eligible according to the standards of the de-

partment. It is obvious that conflicts developing in this area can only be reconciled by a common agreement as to what type of patient the welfare department will pay for and what type of patient the private hospital must accept as a credit risk.

Another conflict often develops over the amount of the payment by the welfare department for the service offered by private hospitals. Private hospitals claim, and quite legitimately, that they should be paid an amount for the service rendered by them in direct relation to the actual cost to the hospital for rendering such services. They have a tendency to believe that the rate of payment should be in relation to the actual services offered. On the other hand, the public welfare department, in the interests of standardization and efficiency, prefers a cost which is based on a flat per diem rate.

In Erie County the private hospitals have agreed to a per diem rate, but they do not believe that the present per diem rate of three dollars per day, which includes all charges, is sufficient to cover their costs. I believe they are quite right in this contention. However, they base their arguments for an increased rate upon the figure paid in other communities rather than upon the actual cost to them. In order to support arguments for an increased per diem rate, I believe the private hospitals would have to adopt standard methods of bookkeeping and cost accounting so that the actual cost could be ascertained and would be comparable from one hospital to another. These books would have to be open to the public welfare department auditors, if the welfare department were to attempt to meet actual costs, which might vary from hospital to hospital.

In regard to the third problem of ascertaining eligibility for an applicant requiring hospital care, several interesting administrative problems result. I will raise these in a series of questions and attempt to give our tentative answers to these questions:

What scientific base can be used to determine eligibility?

On this score I believe certain techniques developed by public assistance divisions can be utilized. I sincerely believe that the only yardstick that can be used to determine eligibility on an

equitable basis is a family budget. Such a budget was worked out for the hospital program in Erie County.

If a budget is used to determine eligibility for hospital care, should it be the same budget that is used to determine eligibility for public assistance?

I do not believe that the same budget used in public assistance should be used to determine eligibility for hospital care. People who can maintain themselves under normal circumstances often cannot meet the expense of large hospital bills. There is not sufficient margin over normal living expenses to meet these increased expenditures. Therefore, the hospital budget which Erie County developed was considerably higher than the regular public assistance budget and contained many items which the regular public assistance budget did not, such as allowances for entertainment, union and lodge dues, life insurance premiums, etc., because it was considered these were legitimate expenditures for the normal self-supporting family.

If a budget is used to determine eligibility, the anticipated hospital bill must be considered in relation to the budgetary surplus. How is the anticipated hospital bill computed?

This is a most interesting problem. Most of you can realize the difficulties of trying to estimate in advance how many days a patient with a particular illness will be required to stay in a hospital. For certain illness, eliminating possible complications, an estimate can be made. We know that in confinement cases, which have no complications, the stay will be from twelve to fourteen days. Tonsil and adenoid patients require probably twenty-four hours, etc. But for pneumonia patients, psychiatric patients, or others of similar types, who can tell? The only partial answer which we were able to get to this problem was to analyze hospital bills for specific diagnoses for several previous years. On the basis of these previous bills a probability table was developed and was used to predict as closely as possible the probable stay of any patient in a hospital. This probable stay taken in relation to the budget utilized would give a reasonable indication of eligibility if proper

adjustment were made in case the stay in the hospital was different from that predicted in the probability table.

The principle was worked out that patients should be considered eligible if the budgetary surplus was insufficient to pay the hospital bill in five months. It is obvious that this cannot be a standard adhered to in all situations. If the wage earner is in the hospital, he obviously cannot earn while there and provision must be made for that. If he has a large number of outstanding debts which must be met, provisions must be made for such debts in the budget. If a large amount of postoperative care is required in the home, provision must be made for that.

To illustrate more clearly, I will take a case situation and analyze it. Assume that a person applies to the welfare department for hospital care. The diagnosis is pregnancy, and the anticipated confinement is twelve days. The hospital budget for the family indicates that the family has \$7.00 semimonthly more than their budgetary needs. Inasmuch as the regular ward rate in the hospital for this case would be \$4.50 per day, the anticipated hospital bill could be estimated at \$54.00. With a total monthly surplus of \$14.00, this family could be expected to pay a bill of \$70.00 in a five-month period. Therefore the case could be denied.

Let us carry this case a little further. When the case is denied, the hospital is informed of the reasons for denial together with a verified statement of resources and income on which the denial was based. Assume that upon delivery complications developed and it was necessary for the patient to stay twenty days instead of twelve. The estimated bill would then be \$90.00 instead of \$54.00. With a monthly budgetary surplus of \$14.00 the patient could pay a bill of only \$70.00. Therefore, due to the complications, the patient would become eligible for care from the welfare department. The hospital could submit the case for reconsideration, and if the increased length of stay were justified, the department would pay the bill in full to the hospital, making arrangements with the client for repayment to the welfare department of an amount up to \$70.00.

What should be the processes of investigation for a person applying for hospital care from a public welfare department?

On this score the techniques of public assistance have been taken over bodily. The investigations are as rigid and as complete as for any applicant for public assistance. However, speed is essential. A private hospital obviously wants to know as quickly as possible whether or not a public welfare department is going to pay for the case. If it does not find out quickly, there is a strong likelihood that the patient will leave the hospital and all contact will be lost. However, thorough investigations require time, and any foreshortening of the investigation process is apt to be disastrous. Therefore, in Erie County we have developed a principle of tentative acceptances or denials pending the results of thorough investigation. These tentative approvals or denials are forwarded to the hospital as quickly as possible after a patient applies. Often they are based on nothing more than the client's statement. If the department has had a record on the case before, often the previous history of the case plus a statement of the client in the intake interview give a reasonably clear index as to whether or not that case will eventually be a charge upon the public welfare department. This is not an altogether satisfactory solution to the problem, but it does give information to hospitals for their use in making arrangements with patients who are ready for discharge.

What is the responsibility of the public welfare department for a patient in a hospital?

It should not be assumed that because a patient is sent to a hospital as a public charge that the welfare department loses interest in the patient as soon as he is in the hospital. The welfare department has a definite responsibility to make sure that the patient receives proper medical care. This does not mean that the welfare department should specify the treatment for the patient. That is obviously the responsibility of the physician on the case and the hospital staff. The welfare patient, however, should receive all the services necessary for his care which are available in that hospital and would be available to private patients.

Also, a matter which is directly related to eligibility, the welfare department has the responsibility of making sure that a patient paid for by the department is discharged quickly when he no



longer requires treatment. In order to insure that patients paid for by the department receive proper treatment and are discharged when that treatment is no longer necessary, Erie County employs a staff of physicians who visit all hospitals in the county at specified intervals, daily in some of the large hospitals. Because of the definite understanding of the functions of these physicians, the hospitals have come to accept them.

## INFLUENCE OF THE MEDICAL SETTING ON SOCIAL CASE WORK SERVICES

*Harriett M. Bartlett*

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IT IS QUITE CLEAR that there is wholehearted agreement between the fundamental purposes of medicine and social case work. Problems arise only because in particular settings purposes become confused and diverted under the pressing demands of daily practice. We shall purposely stress some of these negative aspects of the situation, since by learning to understand and control these limitations we may eventually hope to attain more positive results.

Since clinical medicine is the core of the hospital's activity, let us start here. In medical social work it has been customary to follow the medical pattern in organizing a department, that is, to assign each worker (as soon as size of staff permitted) to one or another medical service. The advantage of this plan is that the social worker then naturally takes her place as a member of the team of professional and other workers which, under conditions of organized medical practice, cares for the patient. Let us assume that a worker is thus part of a medical or surgical service in a general hospital and that the chief of service, instead of referring patients individually, requests her to interview all patients who fall in one category or another, such as all patients with heart disease or cancer. Since patients do not ordinarily appreciate the medical-social aspects of their problem with sufficient clarity to make application themselves, this is a common method by which social workers in hospitals receive their cases.

What are some of the factors that operate here? This method of intake itself, by which the social worker takes the initiative in approaching a succession of persons in a category, has important implications for case work. From a broad viewpoint there are sev-

eral points to weigh. How large is this group? How complex are the needs revealed? How long do the patients remain in the clinic or ward? How many interviews daily with each patient, his relatives, and others will be necessary in order to evaluate the social needs? To what further service on these cases is the worker committed? For what other patient groups is she responsible in terms of her whole job? Can she plan her work in such a way that these interviews will be meaningful, or will they gradually be reduced under pressure to a few minutes of hurried conversation, which hardly permits the development of a significant relationship with the patient? Frequently, as part of such a plan, the worker writes a social summary of each case on the medical record, supplementing this with oral interpretation to the physician in the more complex cases. In some situations she finds that the sifting of such a series of cases and the writing of reports have absorbed so much of her time and energy that she has relatively little left for what should be her major contribution, namely, the giving of assistance in relation to the needs which have been uncovered.

Each field of social case work has its special psychological problems for the worker. In this instance she will need to examine her own attitudes toward such diseases as heart disease and cancer. I suppose the most difficult aspect is the anxiety which ongoing disease is so likely to create. I still recall vividly the first time that, as a young worker, I confronted a patient who I knew was going to die but who did not realize it himself. I think most of us experience in such a situation at first a reaction which has the acuteness of emotional shock. The more the worker appreciates through her experience the probable effects of progressive disease, the more she may feel impelled to be prematurely active in new situations which confront her. A special difficulty in the medical setting grows out of the temptation to be authoritative, in an indiscriminating and overhasty manner. Since the physician's expert recommendation seems so obviously the best plan for the patient and his family to follow, supported as it is by the whole weight of scientific evidence, and since the doctor himself may be urging the worker to bring about a certain result, she must watch her step

lest she be impelled into a tempo too swift for the individual patient.

There should be careful evaluation of the purposes which the physician and social worker have in mind in undertaking responsibility for such a patient group. The social worker is primarily concerned in aiding the patient to meet the problems presented to him by the ongoing medical situation, or to prepare for the probable future course of the disability. She can work effectively only with those patients and their families who accept the problem and desire help. Are the physicians interested in assisting each patient to work out his problem in his own way? Are they interested in following the new trends in medical thinking which stress the psycho-social factors in illness? Or are they really more concerned with just keeping the whole group of patients under active medical care? Do they wish the social worker not only to do an exploratory interview, but also to keep in touch with every patient regularly so as to be able to report what is going on at any time and to keep the patients responding to clinic appointments without loss of time? Do the doctors also wish her to aid in bringing certain patients back for observation years after active treatment is completed, in order that end-results of medical care may be studied and registered for scientific purposes?

In such a situation it may happen that the worker unintentionally comes to represent to the patients a subtle but steady force toward clinic attendance and the following of medical recommendations. Under these circumstances patients may fail to sense that she has a special service to offer them in their need, a service quite distinct from what the other personnel in the medical institution offers. The worker, furthermore, may not realize that she is increasingly lifting from the patient and his family the responsibility for accepting and acting upon their own problem. It is obvious that these purposes on the physician's part are socially valuable, since without them medical science could not advance; but the question arises whether the gap between his purposes and those of social case work may become too wide. Does not such a situation call for a redefinition of objectives, medical and social, which will be more consistent with the approach of social case

work, lest the worker be pulled almost completely off her base? If the physician recognizes that medical social work focuses upon the social problems that illness and medical care present to the patient and his family, he will see how to use its assistance in the care of his patients and there will be no conflict of purposes.

With this review of some of the problems which may arise from the area of clinical medicine, let us turn to hospital administration.<sup>1</sup> Out of the myriad activities involved we may select a few for illustration. There is a group of functions related to the running of the clinic, in which social workers frequently participate. When this is definitely the worker's major function, she is usually described as a clinic executive. Problems arise less under these circumstances than under more indefinite conditions, when workers accept partial responsibility for the smooth running of the clinic while at the same time trying to carry case work functions.

The enormous detail and the executive character of the former duties are in such contrast to the flexible nature of social case work that it has often proved difficult to combine the two functions successfully. Furthermore, experience shows that activities of an executive character tend, through their very definiteness, to claim prior attention and thus to push case work services into the background. At still other times workers become involved in clinic activities in a less obvious but still time-consuming manner, by trying to fill the gaps created by inadequate and inefficient service and themselves stepping in to facilitate the processes of registering patients, assembling medical records, and making appointments. If the hospital has not provided sufficient personnel to man the clinics, the social worker almost inevitably gets diverted in this way, in the interest of those patients who have been referred to her, at least, if not for the whole patient group. Even when the personnel is relatively adequate, some workers seem to have a tendency to get involved in clinic processes (outside their case work functions), if their work keeps them in the clinic much of the time.

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that in the medical setting the word "administration" is used with two meanings, first, in relation to a specific set of activities known as hospital administration, and second, in relation to any activities of an administrative character, wherever they occur.

Another area of work with an administrative emphasis has to do with discharge of patients from the wards. Where such cases are handled as individual referrals, with sufficient time to get to know each patient and to plan with him, fewer problems arise and valuable service can be rendered both to the patient and to the hospital. But when workers accept responsibility not only for reviewing every discharge in a relatively large patient group, but also for putting through the details of the procedure itself, the situation is more complex. This is a point in the patient's care when the tempo becomes particularly rapid and pressures tend to accumulate, since beds must be cleared as swiftly as possible, particularly when a hospital has a waiting list. The difference between aiding patients with plans for after care, as a social worker, and being the person who actually arranges the discharge, an administrative function, should be noted. In the latter instance the worker may find herself in the position of pushing other personnel to carry through their duties, or even substituting for them, as in getting medical prescriptions filled and making appointments for return clinic visits.

We should not in this analysis neglect the significance of the worker's own attitudes. Since the purposes and functions of the social worker are relatively more flexible than those of other members of the hospital personnel, it frequently happens that other staff members turn to her with problems for which no one is primarily responsible. It is easier to respond to such a request or pressure by following the line of least resistance; furthermore, friendly response seems the best way to improve working relationships with other personnel. Does the worker find it pleasanter to work in a defined role than to approach one case after another in which the need is freshly sifted? Does she find the rush of obvious services and activity which clinic and ward processes involve more satisfying? Does she have an urge to protect the patient from others and to take over their role if she feels they are not performing their work satisfactorily? Does she enjoy an administrative type of activity more than a case work job? Any of these motivations, conscious or unconscious, may play a part in determining the role



that social case work will gradually assume in relation to administrative activities in the medical institution.

Since the hospital is a part of community life, there is a whole stream of influences coming from outside the institutional walls which must be understood and dealt with, but which can be only suggested here by one illustration. The community influence may be felt through the public health program, particularly in those parts of the hospital where communicable diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis are treated. If the social worker carries some of the more authoritative public health responsibilities, rather difficult problems are created in terms of her social case work role. Can she, for instance, establish a sensitive and understanding relationship with the patient that enables him to take responsibility in carrying through his own treatment, at the same time that she takes the initiative necessary to protect others from the consequences of infection? Is the follow-up approach mechanical or individualized? Has the relation between follow-up and social case work been thought through? How far is the case work approach used to establish a sound relationship between the patient and the clinic early in his treatment? Is the social worker skillful in drawing in the assistance of secretaries to help with the routine in the clinic and in herself relating her own role smoothly with the function of the public health nurse?

This illustration of characteristic problems that arise within various major areas of the medical setting shows how certain pressures and procedures tend to divert the social worker from her peculiar focus and how she must be continually alert to the nature of these influences and their effect upon her attitudes. Medical care is more rapid and more direct in method than social case work. Medicine is characterized by broad scientific knowledge, brilliant research, concise procedures, and high quality of practice resting on accepted professional standards. Because of his expertness and his natural relation with his patient and other personnel, the physician is in an authoritative role. Coöperating with him are a number of professions, such as nursing and dietetics, with an equally clear definition of purpose, body of knowledge, and set of skills. All these professional persons are accustomed to a rather

direct and precise type of activity and expect the same of others in the medical setting. These influences are transmitted to the social worker through interpersonal relationships in the course of the daily job and thus operate with greater psychological force than impersonal rules and regulations. When it is recalled that social case work is only one small part of this large and elaborate setting, with purposes and methods of its own not as yet fully defined and by their very nature less clear and objective, the significance of this particular environment can be recognized.

The general nature of illness and the hospital setting further confirms these influences. Illness creates urgent situations that produce anxiety and call for rapid response. Where matters of life and death are concerned there must be not only swift, precise action, but also a body of rules to regulate the behavior of the personnel. Such standards and routines protect the patient and also economize effort and avoid delay. The reality of the needs associated with illness and the sense of this tempo are steadily impressed upon the social worker because she is surrounded by them all the time. Although she usually serves only a portion of the patient group, she is conscious of the crowded clinic benches and the ward beds full of acutely sick patients, in other words, of a mass of human need in bodily form constantly before her eyes.

A second type of factor, however, tends to produce a somewhat different influence. The great complexity of the modern medical institution, the extreme development of specialization, the multiple details required by clinic and ward administration, all combine to create a certain inevitable amount of confusion, overlapping, and delay. Where there are several professions working together, there are unavoidable duplications, gaps, and conflicts. Division of labor in the hospital has been carried to a degree where many of the activities have assumed an impersonal character, until the patient as an individual is lost to sight. Mechanical procedures and rigidities may develop until the very concept of the hospital's purpose itself becomes narrowed. This means that it is at the same time both more important and more difficult for social case work to find and hold its own purpose in such a setting.

Looking back on these special features of the medical setting,

we can roughly divide them into those that tend to carry social case work off its base through their onward course and those that tend to block and confuse its progress through their multiplicity, rigidity, or lack of coördination. The dominant medical purpose, the acuteness of illness, and the tempo of hospital activity fall in the first group, while the intricacies of organized medical care, specialization, detailed procedures, and size of the patient group fall in the second.

The concept of agency function, common in social case work, assumes a somewhat different meaning in relation to a larger setting, since there is a double set of objectives and functions—those of the hospital and those of the social service department—to be taken into consideration. This implies a need for integration, without loss of identity so far as the purposes of social work are concerned. I suppose that there are two constant errors into which social workers may fall in such a situation, either excessively stressing intensive case work with a relatively small number of patients, or spreading service so diffusely that the essential character of social case work may be lost. Of the two dangers, the second has seemed more characteristic of the medical social field up to this time. How far is this due to the special pressures of the medical setting? Or how far may this be expected in the early stages of any program, when there is need to try out various types of function and find a place for the new work? If at a later stage it is desirable to consolidate the program and deepen the work in the central areas, does it then become almost impossible to relinquish activities and change the focus?

In attempting to evaluate these problems involved in relating social case work to the medical setting I have come to the conclusion that the obvious and mechanical limitations that are usually thought of as procedures are basically less important than the psychological pressures. While the former do affect the social worker's daily activity in a variety of significant ways, it seems to be the latter that really mold the broader policies and purposes of departments as a whole. These psychological influences are at the same time more important and more difficult to deal with because they operate invisibly, as it were. Yet their subtle

impact brings about unconscious responses which in time may produce unintended shifts in basic medical social function. Taking the problem, then, at this level, what have we learned about constructive measures for orienting the work?

The unique contribution that social case work brings to the medical setting must be clearly visualized. The very multiplicity of opportunities for such contribution makes it particularly important that the central medical social focus should be maintained. In attempting to relate an activity like social case work to a setting where numbers of patients are large, needs urgent, and organization complex, it seems essential to recognize and accept the inherent limitation in the nature of the service itself—that social case work implies a degree of individualization, of social study and treatment, that cannot be indefinitely diffused without losing its essence. A sound medical-social focus here implies two things: that the work shows a consistent case work approach and that it continually bears upon the more significant social problems of illness and medical care. It means, further, that a series of cases and activities taken at random out of any skilled worker's day or week will reveal this constant emphasis. We must be able to define more clearly than we now can both the opportunities and the limits of skilled briefer services in relation to case work quality, since it is here that questions regarding focus most often arise.

When social case work is part of a larger setting, an extra step is necessary (not required in separate social work agencies) in preparing the environment and increasing its readiness to use this service. Two methods have been found to have special value, one more general and the other more specific. The effort which has gone into teaching social aspects of illness and medical care to medical students, nurses, and others of the hospital personnel has helped to prepare the ground. But it is essential that this should be supported by an adequate demonstration of medical social case work itself. The full case work service should be seen somewhere in the setting, not overlaid and confused by secondary activities, but clear to all observers. Because social case work is a less objective type of service than most of the others in the

hospital, great ingenuity and skill are needed to show that its methods, although often concerned with intangibles and not readily demonstrable, are actually relevant to the need and economical in practice. We are just beginning to develop some case material which is, I think, really effective in this direction.

It is essential that social case work should be genuinely integrated with the medical setting, taking its place as an appropriate part of good medical care. Mutual understanding and acceptance of purposes are more important than efficient procedures. In her eagerness to serve, the medical social worker must be careful to avoid the two extremes of taking responsibility away from the physician, or following his directions blindly in what should be her own area of competence. Steering a middle course here demands a nice sense of the setting as a whole and the particular role which social case work may play within this configuration.

We are increasingly realizing the importance of establishing a well-planned framework of organization, policies, and supervision to place social case work soundly within the larger setting. Such a framework orients the group of individual social workers who comprise the social service department, on the one hand to the hospital and community, and on the other hand to the various activities that make up the department's own program. It supports each worker by giving perspective and stability to the objectives that guide her work. This means that whatever supplementary services are undertaken should be clearly subordinated to the central services, lest the lesser functions push the others out of the picture. A department may be unusually strong in several aspects of its program, perhaps in its work with the hospital administration or the community agencies, but unless good coöperation and understanding are also established with the medical staff, its position is likely to be insecure, since this is the core of medical social work.

Better formulation and wider recognition of the principles guiding the interrelationship between various medical social functions are needed. We have described the difficulties that may confront an individual worker when she tries to combine a variety of activities. Experience shows that a department as a whole can



soundly serve such a variety of purposes by dividing them among the workers and setting up separate units for different functions. In such a form of organization the relation between the various services and units must be clearly defined. There are certain services, such as social admitting, which make use of social case work skills but which require the support of a case work unit to carry on the social study and treatment of those patients who have more complex social problems. Another way of putting this is to say that social study and treatment of the individual patient in collaboration with the physician (that is, social case work in clinical medicine) has been proved by experience to be a basic function, while the other case work activities of the social service department depend upon it for their effectiveness and validity.

In establishing a sound framework the department will find two concepts particularly helpful: the concept of focus upon a central set of functions and the concept of balance and interdependence between the total group of activities, primary and secondary, within its scope.

It seems clear by now that the situation is too involved to be met by a single arbitrary plan. The nature of the changing situation and the complexity of the subtler influences involved seem to demand not only careful evaluation before any new function is accepted but also repeated evaluation from time to time as the activity develops. It is because of the lack of such constant evaluation that unplanned shifts in function have apparently occurred. Since I am so particularly impressed with the importance of evaluation myself, I am also alert to its difficulty. The great problem, as I have seen it, is how to be able to carry the members of a whole staff along so that such questioning and analysis do not assume for them a confusing and destructive quality in relation to their work, but have the force of positive stimulation and growth. The more the purposeful evaluation emanates from the staff's own relation to its work, the more it is likely to be of the latter character.

We find it essential in all this to understand the relation between social case work and the various other activities broadly included within medical social work. In the first place, we have



learned that the case work method and approach may permeate our work, but it will not be there unless we put it there. It was not so long ago that we sometimes used to list the specific services offered by a department, such as convalescent or chronic care, on one side and then attempt to count case work services as something separate, as if they were of different quality. We now see that these specific services that are an essential part of medical care can either be performed in a case work manner or not, according to the focus of the department and the skill of the worker. In the second place, we see that it is particularly important to visualize medical social case work not only as a direct service to individual patients, but also as a base for many of the major concepts regarding social aspects of illness and medical care, on which rest the functions of the whole department and of the professional group itself. Understood in this way, social case work is seen to be, not necessarily narrow and limited in perspective, but a straight road to the viewpoint and skills which represent the social worker's unique contribution to good medical care.

In conclusion, we must remind ourselves that this review has related only to the medical institution and that the medical setting is now broader. In a few years we should be able in our analysis to cover the role of social case work (and other social work functions) in public medical programs as well as in hospitals.

## RURAL RESOURCES

*Raymond C. Smith*

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**M**ORE THAN SEVENTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO, Congress created the Department of Agriculture. From time to time its responsibilities have been increased. It now performs functions relating to research, education, conservation, marketing, regulatory administration, rehabilitation, agricultural adjustments, and many other activities. This work includes research in agricultural chemistry and engineering, the industrial uses of farm products, agricultural economics, marketing, land use, crop and livestock improvement, production and manufacture of dairy products, home economics, and conservation of human and physical resources. The results of research are made available for practical farm application through extension and experiment station work in coöperation with the states.

Within this broad framework, many bureaus, administrations, and divisions are dealing with specific problems and are charged with certain responsibilities—all related to rural welfare.

It is my intention to discuss, briefly, the scope of operations and the activities of some of these agencies, particularly the resources that are available in rural areas upon which rural social workers may be able to draw at times for help in solving the many problems with which they are confronted in working with farm people.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration administers the agricultural conservation and adjustment program of the department. It makes direct payments to farmers to help meet the costs of better land use and to bring their incomes closer to a parity with other incomes. Specified payments are made to the farmer for shifting land from soil-depleting to soil-conserving uses and for adopting soil-building practices designed to conserve

and safeguard the productivity of his land. It also is in charge of the ever normal granary program, which is designed to stabilize prices and production by giving commodity loans, marketing quotas, and crop insurance which can be paid for in the actual crop or its cash equivalent.

The Triple A program is administered in each county through county and community committees of farmers elected by producers participating in the program. Through this program hundreds of thousands of farm families who otherwise might be knocking at your doors for assistance have been able, through the payments which they earn, to take care of themselves. The chairman of the local Triple A committee might be of help in connection with some rural cases, by pointing out how particular families might increase their incomes by adopting certain farming practices for which Triple A payments can be made.

Working in close coöperation with Triple A is the Soil Conservation Service. This agency promotes soil erosion control practices in agriculture through demonstration of practical soil-conserving measures in selected watershed areas. It also supervises the work programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps assigned to soil conservation activity, the treatment of public lands in the West, and active assistance to soil conservation districts organized under state laws.

It coöperates closely with other departmental agencies in making surveys concerning proper flood and erosion control. Furthermore, it assists farmers and ranchers, in certain areas, in constructing and installing water facilities, such as stock ponds, stock tanks, pumps, windmills, and the development of farm forestry and other conservation plans. The Civilian Conservation camps may help to solve the problems of some rural families. In areas where the Soil Conservation Service is carrying on extensive operations they also make available part-time employment opportunities to members of farm families. Probably the main way in which the Soil Conservation Service is making a contribution to these families is in showing them how to adopt conservation practices on their farms which will enable them to become self-supporting.

The Forest Service, in many instances, finds much of its activity closely allied to Soil Conservation Service and rural conservation work. In addition to administering the national forests, it too advises with farm groups and aids them in scientific methods of growing and harvesting timber. The management and proper maintenance of grazing lands, recreational areas, and wild-life preserves are also part of its duties. This agency also supervises a large number of Civilian Conservation Corps camps.

Doubtless all of you are already familiar with the nationwide work of the Extension Service. This branch of the department coöperates with the state agricultural colleges and coördinates the extension activities of the various bureaus with the colleges. There are thousands of county agricultural extension agents and county home demonstration agents. They are coöperatively employed by both the department and the state, and, in some instances, by the county. Thus information from the department, the state agricultural colleges, and other research agencies is made available to the nation's farmers through the office of the county agents.

In a similar manner, rural women are kept in touch with advancements in home economics by the county home demonstration agents of the service. As a rule, the women demonstration agents also serve in an advisory capacity on local relief matters. Both the men and the women agents assist in an advisory manner in rural rehabilitation programs. Rural boys and girls are taught how to apply and demonstrate improved home and farm practices as members of the various 4-H Clubs conducted by the county agents.

In addition to their regular activities as general farm advisers, county agricultural agents serve as the educational field force for the Triple A. They also advise farmers in matters of farm credit. These agents, both the men and the women, should be helpful in connection with the farm and home problems of rural families.

The Farm Credit Administration was created to provide a complete and coördinated credit system for agriculture by making long-term and short-term credit available to farmers. It grants

emergency crop and feed loans to those who are unable to obtain the loans elsewhere. It also provides credit facilities for farmers' coöperative marketing, purchasing, and business service organizations. Directly, and through its twelve Federal land banks in each of the twelve farm credit districts, it grants long-term, low-interest-rate, amortized loans to persons who give as security first mortgages upon their farms and who agree to repay the loans in annual or semiannual installments. Information concerning this service can be obtained from the county agent or the secretary-treasurer of the National Farm Loan Association. This association is represented in almost every community.

Three other agencies do related work, although each operates upon a different basis. The Commodity Credit Corporation in coöperation with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, makes loans to producers to finance the carrying and orderly marketing of farm products. Such loans have been made on cotton, corn, gum turpentine and gum rosin, wool and mohair, wheat, peanuts, tobacco, raisins, dates, figs, prunes, and butter.

The Rural Electrification Administration, also in coöperation with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, makes loans for the purpose of installing transmission lines, wiring, appliances, and plumbing in rural areas. No loans are made directly to the consumer, but are made to coöperatives, states, political subdivisions, and corporations. In addition to its regular work, this agency has developed a special type of limited service for low-income farm families at rates which they can afford.

The Bureau of Home Economics is primarily interested in research to determine qualities of farm products for consumer needs and satisfaction. It also makes research into the needs of families for food, clothing, housing, equipment; aids homemakers in their problems of household buying and studies the adequacy of diets of farm, village, and city families as guides to farm production. Improved home-farm management and ways of raising levels of living of farm families through improvement of rural housing, better food plans, and spending programs are also studied. This bureau works very closely with the Extension Service, the Office of Education, and the Farm Security Administration.

Possibly the division of the Department of Agriculture with which the public is most familiar is the Farm Security Administration. Because of the nature of its activities, the Farm Security Administration comes in close contact with the disadvantaged and low-income families of rural America. The program as a whole is designed to give farm families on relief, or near the relief level, an opportunity to improve their condition and once more to become self-dependent citizens. It is aimed at higher standards of living for these people and a greater degree of security for the future.

Under the farm tenant aid phase of its program, the Farm Security Administration makes loans to competent farm tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers to enable them to become farm owners. County committees, composed of three farmers appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, are authorized to examine applications for such loans and to recommend applicants who have the character, ability, and experience to make successful farm owners. The Farm Security Administration gives farm and home management assistance to the borrowers under this tenant purchase program.

Another phase of the Farm Security Administration program is that of administering full-time farming resettlement projects and subsistence homesteads projects. In the rural resettlement projects, needy farm families have been given an opportunity to make a living on farms provided by the Government. Low-income farm families who lease or purchase these farms are finding security and peace of mind for the first time in many years. Through the subsistence homesteads projects, homes located on from three to five acres of land have been provided to industrial workers. This small amount of land enables them to supplement their regular incomes by subsistence farming and also to enjoy the benefits of living in the country.

The rural rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration, the largest program administered by this agency, has been of service to more than a million farm families during the past five years. While grants of direct relief and emergency loans have been made to thousands of needy families by this agency,



the main part of the program has been concerned with assisting what are called "standard cases." County rehabilitation supervisors, some trained in farm management and some with home-management training, with the help of county committees, assist applicants for "standard loans" in analyzing their needs and in working out a program for their rehabilitation. The families, with the assistance of the supervisors, prepare farm and home plans for the year's operations. These plans provide for careful budgeting of expenditures and estimating of probable income. A standard loan is made to finance necessary purchases of livestock, machinery, seed, fertilizer, household equipment, and other items needed to assure the soundness of the plan. These loans, which average about \$350, usually are repayable within a period of five years. Credit of this type is one of several devices used in the rehabilitation process. The farm and home management guidance is one of the most important factors in rehabilitation. Home production of food and canning for winter use have contributed to rehabilitation success.

Another rehabilitation device which has been very effective is that of debt adjustment. The Farm Security Administration has helped many thousands of debt-burdened farmers to save their farms and homes through the efforts of voluntary county debt adjustment committees. This is an attempt to bring farmers and their creditors together in an effort to scale down debts to an amount within the ability of the farmers to pay.

The use of coöperative techniques has also been an important factor in rehabilitation. Many farmers find themselves operating units too small to support the necessary farm machinery, purebred sires, and many other services. By coöperating with other small farmers they can obtain coöperative loans from the Farm Security Administration which enable groups of farmers to own and use coöperatively certain farm implements, tractors, purebred sires, seed-cleaning equipment, and many other items needed on the farm. In a few experimental cases groups of farmers are carrying coöperation a step further by engaging in coöperative farming on large tracts of land.

With the coöperation of local medical societies the Farm Se-

curity Administration has assisted groups of low-income farmers in approximately five hundred counties in organizing coöperative health associations which provide prepaid medical care at a cost which low-income farmers can afford. The Farm Security Administration has carried on another extensive health program, particularly in the South, to provide for the construction of sanitary privies, the screening of houses, and the provision of pure drinking water.

Through its camps, both permanent and portable, the Farm Security Administration is helping thousands of migrant farm laborers and their families. Twelve of these camps are located in California, three in Arizona, four in Texas, two in Idaho, two in Florida, and one each in Oregon and Washington. Most of the camps have a children's clinic and nursery, an isolation ward, and a small shop where the migrants can repair their automobiles; a few of the camps have temporary school buildings. About six portable camps are now in operation.

In addition to these services, the Farm Security Administration is now experimenting with "labor homes" which are being built near some of the permanent camps. These homes, including an acre or two of land, are rented to farm laborer families. The land gives them an opportunity to raise some food for family consumption. Even though these families may have to migrate during a portion of the year, they at least have a permanent home to which they may return. Often the mother and children can remain at home part of the year. This arrangement interferes much less with the schooling of the children and gives the family a much greater sense of stability and security.

The Farm Security Administration is represented throughout most of rural America. In every state, and in most of the three thousand-odd agricultural counties of the nation, there is a Farm Security Administration program in operation. Through its broad scope of interests it has attempted to benefit all types of disadvantaged farm families.

No doubt you are familiar with the food stamp plan which is administered by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation of the Department of Agriculture. In addition to its regular pro-

gram of purchasing and distributing surplus farm products through state welfare agencies, this corporation is now distributing surplus commodities in sixty-eight areas under the stamp plan. More than one thousand cities have placed requests for this service. Surplus cotton goods, in addition to surplus foods, are now being consumed under the stamp plan in certain experimental areas. Briefly, this is the way the food stamp plan works:

1. Studies indicate that persons getting public assistance spend an average of about one dollar a week per person for food.

2. On a voluntary basis, such persons may buy a minimum of one dollar's worth of orange stamps a week for each member of the family. These are good for any food at any grocery store.

3. Persons buying orange stamps receive half as many blue stamps free. They receive these in place of the commodities they formerly got at food depots. These blue stamps also are good at any grocery store, but only for foods found to be "in surplus" by the Secretary of Agriculture.

4. Under the stamp plan persons receiving public aid have seven and one-half cents to spend for each meal rather than the five cents a meal they formerly spent.

The idea is to eat the surplus. That improves farm income as well as the public health. Already 1,300,000 persons are participating in the plan. Spot studies have indicated quite phenomenal increases in the consumption of butter, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and other foods by the low-income families using stamps.

Originally, the Department of Agriculture was not organized as an agency to carry vast action programs to the farmers of the country. Primarily, its work was one of research and education, with responsibility for administering part of the public lands and some of the regulatory work of government. However, changes were made within the department which increased its already extensive coöperation with the farmers, the states, and the land-grant colleges. These changes were shaped around the creation of the state and local land-use planning organization, which consists of community, county, and state planning committees, composed of farmers and department representatives. As a part of the department's reorganization plan, the Bureau of Agricultural

Economics was changed considerably in order that it might perform a general planning and integrating function in addition to that of research and the diffusing of economic information.

The state and county land-use planning committees are making a real contribution in bringing about a better coördinated and integrated approach to farm problems. More than seventy thousand farm men and women in 1,120 counties are coöperating in this planning work as members of county and community committees. Technicians located in the various areas also participate in the discussions in the committee meetings. Farmers and "experts" sit down together and try to think through various problems.

Usually the first work of these committees consists of getting together basic factual material on land use, on soil surveys and land-use classification, on ownership and operating unit maps, and on types of farming areas. Soon many of them find themselves concerned with problems of people related to size of farms, location of relief and rehabilitation clients, tax delinquency, education, public health, and many others. The county committees make reports to the state committees containing recommendations as to what should be done in their areas. The state committees pass these on to the agricultural colleges and to the Department of Agriculture in Washington. These reports have proved to be very helpful in building and bringing about needed changes in national programs.

I have tried to outline, briefly, what some of our rural problems are and what one department of the Federal Government is doing to alleviate, at least in part, some of the more acute conditions now existing. We have seen that rural poverty is not a depression problem alone. Deep-seated causes of long standing have been partly responsible. Much has already been done in alleviating and preventing rural poverty. I, for one, believe that much more can and will be done.

A substantial rural housing program is greatly needed. We should find some means of putting the farm unemployed to work today conserving the soil and forest resources upon which they will have to depend for a living tomorrow. There is a crying need

for improvement in educational and health facilities in rural areas. Rehabilitation efforts should be expanded. Some of the evils in our tenancy system should be attacked vigorously.

In a society as complex as ours, subject to the rapid changes that have become a part of our culture, no one type of action is going to solve all of our farm problems. But with farm people, social workers, agricultural technicians, and program administrators, all working and planning together, we need not move toward our common objective unwisely or unprepared.

## THE EFFECT OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES ON CASE WORK IN A RURAL SETTING

*Benjamin Youngdahl*

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BY TRADITION, THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK has been preoccupied with tenements and pavements. That field has now broadened to include the fields—it is getting down to the good earth. Though the field has widened, the untilled west section—the rural part of it—is not yet ready, if it ever will be, to concern itself with the tantrums of terminology controversies.

Probably it is not mere chance that there is a wide and a spontaneous interest in deepening the content of public agency social work in rural areas. Is it possible that mechanical operations have been reasonably well developed and that we are now beginning to question the relationship between routines and the human being whose need it has become our responsibility to service? At least it is hopeful that the question is being asked, for there is a real danger that social work in rural areas, without the protective background that is present in urban centers, will become a mechanical giant whose imprint will make valueless all of our efforts.

An enumeration of certain basic qualifications and characteristics of the rural setting will help to clarify the subsequent discussion.

1. There is large variation in practice and in administrative structure and relationships in the rural areas and there is no typical rural program or typical rural area. Our geography is too diverse and rural social work too new to have well-developed norms.

2. Rural social work is in its pioneering stages and we must not expect too much too soon. It might be a mistake to build too rapidly.



3. The functions of rural social work, particularly at this stage, hardly can be limited to case work services and must of necessity put considerable emphasis on social action in order to make possible those services. Today rural rugged individualism often prevents individualized services.

4. The rural social worker today is more than a case worker, for her functions frequently include administration, interpretation, community organization, and many related tasks.

5. Most rural counties are large in area, small in staff, and multiple in program. (One county welfare annual report lists seventeen different programs under the direction of a staff of three.) Realistic factors are dominant, and the total county personality is often important in making an approach to an individual client.

6. The almost complete lack of resources and facilities beyond the public agency itself often makes necessary the creation of devices to give individualized services—devices which seem crude to an urban public agency, which usually merely refers a difficult case situation to a private organization.

Because of this lack of facilities, it is even possible that a rural public welfare office gives more case work services than does the sister agency in the city, be such services good, bad, or indifferent. All human ills tend to gravitate toward the rural county welfare office.

The discussion of administrative procedures affecting case work services will divide itself into four approaches. The first is administrative philosophy and its effect on services to clients.

Is it the sole function of an agency to verify eligibility factors, or is the need of the human being an important consideration? The way in which an agency answers that question will determine its potentiality for case work services. We have administrative efficiency if the end or the content of a program is realized, and therefore a definition of administrative functions is essential. What are the objectives of the agency? Do they emphasize helpfulness to human beings or are they centered in a mechanical efficiency built solely upon so-called business methods? There

have been times when such business methods have been inimical to the welfare of human beings.

The public assistance programs in the Social Security Act have brought immeasurable gains to social work in rural areas. They have raised standards, they have made available necessary funds, and they have brought helpful supervision. But often they have brought in their wake a legalistic emphasis which makes social workers mere verifiers and mechanical proof hunters. In these programs, some administrators see as their end the administration of laws rather than service to people. They vie with one another on the basis of Federal exceptions rather than of constructive human service. On the other hand, the public assistance programs have had a certain beneficial effect on case work services, for, strangely enough, the very emphasis on legality often has carried the temporary weight necessary to do a piece of good case work in a rural setting. Rules and regulations are important, but in a program built to serve human beings the end purpose must be considered. The Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board undoubtedly is aware of the dangers of an excessively legalistic emphasis and recently has instituted some very hopeful procedural changes.

The assumption that the end of the job is mechanical efficiency often unnecessarily increases the amount of routine paper work which tends to militate against case work services. Statistical reports are necessary, but they are not an end in themselves and if carried to an extreme may actually condition a staff to think in terms of symbols rather than human beings. Overburdened rural offices should be spared duplicating reports and should be encouraged to use simplified methods. If red tape is absolutely necessary, it should be made of lastex.

Let me cite an example. The things for which FERA funds were to be used in one state did not include sewing machines. One worker's foresight and courage compelled her to purchase such a machine for one of her clients, a widow. She probably will never forget the lacing she received when the state office learned of the violation of the rules. It was the state supervisor's turn to blush when a subsequent investigation showed that the purchase

had enabled the widow to go off relief for the first time in three years and that the forty-five-dollar machine had already saved five months of relief at thirty-four dollars per month. Case work in rural areas requires imagination, but it demands also a minimum flexibility of regulations or it loses all meaning.

It is important to remember that a legalistic administrative philosophy is not always written in the law. More often than not our laws provide wide latitude, and therefore administrative objectives become important. The volume of work may restrict activities, but it has no effect on an agency's philosophy of approach to individuals. While many of the needs are mass problems and should be treated as such, not a single client is a norm of that mass. Undoubtedly our major long-time job is to approach basic causes of need which are still largely social rather than personal, but while we are giving relief to individuals, we must assure ourselves that the service that we give has a constructive rather than a destructive effect on the human being. Mass relief without case work services not only demoralizes the individual, but it deepens our problems and demoralizes the program as well.

Our second approach is concerned with administrative organization, both legal and extralegal. Laws in themselves act as a restricting influence in the case work process. This is particularly true with the public assistance categories under the Social Security Act. In many state laws, individual need has been defined and the factors of eligibility so set forth as to give the programs some of the attributes of a pension. This development has had a twofold result: from the standpoint of defining and legalizing the rights of clients, it has brought higher standards and more generous treatment even though such treatment has been given on a mechanical basis. From the standpoint of case work services, it has tended to restrict the area within which such services may be performed.

In individual need categorizing programs must cease with appropriations and factors of eligibility. Whether or not they will depends in part on internal administrative organization. A state agency that divides itself into bureaus or units on a categorical basis from the top down through to the client has overlooked

the opportunity to open up and broaden the possibilities of family services. A plan for a family must be built up by one person who sees and knows all of its parts; three visitors, each responsible for a category, can hardly do more than legalistically verify eligibility factors. Similarly, three or more state field representatives coming into a rural county can do no more than stay within their own program reservations. Family case work requires a broad perspective and a total picture rather more in the rural area than in the urban.

What administrative plan is more likely to open up the potentialities of case work services on a family basis? At the top of the state level, the organization should be highly integrated. There need be no bureaus of old age assistance, of aid to dependent children, of general relief, et cetera. Because of the special problems involved in child welfare services, it might be necessary to have a special Child Welfare Service unit, at least until the Federal level is more coördinated. However, because we are dealing largely with the same cases, some type of integration is highly essential. In the state of Missouri a recent study showed that about three fourths of the child welfare service cases involved children in families receiving some type of public assistance.

An assistant administrator or supervisor could be responsible for the case work services in all of the programs and would be assisted by specialized consultants in policies and procedures, in health, in the field of budgets, in staff development, et cetera. A coördinated field staff serving all the programs, including child welfare service, would bring a unified approach to the county and a common interpretation of family and community social problems. Consultants would be available at the request of the field staff and policies would be built up, not from the top, but from the bottom, where the clients live and have their being. The financial and statistical units likewise would serve all programs and would be coördinated under a single head. Duplication in forms and paper work would be eliminated, and there would be a much greater disposition to think in terms of families and social problems rather than case symbols.

On the county level we would have the undifferentiated case

load. Flexibility and allowance for variation in county organizations are absolutely necessary in rural areas. The tendency of some rural counties to ape the organization of urban departments has often resulted in an unwarranted departmentalization, which in turn has tended to make the job a mechanical one. Moreover, state agencies, which are frequently located in urban areas, often draw up their policies on a rigid city basis, forgetting that the factors involved in working out a farm budget are quite different from those used for a laborer's family in the city. The problems, too, often have a different emphasis. Intake in the counties should not be by categories, and the same basic budget should be used for all programs. Filing systems should be on a family or household basis.

Coördination must be real rather than nominal. One county rural agency complains that a request for advice on a given child welfare service case brought three separate letters from the same state agency, indicating widely different approaches. No action at all was taken on the case because of the fear that whatever plan was adopted might be set aside. Internal organization should be integrated with duties and functions well defined.

The relationships that are built up between the state and county units are exceedingly important to the case worker. A defensive attitude on the part of either the state or the local unit will tend to mechanize rather than humanize the programs. Development of the ability to pass the buck will penalize only the client and, of course, will obstruct anything but a barren legalized approach.

The method of getting clearance or approval on eligibility seems trivial, but it can disturb a well-balanced plan for a family and lessen the sense of responsibility from the worker to the client. Special problems may arise in a given program, and a "drop everything else" order from the state not only will negate promises of visits to families, but also will destroy confidence in both worker and client. Insistence on proper recording methods will tend to encourage individualized treatment. Visitor-client relationships are frequently present without being recognized by



the worker. The necessity of recording such relationships often clarifies them and adds to their usefulness.

The third approach to the problem of case work services involves administrative funds. In preparation for this paper a letter was sent to fifteen directors of county welfare agencies, and personal inquiry was made of at least twenty-five other rural workers. In answer to the question, "What administrative procedures tend to discourage case work services?" without exception all included the inadequacy of staff and administrative funds as one of the more important factors.

The situation can be stated simply. Few, if any, case work services are possible when case loads range from 300 to 800 per worker. Spatial separation requires more time to be spent in traveling in the rural areas than in the city. To the large case loads add the fact that in most rural counties each visitor acts also as the intake person for his district and we have a setting which precludes any possibility of intensive service.

Case loads are higher in rural areas because social work is newer there and does not have the support which it has in many urban centers. It is for this reason that we must emphasize again that interpretation and social action will remain important functions of the rural social worker and are highly necessary if we expect to get a setting which will allow the case work function to be performed. Paradoxical as it might seem, high case loads in rural areas will continue as long as procedures are wholly routine and mechanical, and as long as legal eligibility is conceived to be the sole factor and function of the agency. It is true that the determination of eligibility is the first and primary function of public assistance agencies in rural areas, but unless other end motives are present, we might just as well face the facts honestly and admit that our job is one involving arithmetic and statutes alone.

The state child welfare service programs in rural communities, administered in coöperation with the Federal Children's Bureau, have been successful in deepening case work content in limited areas. Aside from the differences in the nature and functions of the program, the principal reason for its comparative support is the fact that most of the administrative funds come from Fed-



eral and state sources. As yet, few rural communities are willing and many are unable to support fully such a service program.

In addition to the inadequacy of administrative funds, proper case work planning is discouraged by the uncertain status of finances from month to month in some of the programs. Until legislators appropriate reasonably adequate funds for general relief and until administrators apportion the funds in advance, long-time planning for family needs in rural areas is impossible.

No discussion of the effect of administrative procedures on case work services in a rural setting is complete without some comment on personnel procedures. Social case work services require at least a minimum of training and experience, whether the services are performed in rural or in urban areas. One can accept as axiomatic the statement that the more training and experience, the more effective the job.

Rural attitudes and relatively low wage scales tend to attract the novice, the beginner, and the untrained. State personnel procedures which put a premium on the urban visitor job as compared with a similar job in the rural areas are difficult to justify. The rural job requires all the case work training that the city job does, and in addition it requires certain skills and personality traits that are probably not so necessary in the city. The rural area needs a general practitioner type of social worker who has initiative and imagination and who can build resources if none exist. A nontechnical, down-to-earth attitude is absolutely essential.

The relationship of rural workers to the community is much more personal than in the city. If the community leaders like a worker and trust her, she can practically write her own ticket. Ability and willingness to observe the folkways and mores are therefore highly important if the worker is going to be able to interpret a new program and a new method successfully.

The selection and placement of rural workers by state agencies are important factors not to be overlooked in any discussion of extending case work services. During the FERA days a trained and very pretty case worker was sent out to a rough-and-tumble rural community. City bred and unacquainted with the simple

ways of the countryside, she failed to get the confidence of the local people. Skepticism was written on the faces of the welfare board and committee members as she discussed individual cases with them. The end came one summer's day at the height of the drought period when she appeared in a bright, shiny, new, red car, clad from head to foot in a beautiful white costume. The illustration is given merely to show that case work services are related to the whole process of interpretation and this, in turn, in not an unimportant degree, to the personal factor. It is undoubtedly true that some rural workers with scarcely any training at all have been able to do a more effective job than certain of their trained colleagues because of their ability to learn the conditions of the soil and to plant the proper seed in ground that has been well tilled.

To summarize, there is an important relationship between administrative procedures and the expansion of case work services in a rural setting. The encouragement of such case work services can be affected by proper definition of function in the administrative agency, by an organizational integration and simplification, by an increase in the size and quality of staff, and by their proper placement in rural communities.

Finally, it must not be assumed that case work services can be foisted on the rural areas without much preliminary work in the field of interpretation and social action. A foresighted rural social case work program must include local participation. Community support for new practices is essential regardless of the source of funds.

## RACIAL MINORITIES AND PUBLIC HOUSING

*Robert C. Weaver*

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IN DISCUSSING MINORITIES in public housing projects, it is well to consider concurrently two chief aspects of the problem. In the first place, there are questions related to tenant selection. These concern such issues as whether or not a given minority is to participate in a project and, if so, whether or not it shall be segregated within the project. Secondly, there are a multitude of questions relative to tenant relations in projects where many national and racial groups are now or will be living.

With the exception of a few cities where there are several antagonistic national groups now living in rather clearly defined neighborhoods, local housing authorities have usually planned to include several national groups in projects located in neighborhoods now housing such families. In larger urban centers where projects are attracting tenants from all sections of the city, families of foreign-born extraction have not been excluded from public housing projects, although the smaller developments are assumed to be occupied by the same groups which now reside in the surrounding neighborhood. In urban centers where there are Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, foreign-born, and native Americans now living in slums, the usual thing is to rehouse these groups in the same areas. Thus, as far as tenant selection is concerned, public housing has followed existing patterns for such groups.

As one would expect from the analysis of minority status for Negroes, Mexicans, and Orientals, these groups have faced more complicated problems of tenant selection. In order to simplify our discussion, it will be possible to consider the Negro as the most difficult case and survey the problems of these minority groups by describing in some detail the Negro's experiences in participation.

In the areas where there are separate public facilities for Negroes and whites, local authorities will usually follow the existing pattern in public housing. In such areas there may be a tendency to use public housing to displace minority groups—particularly the Negro—from desirable neighborhoods in which they now live. Under the guise of “city planning” and under the name of a “reclamation” program, minority groups may be forced to relinquish areas in which they have established themselves at considerable sacrifice. It is, of course, important to note that in any program involving demolition and construction, displacement is inevitable. In some instances a minority group may be locked in an undesirable, pocketed area or may be living in rear streets and alleys. In such cases, the neighborhood can hardly be termed desirable or well established. These instances, however, are quite different from proposing a project for white occupancy in a desirable area long occupied by Negroes and integrated into a neighborhood in which Negroes are now or are in the process of becoming definitely a part. If such a project were undertaken, it would mean not only the displacement of the families on the site, but also the use of public funds to initiate and extend residential restrictions for Negroes.

The United States Housing Authority has set forth a desirable racial policy in this regard. In one of its policy bulletins it is stated:

The development of public housing projects for white occupancy in areas now occupied by Negroes or other minority racial groups is undesirable. This is particularly true where a considerable amount of home ownership or existing community facilities indicate that an integrated community of Negro, Mexican or other minority composition is established.

There is no racial issue in public housing evaded as often as the matter of racial occupancy. The initial approach of those who would postpone deciding this matter is the statement that “public housing cannot solve the race problem.” Though one may accept this point of view, one must realize that public housing can either complicate or ease the problem, and that, in any event, it cannot avoid it.

Quite often, beset with many complex problems, those responsible for the development of housing projects seek to avoid or oversimplify racial issues. They say, on the one hand, "Perhaps we will be willing to have both Negro and white families in the same projects." And then, as they envision possible difficulties, they hasten to add, "but white and Negro tenants should be in separate units or sections; this will reduce friction." If the projects under discussion are to be developed on vacant land and will draw tenants from all sections of the city, there is sometimes a tendency to accept all eligible families except Negroes. This approach seems, at first blush, the simplest and easiest way out of an undeniably complex problem.

Such a course, however, is fraught with difficulties. Many of our urban centers are faced with a serious problem of finding additional areas for Negro occupancy. In such places, the principal problem facing Negroes incident to housing is one of increasing the housing supply and breaking down the bounds of the Negro ghetto. Unless public housing lends a hand, it not only fails to make any appreciable contribution to solving the housing shortage facing Negroes, but it also institutes a dangerous precedent by encouraging families of other races to believe that they have a prior claim, by virtue of race, to sole occupancy of a given neighborhood. This will mean that public housing has avoided meeting a difficult problem and, by so doing, has created a situation which will perpetuate and reinforce the barriers to its ultimate solution.

When a given housing project is tenanted exclusively by white citizens, it becomes in the minds of its tenants a "white project." The existence of such a label will create resistance to the introduction of Negro families at a later date, regardless of whether this innovation is due to the failure of white families to be attracted to the neighborhood or because of the political pressure exerted by the minority group. The important fact is this: If the participation of a racial minority group in a given project seems possible and desirable for the future, it should be recognized during the planning of the project, and the pattern should be set when the initial tenants are accepted. These considera-

tions are of special significance when a project is being developed on a vacant site and is attracting tenants from all sections of the city.

In like manner, when projects are located in neighborhoods where both Negroes and whites live, and are open to both races, there are grave housing dangers incident to segregated project areas. The nature of neighborhoods and the trend of racial population concentrations are not stable things. If they change rapidly, the project population, especially in a relatively small project, will be directly affected. One racial group may tend to move out and another to move in. This will, of course, be of greater importance as public housing expands and individual projects have smaller markets from which to choose their tenants. If, however, there has been a "white" section or a "colored" section, it will be difficult to make adjustments suitable to the demand.

For example, if there is a growth of the Negro population around the project and a corresponding increase in the number of colored applicants for admission, or if there is a lesser demand for units on the part of white families, it will be hard to move Negroes into buildings or areas which the housing authority itself has established as "white" buildings or areas. The result will be that the transition cannot be made by dwelling units but will have to be accomplished by buildings or even by entire projects. Such an eventuality will be costly. It will involve either periods of vacancies and losses in project income, or it will mean that an authority will be forced into attempting to change a racial pattern which it has established. If the latter is undertaken, the authority will find itself embroiled in a racial issue of large proportions. Prejudices will often be inflamed, and rational solutions will be most difficult. Those responsible for the operation of the project will find that by attempting to avoid an issue, they have created a much greater and more difficult one.

In order to illustrate the possible difficulties in this field, permit me to relate an experience of a local authority. The housing division of the PWA constructed a project in an area in which Negroes had been living. Although there had been much agitation and pressure from Negroes in the city for a statement of racial



policy, none was made prior to tenant selection. Finally, Negro applications were accepted, but no Negroes were assigned dwelling units in the project. Then, as the last units were being leased, less than fifty colored families were admitted to the two remaining buildings. Some months later the issue of Negro occupancy again arose. This time it was determined to establish a definite policy and to admit Negroes to public housing projects without segregation. Some of the white tenants in the project objected strongly. They organized to prevent any such action, despite the fact that there were almost forty different "Americanized" national groups in the project.

When the local authority conducted a hearing, the opposing tenant group said that they were willing for more Negroes to enter the project, but they would not stand for Negroes living in the so-called "white" buildings. Needless to say, the hearings were stormy. Threats were made. Prophecies of race riots filled the air. The local authority, however, decided to stand its ground. Today, therefore, a new policy is being put into effect, but, as the executive director said to me recently, "We shall never be able to recover from our original sin in that project."

The degree to which disagreements between tenants become group conflicts depends in projects, as elsewhere, upon what is done to settle them. If they are allowed to grow, it is possible that matters of different cultural and, at times, religious backgrounds will be injected and obscure the original issue. If, however, minor differences are adjusted equitably and quickly, they usually pass as isolated cases and leave little or no basis for future misunderstanding. Although we do not have detailed data on such problems, we do know that they arise daily, and that they can either drive an intolerant and socially untrained management into impetuous action or afford a competent management an opportunity to adjust matters of human conflict.

As public housing matures, it is safe to assume that families of different national, religious, and racial backgrounds will have these conflicts. In some instances these disputes will develop into open issues in which tenants will align themselves on the basis of their own backgrounds. At the same time, a management that has

shown itself to be impartial and fair in dealing with such matters will be in a position to inspire the confidence and coöperation of all groups. If such management has devised programs of community activities, in such a way as to foster mutual tolerance and understanding, it will have created the basis for coöperation and respect among the various nationalities and races.

Of the forty-eight projects constructed by the PWA housing division in the states, fifteen are occupied by Negro and white tenants. The racial pattern and the degree of participation of the races vary greatly. In three Southern projects, there are Negro and white sections which are definitely and clearly defined. For purposes of tenant relations, each of these developments is made up of two projects, one Negro and one white. In the remaining projects of mixed occupancy, some have an equal number of Negro and white tenants and some are predominantly tenanted by one race.

In those instances where one race forms a small minority of the tenants, there has been the nearest approach to complete integration. This is well illustrated by the case of a project in which 3 percent of the tenants are white. Here the white families have had no serious conflicts with their Negro neighbors, and in many instances close personal friendships have been formed between white and colored neighbors. The management of this project is in the hands of Negroes who are well trained in social work and business administration. As members of a minority group themselves, they have been most anxious to prevent racial conflicts.

In instances where the minority racial group forms an appreciable proportion of the tenants, there is less inclination to experiment in the field of interracial contacts in community life. The usual arrangement in the earlier projects has been to segregate the races and provide separate community activities. The plans of approach vary from almost complete separation to coöperation in certain activities.

As an example of the former let us turn to the experience of a project in a border city where about a third of the tenants are Negroes. At the opening of the project, guards were stationed throughout. They spent much of their time keeping outsiders

out of the project and effecting the separate use of certain walks by Negro and white tenants.

The absurd separation in the use of walks has set a pattern of racial participation in this project. Thus today, when this particular feature has been corrected, racial relations still suffer. The policy regarding the walks, and more particularly the attitude which underlies it, has caused less advanced racial relations within the project than in the surrounding slum area. While the latter area presents some evidences that Negroes and whites can co-operate in activities, as reflected in schools, playgrounds, and mothers' clubs; similar biracial activities in the project have not been successful. A playground adjacent to the part of the project occupied by Negroes and open to both races is but little used by white children in the project. On the other hand, a craft shop, located in the section occupied by white families and open to both races, is used but little by Negro boys in the project.

In another city where the great majority of the tenants in a project are white and the thirty-odd Negro families are segregated, the management has made efforts to foster racial coöperation and ultimately to break down the segregation. Thus some of the organizations and tenant clubs have both white and Negro members.

At the opening of the project one play school was sponsored by two area clubs, one of which had Negro members. It developed that the white groups wished to withdraw from sponsorship so that their children would not have to play with Negro children. At that time the Negro area club asked the management if they might assume the sponsorship of the school in behalf of their children. The request was granted and twelve Negro children were enrolled. In time some of the white tenants in the area, who had declined to coöperate with the Negroes, asked if they could enroll their children. The Negro sponsors cordially invited them to do so, and more and more white children enrolled until they were in the majority. The resident counselor recently suggested to the Negro sponsoring group that they invite the parents of the white children to join them again in the sponsorship of the school. After their experience of rejection by the white group and subse-

quent successful operation of the school, the colored sponsors answered that they would not invite the white parents to rejoin in sponsorship of the school, but that if the white parents were to request a reinstatement, as it were, they would be happy to have them back.

It seems unnecessary to multiply these individual cases. The matter of racial coöperation is not a simple one, nor can it be solved by setting forth certain rules, calling names, or searching to find who is wrong. Often the minority group is shy or hesitant about mutual undertakings; often the majority group is uncertain and elects not to take a chance. Public housing, however, must face squarely this problem of racial relations in mixed projects. Local authorities, because of their Negro members or because of the pressure of articulate and politically powerful colored groups, will have to manage projects in which there are Negro and white tenants. In many instances segregation will not be permitted in these projects, and the management must work to achieve understanding and coöperation among the tenants.

Projects for biracial occupancy must be so planned from their initiation. Once racial policy has been decided upon, it must be followed as long and as firmly as possible. Patterns of racial participation which permit adjustments to changes in the racial make-up of the market are always most desirable. Where there cannot be full coöperation in tenant activities at the outset, intelligent management will chart a course which will lead to mutual understanding and coöperation.

Finally, it may be said of public housing that its handling of racial, religious, and national groups tends to be no more nor less democratic nor successful than that of the communities of which it aims to be an integral part. While it is obviously true that these projects cannot alone solve "the race problem" in America, through intelligent planning and socially conscious management carried out by local authorities who face honestly and squarely the racial problems involved, public housing may yet make a definite contribution to the national ideal of equality of opportunity regardless of race, creed, color, or religious affiliation.

## THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGING METHODS OF PRODUCTION

*Mary van Kleeck*

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**E**IGHT YEARS AGO, in July, 1932, the Second International Conference of Social Work met in Germany. Social workers from forty nations, although differing in language, in forms of government, in social and cultural conditions, and even in their programs of social work, nevertheless shared the common experience of unemployment and poverty surrounding all of them. The keynote of all their reports and discussions could be summed up as a declaration that social workers and people of good will in all countries were prepared to do their utmost to relieve distress, but that social work could not carry the burden and meet needs adequately, unless international economic coöperation could be substituted for the exploitation of the weak by the strong and the barriers imposed against each other by fear and insecurity. The dangers of war even then hung like a cloud on the horizon.

This year, in July, the Fourth International Conference of Social Work was to have met in Brussels. Since that meeting has become impossible, it is for us in the United States so to conduct this conference as to be conscious of our kinship with social workers in all lands on both sides of the battle lines. We may be secure in the knowledge that a social program which is good for the people of the United States can bring no harm, but rather benefit, to the people of all countries. As we are part of the world community, any action that we take, even when it appears to be limited to our own nation, must necessarily affect all other parts of the world community.

This report was prepared before the armies which have confronted each other since last September began to move in western Europe. The report relates to the United States, but in the sense



that we represent a technological development based on science, which knows no national boundaries, it may be regarded as applicable to other nations. Their differences are due merely to differences in the stage of economic and industrial organization at which they have arrived. The problem of world-wide unemployment and poverty recognized by the social workers in 1932, which has confronted the United States along with all the other nations, has to be reformulated for the whole world, in terms of the potentialities of modern technology for the establishment of security and the raising of standards of living of all people.

In this spirit, the conclusion to be drawn from this analysis of productivity and the possibility of directing it toward the improvement of social and living conditions may be expressed in the form of a message which social workers may well send to the administration in Washington today. Our message is that the resources and technological development of the United States call for an international policy directed toward isolation against war and collaboration for peace.

"We, Who Must Say 'No,'" is the title under which a former case work supervisor in a county welfare department, writing in the *Survey Midmonthly* of April, 1940, describes the plight of those in a government agency today who are responsible for giving relief. When the newspaper headlines read, "Another Layoff Announced by WPA; County's Relief Fund Inadequate; Relievers Stage Sit-down Strike," how, she asks, is the social case worker to fulfill the expectations implied in her training: to maintain a constructive attitude toward society, even if it does force her against her intelligence to become primarily a denying person, and never to permit herself to lose sight of the fact that a client is a human being, even if she has to refuse him what no human being should be refused?

This statement of a personal reaction expresses well the dilemma confronting social work as a whole. It may be said that the present situation forces the profession to turn from its methods of treatment of human beings, which have reached a high level of development, to a study of the resources for meeting human needs. Such a study carries us at once into the whole area of industrial



production. Social work must now ask of industry: What can you do to lift out of poverty those members of the community who are in the majority among our clients? What hope have you to give us that we shall not always have to provide the means of livelihood for families of workers who are able and willing to work, but who cannot find employment?

After ten years, we are learning something new about the problem of unemployment, and we are driven to the conclusion that the causes of social maladjustments due to lack of opportunity for employment lie today outside the area of social workers' activity or responsibility, but not beyond the scope of social workers' understanding and influence. This is the keynote of the relation of social work to production. Those whose work and aims are social are needed now in a quite new sense in the field of industry. We must understand the nature of the problem which changing methods of production present not only to industrial management, but to the community, to its citizens, to the trade unions, and to government. When we have envisaged these relations, we shall have the basis for formulating a new program of social action in the field of social work as it is influenced by the rapid changes in methods of production, with all their potentialities for higher standards of living.

One result of the burden of unemployment and industrial depression upon government has been the making of a number of studies by governmental agencies, which give us a picture of the productive apparatus of the nation today. The most illuminating of these for the field of social work are the reports of the National Resources Committee, especially the comprehensive document to which many experts in various industries contributed, under the title "Technological Trends and National Policy, Including the Social Implications of New Inventions"; the same committee's study of "Consumer Incomes in the United States, Their Distribution in 1935-36"; and the series of reports of the National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration, dealing with various phases of the problem of "re-employment opportunities and recent changes in industrial techniques."

These and other studies are now being gathered together by the

Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, which reviews them for the purpose of showing their implications for social and living conditions. This review is being prepared under the title *Social Consequences of Industrial Productivity: An Orientation Relative to Production and Standards of Living—with Readings from Recent Research on Technical and Economic Change*. It is from this study that this paper draws its conclusions. Despite the fact that the studies already made are substantial and comprehensive, they are merely introductory to the further social research which is needed. But they are serving the useful purpose of giving a new focus to problems of unemployment and poverty.

Recent hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee are sharpening a controversy which has come to the fore at frequent intervals since the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. The question is whether new machinery and other technological changes produce unemployment, or create new products and new wealth, improve standards of living, and develop new opportunities for employment. It is noteworthy that in the present hearings, for the most part, each session is a debate between a representative of management, who argues for the expanding influence of technology, and a representative of the trade union in the same industry, who maintains that it creates unemployment. The truth probably lies in accepting both positions. A new machine or a new process is likely to be immediately a "labor-saver." The motives for introducing it usually include an effort to reduce costs, and reduction of cost is anticipated through saving wages. The whole history of invention shows, however, that the material resources of society grow through scientific discovery, as man learns by science how to control his environment. The kernel of truth common to both these facts is that social welfare requires that social science shall keep pace with technology, and that social invention shall be as alert and as promptly utilized as technical discoveries.

It follows that those concerned with social welfare must not accept so-called technological unemployment as a final statement of the problem of relating technology to social needs. The problem of changing methods of production in their social effects must

be formulated in positive terms: What are the labor requirements of production, in the light of recent inventions or changing methods, and what are the employment opportunities resulting from industry's labor requirements? The problem of unemployment or displacement thus becomes merely a phase of the larger problem of establishing such terms of employment and such provisions for training, retraining, and placement as shall insure for the workers their proper share in the benefits of new techniques. To insure to the workers their proper share is important, not merely as a measure of justice to them, but as an essential means of balancing production and distribution. Thus the problem of technological unemployment resolves itself into the question of how employment is to be organized to insure a balance between progress in production and progress in social and living conditions. Unless the rate of social progress or the raising of the level of standards of living is in proportion to technical advance, production itself halts.

We may not leave the problem of "technological unemployment," however, without referring to what we regard as the preponderance of evidence that technology today is actually causing unemployment without an inevitable automatic development of compensating opportunities. The studies mentioned give instance after instance in all the industries of the country, in which less labor is required today for a given output. It is not sufficient to say that an expanding market for an increased output would remedy the displacement of workers, because it is precisely the lack of an expanding market at home or abroad which confronts American industry today. This problem of the market must be dealt with before the theory of compensating employment can be trusted to remedy the displacement of workers by new methods of production.

An interesting study on this point has been made by economists in the Netherlands who have used data for the United States in statistical calculations of "the influence on employment" of what they call "extra-economic determining factors," among which we would list technological changes. A brief review of this study was published in the *Journal of the Econometric Society* in July,

1939, under the title "A Simplified Model of the Causation of Technological Unemployment," by Tinbergen and de Wolff. Using the mathematical methods of multiple correlations and examining the relative influence of various factors upon the volume of employment, the authors state: "The remarkable result obtained by our calculation is that . . . increases in labor productivity are unfavorable to employment. This stands in contrast to what is known as the compensation theory."

The calculations, by the way, were based upon data for "the United States pre-war structure [using figures for 1910] and for the post-war, pre-Roosevelt structure [using averages for 1919-1932]."

These and other studies, taken in conjunction with the experience of the past decade in the United States with increased production exceeding increases in employment, signify for social workers that "recovery" in business will leave a disproportionate number unemployed, so long as the present trends in technological development continue. This unemployment presents two aspects of importance in social welfare: first, the position of the displaced worker; and second, the fate of the community left stranded by changes in production coupled with economic changes. Examples of disaster in the community are to be found in agricultural areas and in mining communities, but towns dependent upon some manufacturing industry affected by technological change frequently suffer the same fate.

The relation of this problem of unemployment, as it affects the individual or the community, to the general problem of raising standards of living may become clearer if we can construct a framework of the total production system, showing its essential elements at any stage of development. Work for livelihood, that is, the tasks necessary to transform a resource into use by human beings, includes the following elements:

1. Materials, either in their natural state, or transformed into the raw materials for further use.
2. Motive power for manipulating or transporting materials.
3. Apparatus for manipulation or transportation; including apparatus to make the apparatus.

4. Construction of shelter for the processes of work or for living; and of roads and highways for transportation.

5. Transportation of goods from the place of making to the place of use.

6. Consumers' goods, the end result of the whole process of work, determined by available materials, motive power and apparatus for manipulation and provision for construction and transportation.

To make clearer these elements in the system of work for livelihood, we may contrast the life of the Indian tribes, which had hunting as their means of livelihood, with the production system of the United States today. We and the Indians both live on the same continent, with essentially the same elements for man's use in earth, air, and water. The hunting Indian killed animals for his food, and for his shelter and clothing used the available wood and fibers with the simplest methods of manipulation. For motive power he had not even discovered the wheel, but used the hand, with simple wooden tools manipulated by hand. The apparatus to make these tools was equally simple. Walking and carrying were his means of transportation, and they required no construction and no road building.

In contrast, we have electricity as a motive power; rapidly changing materials for manufacture and for use, as chemical discoveries create new combinations; elaborate machinery with which to make other machinery, all, in turn, influenced by metallurgy and by new chemical discoveries; with equally elaborate and far-reaching developments in forms of construction, transportation, and communication. It is interesting to observe that, as between these two contrasting production systems, the human needs for food, clothing, and shelter remain essentially the same. Human environment and daily living, however, are greatly changed as the methods of production change, and the cultural life of man advances in proportion as the means of communication and transportation widen the range of his contacts and his accessibility to resources.

The one unchanging characteristic of our production system today is the fact that change somewhere in its structure is unceas-



ing, and that each change affects not only its own branch of production, but many related branches. The use of electricity as motive power has created more far-reaching changes than steam, which was a mere extension of man's tools, while electricity is a change in kind, producing automatic processes annihilating space and rapidly changing labor requirements. Similarly far-reaching are the chemical discoveries which transform materials and create new materials as substitutes for nature's resources. To believe that the same economic and social system as prevailed for a tribe of Indians living by hunting, or even the same form as prevailed in an American city in colonial days, will suffice to administer the present highly developed apparatus of production is to fail to comprehend the meaning of social evolution. The present technical apparatus is essentially a social system involving the coöperation of all who operate it and the understanding of all whose needs are served by it. Moreover, it is a dynamic system, requiring for its functioning swift response to changes and improvements in any of its elements.

It should be noted here that change itself creates instability. Lack of adjustment between production and distribution shows itself in unemployment, which, in turn, by lessening purchasing power, throws distribution further out of balance with productive capacity. At the same time, lack of balance arises from and is indicated by inequalities in family income, with a substantial number of families in the income class in which purchases of new products for higher living standards are utterly impossible. It is in these areas of insufficient income and unemployment that social workers must find their bearings in relation to the industrial forces which determine the nature of the social maladjustments requiring the ministrations of social service.

It is not at this point suggested that all social maladjustments arise out of industrial or economic causes. Social work is learning more and more to deal with the subtler forms of individual and social need, and ultimately social work should be regarded as the profession which applies a new science of human association. At present, however, no program of social work for any community can ignore the economic and industrial factors which interfere



with employment and family income. But before appraising the nature of the task of social work in dealing with the maladjustments arising from industrial progress, it is important to recognize the role which industry should play in maintaining balance in the midst of progress.

The workshop is the unit in which industry produces its output and purchasing power is distributed to workers. It is on the job that new methods of production change labor requirements, and from these changing labor requirements flow the consequences for employment. Changes may take the form of a new machine or a new device on the old machine; or a change in motive power from steam to electricity, with further changes from hand controls to automatic processes; or a change in organization of work, requiring one worker to supervise more machines or in other ways changing the division of labor; or the change may be merely one in the average speed, brought about by "wage incentives," or changes in methods of management or working conditions which result in greater efficiency.

It is in the workshop that a policy can be determined with regard to the changes to be made, and the speed of introduction of new machinery can be controlled in such a way as to lessen the resulting maladjustment for displaced workers. Here is the special significance of the trade unions' demands for shorter hours which may prevent displacement of workers as productivity increases. It is at this point also that the practice of restricting output develops as the protection of the worker against speed and other change demanding a greater expenditure of energy without corresponding increase in earnings.

The central point of conflict between labor and capital is in the conditions of the job which determine the worker's expenditure of energy and the proportionate returns to him from the output of his work. Hence it is that the conflict may often take the form of investment of capital in laborsaving machinery or devices, in order that there may not be the need to share the fruits of production with workers. Yet, obviously, if a disproportionate amount of capital be invested in machinery, as compared with distribution of purchasing power through the pay envelope, the

market for the sale of products will be correspondingly restricted. Hence the workshop in all aspects is the balance wheel of production.

This is why the trade union becomes important, but in the struggle of unions to survive they have been concerned primarily with protection of wage scales and reduction of hours. Only when collective bargaining is accepted without further struggle is it possible for the trade-union movement to function within the workshop in a way to determine speed of output and other conditions. Generally speaking, responsibility for these conditions has rested with management, not only by the authority of ownership, but also because job specifications require agreement and acceptance of terms which may often be inconsistent with the conflict arising from divergent interests as between labor and capital.

Today in American industry, however, this problem is pressing for solution, since the mere maintenance of wage rates and even the reduction of hours, without control over the job itself, may prevent the trade union from protecting the interests of its members, which are involved in control of technical change and provision for giving to the worker some of the benefits of increased production. In Michigan recently, in strikes in the automobile industry, this need for a constructive program of representation of workers' interests in the speed and other specifications of the job has become prominent.

While the workshop is the unit within which technical changes are introduced and their social consequences have their origin, nevertheless technological development, requiring large units of production and complex relationships between industries, deprives the workshop or the separate plant of power or scope sufficient for control of its own conditions. Successful operation requires large-scale organization; small companies give way to large corporations; and a network of financial arrangements ties together widely different enterprises, not only involving a considerable area of a single industry, but extending over a number of related industries. Thus the trend toward fewer and larger corporations

and toward monopoly is a direct consequence of technological development.

Correspondingly, the area of operation of the trade union rapidly extends from the craft to industry-wide organization in industrial unions. And as the scope of industrial relations between capital and labor thus expands, both depend more and more upon government to determine the rules in their relationships. This gives rise to such legislation as the National Labor Relations Act and the Wages and Hours Act. More and more individuals find themselves unable to be their own employers, and must become hired employees of corporate industry, receiving wages or salaries. They are dependent for the security of their livelihood upon the stability of the process of the industry in which they are engaged. As large aggregates of business confront large unions, those who are concerned with the interest of the community as a whole must begin to ask how great power to control the community's resources may safely be left to private organizations which may at times become more powerful than government itself. This is the basic economic problem of democracy, which may be called the major social issue of the new and evolving methods of production.

War between nations is likely to result from the intense competition which creates monopoly to protect business from its competitors, and thus comes to confront similar monopolies in other nations in a competitive world market. War is not created by modern science, nor by technology. It merely represents the unscientific and destructive method of leaving unsolved the problems of economic organization which arise out of greatly enlarged productive capacity. War, in turn, becomes a new source of instability and a new obstacle to full utilization of productive capacity for the raising of standards of living. The program of war is the exact opposite. It is paid for by lowering standards of living within the nation involved, and this in turn demands curtailment of the rights of trade unions, in order that there may be less opposition to rising costs of living, decrease of needed supplies for the individual and the family, and increasing speed and longer hours in the workshop. At the same time, each nation seeks to increase its exports, and by its financial policy and the lowering of prices to

underbid other nations in the markets of the world. War is almost the exact negation of technology, with all its potentialities for higher standards of living. The social program which is needed, and which is the exact opposite of war, is that each nation should utilize national production for its own people first, and exchange with other nations for their mutual welfare.

Is it possible, then, to establish a standard to determine the desirability of new methods for increasing output? Obviously, a mere maximum will not inevitably effect a balance between production and distribution. What is needed is an optimum, which biologically signifies the most favorable condition for growth. In the social sense, it is the most favorable condition for the life of the individual and the community. The standards of living to be achieved are not static but are such conditions as will permit the individual to function at the highest level of culture toward which his community has evolved. Standards of living must progressively rise, both in their material and their culture aspects, as technology increases man's control over his environment.

Optimum production, then, may be defined as the best possible achievement, quantitative and qualitative, in output and performance directed toward the highest standards of living, material and cultural, which are attainable with rational conservation of resources, human and material, and full utilization of technical and human sciences, invention, and skill.

Though the subject thus presented as a basic guide for social action is already far-reaching, it has relationships which must also be recognized. In a society like ours, in which competition for income and employment creates conflicts, it is obviously inevitable that common interests should give rise to organizations which, in turn, seek to influence action by government. The power of groups acting in their own exclusive interest needs to be balanced by organization of those concerned primarily with the public welfare. At this point, civil liberties must be protected, or powerful groups will seek to prevent discussion or writing or teaching on social-economic issues which will interfere with one selfish interest or another. Political parties and government itself become the arena for these conflicts.

It is of the utmost importance that those who put the interest of the community first should have the understanding necessary to give leadership to the nation in social action. Toward this end, social workers need to participate in the social sciences, and they need also to study the methods of adult education which will spread understanding among an increasingly large number of people for the development of a potent and responsible public opinion. The role of civil liberties is to keep open the way for social invention, which should be the fruit of social science, exactly as technical invention is the fruit of natural science.

If the optimum is to be attained, the next development necessary in the organization of production is to formulate and cultivate the science of human association. Social work represents, in embryonic form at least, the profession which, most of all the professions, perhaps, is concerned with the practice of human association. Its practice is a laboratory for the social sciences. Other social institutions, such as the family, the school, and the trade union, are also laboratories for the new science of human association. Of these social institutions, the social agencies and the trade unions may perhaps exert in the next decade the most direct influence upon the system of production, to the end of removing those defects of economic organization to which Wesley C. Mitchell called attention in his address ten years ago at the National Conference of Social Work in Boston. In a paper on "The Economic Basis for Social Progress" he said:

What keeps our income down is not inability or unwillingness to produce more goods, but inability to market what we can make. This inability arises from imperfections in our economic organization. . . . We can raise the standard of living just as rapidly as we can remedy the defects of our economic organization which prevent us from doing what we all wish to do.

This would seem to suggest that only by remaking our economic system can we remedy the maladjustments arising from changing methods in production. Such, however, is not the thesis of this paper. The very extent of unemployment has created the necessity for a national policy of relief, and this in turn gives a social program an immediate significance for social and living conditions



in this country. It must be recognized that the changes going on as inventions are used in the various branches of industry inevitably give rise to new employment requirements and new problems of adjustment of the individual and planning of the community. In the light of the optimum as it has been defined, it would appear that a new policy of relief in the United States, adjusted to our technological progress and contributing toward it, would take for its leading aim the establishment of machinery to facilitate adjustment and replacement; while at the same time establishing a guarantee of income for all who are employed for wages and salaries. Such a program might develop immediately the following steps:

1. Labor laws which set minimum wages and maximum hours as the standard for all employment should be strengthened and improved, thus helping to establish a balance in the unit of the production system, which is the workshop.

2. The right of collective bargaining should be maintained unimpaired in order that the trade unions may function to express the interests of workers and consumers in such terms of employment involving rates of wages, hours of work, and job specifications; and a policy with reference to the introduction of changes should be maintained that will make for the optimum of productivity.

3. Civil liberties for trade unions, for social agencies, for political parties, and for all teachers, writers, and lecturers should be maintained to the end that social invention and full discussion of social economic issues may be encouraged and applied.

4. A program for unemployed workers should be developed and established as a permanent national policy.

- a) Social insurance should be extended to workers in all occupations, including agriculture, and should cover unemployment from all causes, whether due to industrial depression, illness, accident, or other circumstance. Such social insurance should be, in part, at least, financed by government, with no deduction from wages and with a minimum tax on payrolls.

- b) Functioning with unemployment insurance should be an



increasingly adequate placement agency, with provision for scholarships for retraining and replacement in new occupations.

c) For those for whom social insurance is insufficient and for whom no position becomes available through the employment exchange, work should be provided, either in public works of the usual type, or in work opportunities adapted to those engaged in special occupations or professions, or through scholarships especially for young workers but available also for those who may benefit by new training.

d) For those whose needs are not met by the foregoing provisions, funds should be made available in the form of unemployment assistance based upon individual or family needs.

Such a program, related specifically to the individual, should be supplemented by support of a program of public housing and other provisions for community planning, which social workers may appropriately promote in coöperation with other groups. Finally, underlying all these programs is the necessity for a program of taxation which will relieve the burdens of small property owners and place the taxes first on highest incomes. At the same time it will be necessary to study the resources of the nation and their conservation, since taxation at best is not a satisfactory method of balancing production and distribution. The greater the tax bill for the social services, the clearer the evidence of defects in basic economic organization and waste of the nation's resources. If properly conserved and rightly administered, with national production for higher standards of living as the objective, the people of the United States should have an ever decreasing need for remedying the maladjustments and the poverty which have paradoxically arisen from technical and industrial progress.

## LABOR AND SOCIAL SECURITY

*Ralph Hetzel, Jr.*

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SECURITY HAS BECOME one of the most important words in the modern political vocabulary. That is because people feel insecure. In the old days the problem of insecurity used to be considered much more one of personal responsibility. Now more and more the causes of insecurity are obscured in the complexities of modern industrial economy, and the incidence of insecurity has little relationship to the virtue of the victims. Our present social security system is one device we have concocted for meeting the insecurity of our people. To be sure, it is a tentative and an imperfect device. I shall point out later what labor believes to be its shortcomings. Now I want to indicate the general principles upon which such a program should be founded.

Labor believes a social security system should have two functions. First and most obvious is the provision of economic and welfare benefits which meet the most urgent needs of the American people. This function might be called the humane side of the social security system, since it considers the needs of human beings faced with the terrors of poverty-stricken old age, the first impact of unemployment, and the hazards of illness.

The second function is the more purely economic one. In this respect the social security system, labor believes, should serve to readjust income flow more toward the low incomes and to provide economic cushions against the shocks of cyclical depressions. Such a system should be a powerful instrument whereby a continuing income would go to people who would otherwise be cast out of the economy. Also it would establish large pools of purchasing power which would come into play when income from private industry fell off. In order to play this role effectively, the funds for such a system should, in labor's view, be withdrawn not from

the pockets of wage earners and small consumers, but from the large idle pools of wealth.

Up to the present the social security system in the United States has failed on both counts.

Let me present a bill of particulars, first with regard to what I call the humane aspect of the program. This deals with the benefits which are available under the act:

1. The present system excludes millions of wage and salary earners and small merchants whose need for security and whose right to protection are as great as many of those now included under the act. Farmers, office and professional workers, Federal, state, and municipal employees, seamen, domestic and agricultural workers are now excluded from benefits either in whole or in part.

2. Unemployment benefits are far too low. They are paid for much too short a period with much too long a waiting period.

3. Old age benefits are provided at levels far too low to give any sense of security even to those who are included under the provisions. Our own estimate is that such benefits now average between \$10 and \$35 a month. The Social Security Board estimates are slightly higher. They estimate that, for a qualified aged worker with an aged wife, 9 percent of the benefits will be \$15; 21 percent between \$15 and \$30; 48 percent between \$30 and \$45; 14 percent between \$45 and \$60; and 8 percent over \$60. On the basis of either guess the benefits are too low to provide any real kind of security.

4. The law fails to provide any help for workers disabled before they reach the age for old age benefits.

5. Labor is convinced that the full machinery of the social security system is very seriously clogged with a complicated mass of technicalities. For the most part, that is the fault of the law. Much of the basic difficulty in the payment of benefits arises from the idea that benefits should be paid in some exact proportion to contributions. The result is a series of exceedingly complicated formulas for the determination of benefits, such that the worker can never tell what he ought to receive.

The C.I.O. has proposed to the Board and to Congress a series

of changes which we believe will remedy most of the shortcomings of the system. Some of them are now embodied in legislation pending before Congress. They are a testimonial to our conviction that the social security system can and must become one of the most important bulwarks of democracy. When people know that democracy can provide security for them and their families, then it is safe from all attack.

The present system for the aged is, of course, based upon two separate systems: first, the Federal old age assistance plan—the so-called Old Age and Survivors Insurance—and the second, the Federal-state old age relief programs. The Federal system is based on complicated actuarial computations. The state-Federal systems are based on the means test and are a form of relief. The C.I.O. proposes the abolishment of these two types of programs in favor of one common Federal system. The basic principle of such a system would be the payment of a minimum of \$60 at sixty. No actuaries are needed, no elaborate formulas. Every worker over sixty would be entitled to \$60 and every couple to \$90 each month. The means test would be out. If workers had other income, then such income would be supplemented to bring it up to the minimum benefit. Old people would not be forced to sell their homes or other property to get old age assistance. Such a program implies the belief that a deeper justice is done by providing a minimum for all old people no matter how much work they have done in their lives, than by the elaborate formulas which seek to base benefits on formulas applied to a worker's earnings.

The system should be financed upon a much sounder basis by taxes upon great incomes and accumulations of wealth. The economic effect of this type of system I will discuss later. Such a program will probably cost between two and three billion dollars a year. Already, however, more than one billion dollars is being collected each year to pay for the present system plus other forms of relief to aid aged people.

The C.I.O. believes, too, that when a worker is sixty, having spent forty or more years at productive labor, it is time he had a

chance for some security. To me at least, the age of sixty-five seems a long time to wait.

In the unemployment compensation system the problems are much the same. In the first place, there are forty-eight separate and distinct systems, unified only by a few Federal standards. The obvious remedy is to establish a unified Federal system. As long as the states retain separate systems, the situation is confusion worse confounded.

Here in unemployment compensation, too, millions of workers are left out. On many of the jobs that need the protection most, workers are excluded from unemployment compensation benefits, as for example, agriculture, domestic service, and retailing. Many of these exemptions are the result of the actuarial approach. The actuary, seeing occupations where it is difficult to collect enough contributions to pay benefits, feels that these occupations should be excluded from unemployment compensation. Labor looks at it the other way. Where there is the greatest insecurity, there, says labor, is the place where benefits should first be paid. Stop collecting the funds for unemployment compensation like the premiums on private life insurance. The money for social insurance should come from those who can afford to pay it. Here also benefits are too low, averaging about \$9 to \$12 a week, with 25 percent of such benefits under \$5 a week.

The C.I.O. has set forth a program of payments for unemployment compensation as follows: (1) the extension of coverage to all workers at adequate rates; (2) benefits based on quarterly earnings in a calendar year; (3) waiting period of one week of total or partial unemployment; (4) minimum weekly benefit of seven dollars; (5) benefits to last twenty weeks; and (6) any workers earning \$100 in a year to be eligible. As a matter of fact, these points have been embodied in a bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Murray and now pending there.

The C.I.O. recognizes that there are some limits to the adequacy with which unemployment compensation can meet the problems of the unemployed. Certainly in a period of such vast unemployment as we have today, unemployment compensation is completely inadequate. Were we once to reach full employment,

then perhaps workers could build up sufficient credits so that an unemployment compensation system could carry much more of the weight of unemployment than it now can bear. Nevertheless, it is clear that we must be prepared in periods of severe and extended unemployment to provide systems of public work that will give employment to the unemployed and stimulate the economy.

In addition to old age and unemployment, many thousands of workers face hazards brought about by permanent and total disability through accidents and crippling sickness. Today little or no provision is made for their care. Many such disabled workers are forced to turn to charity or even to outright begging in order to live. For these people there should also be provision in the social security system.

The social security system has as yet barely touched the whole problem of health. One third of the people in the United States can afford only inadequate medical care when they are sick. Another third can afford no care at all. Scores of thousands of mothers die in childbirth each year in America, simply because they cannot afford to pay for a doctor or go to a hospital. Scores of thousands of children die or are handicapped for life each year in America, simply because their parents cannot afford to buy medical care for them. Hundreds of thousands of wage and salary earners and farmers die prematurely or are sick, just because they cannot pay for the care to keep them alive and in health.

This problem requires a substantial health program which should be included in the social security system and financed by the Federal Government. The five points upon which such a program should be based are: (1) adequate maternity and child health care; (2) control of industrial diseases and other health hazards brought about by modern industrial processes; (3) public control of such diseases as tuberculosis, pneumonia, and syphilis; (4) Federal subsidies for the building of hospitals and medical clinics; and (5) a system of insurance for medical care with free medical care for those who cannot pay for it. Within such a system of benefits the C.I.O. sees security for the people really established. With such programs the promises of democracy begin to



be fulfilled. When we can show to the world a people so secured, we drive totalitarianism from our shores.

When the present social security system was established, it was generally recognized that the act was only a beginning and should be the stepping-off place for a greatly improved system. There is danger that the arteries of the present system will become so hardened that no changes can be made. We must move with some celerity.

I have said that the social security system is not yet successful in the economic sphere. In discussing labor's economic view I have pointed out elsewhere labor's belief that the cure for most of the nation's economic ills lay in the increase of purchasing power—in the shift of a greater share of the nation's income to the working people and to the consumers. Until that shift is made, the nation will continue to face periods of stagnation in which great reserves of labor and great capital lie idle.

As I pointed out earlier, the social security system can be an important factor in the increase of purchasing power and the shift of the flow of income. Here is what has been happening under the present system: Each year a little over a half billion dollars is being collected to build up a reserve in the Federal Treasury for old-age pensions. Payment of these pensions began January 1, 1940, to all eligible workers over the age of sixty-five. Since January 1, 1937, taxes have been collected totaling one and a half billion dollars. The current estimate is that about one hundred million dollars will be paid out to old people during the first year of benefit payments. It may well be much less.

During the year 1940 a half billion dollars will be collected, while only a corresponding \$100,000,000 will go back to workers in old-age benefits. In other words, there has been withdrawn from active purchasing power by the old-age benefit taxes \$500,000,000 a year, and until January 1, 1940, nothing was given out. At the rate it will be paid out this year, the depressive effect will scarcely be checked.

Up to and including February 29, 1940, states have collected for the employment compensation fund a sum of money totaling over two and a half billion dollars. Of this sum the workers of the

nation have received a bare \$930,000,000 or approximately one third of the total amount during a period of extensive unemployment. The amount of \$1,668,000,000 has been accumulated in government reserve funds.

So far this fiscal year \$638,536,000 has been collected, of which less than half (45 percent) has been paid out during the current period. That is to say, for every two dollars collected, less than one dollar has seen its way back to the workers in the form of unemployment compensation, while the other dollar has gone into a reserve account.

A large part of the burden of taxes now being paid under the social security system comes from the pockets of the workers themselves. In a very real and serious sense, it is a tax on consumption just as clearly as a sales tax. Similarly, that part of the taxes which is levied upon the employers' payroll also usually is considered a cost of production and is reflected immediately in the price of production.

The C.I.O. proposes that the main weight of the social security program be paid for out of taxes levied upon large incomes and upon the great accumulations of capital. At present our national taxation system is heavily weighted in the direction of taxes on consuming power, and it has been moving in that direction continuously. The shift of social security taxation from taxes on consuming power to taxes on idle and accumulated wealth would do much to restore the Federal tax system to a healthy basis. It would do much also to shift the flow of income toward broader purchasing power and to establish in this nation economic stability near the point of full production and employment. Labor believes that in the social security system properly administered and soundly established lies one of the great instruments for providing a continuous security to the people of the nation and for proving again that the ways of democracy are best.

## RURAL DEPENDENCY IN CALIFORNIA

*Carey McWilliams*

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THE PROBLEM OF RURAL DEPENDENCY in California is really synonymous with the problem of agricultural employment. In the agricultural counties of the state, the relief load is made up, for the most part, of agricultural workers. The case load of the State Relief Administration in these counties will show on an average that about 60 percent to 65 percent of these cases involve agricultural workers. It is generally known, of course, that agricultural workers in California fall into two rather clearly defined categories. The first group, comprising not more than 20 percent of the total, whose employment is fairly steady, is in a large measure self-supporting. This group includes foremen, machinists, dairy hands, bookkeepers, and other types of year-round employees, paid on a regular daily or monthly wage with or without board and room. This group presents no problem.

But the other group, those seasonally or intermittently employed, those who migrate with respect both to employment and domicile, and who comprise, roughly speaking, 80 percent of the total, present a serious problem since they cannot, under existing circumstances, be self-supporting. On an average, this latter group, consisting of perhaps two hundred thousand workers employed on piece rates or hourly rates, cannot find more than six months' employment during the year, and their employment, even during this period, is highly intermittent and affected by a number of variable factors, such as weather conditions, market fluctuations, and the contraction and expansion of acreage devoted to specialty crops grown for the commercial market.

It so happens that this group can find, in the very nature of things, slight if any supplemental employment. One study recently made indicated, for example, that a sample group of families could

find only twenty-five days of employment in a year in nonagricultural pursuits. One reason for this situation, of course, is that the peak period of employment in certain related lines of industry, namely, canning and processing, is precisely the same as the peak period for field operations. Consequently, agricultural field workers cannot supplement their earnings by part-time employment in the canning and processing plants. A recent study made of 526 typical families in this group indicated that their annual income for 1938 was derived as follows: agricultural employment, 61.5 percent of the total; canning, packing, and processing agricultural products, 3.9 percent; nonagricultural income, 5.1 percent; and public relief or assistance, 29.5 percent of the total annual income.

Not only is employment seasonal and intermittent, with practically no opportunity available for supplemental earnings, but also other factors cause a reduced net income. Transportation expenses represent perhaps 6 or 10 percent of their total annual earnings. Living costs for these workers are necessarily higher than they would be if these same workers were settled in some definite abode or residence, since, by the nature of their employment, they cannot practice domestic economies such as preserving and canning food, and so forth; nor can they grow garden produce, or have a cow, or chickens, or pigs. Even with public assistance added, as it must under present circumstances necessarily be added, these people exist on an annual income below the minimum that has been estimated for subsistence.

What are the basic economic factors that have created this situation? The official explanation is that the problem is inherent in the type of agriculture practiced in California. In other words, so the official explanation runs, this problem is inseparable from an agricultural economy that is based upon the production of specialty crops having a high demand for seasonal labor. But the problem, on close analysis, can be shown to relate more directly to the scope of agricultural operations in California, rather than to the type of product grown. There are approximately one hundred and fifty thousand farms in California. Of this total a large number, representing approximately 70 percent of all farms, employ

practically no seasonal or migratory labor. In fact, they employ practically no hired agricultural labor whatever. Employment is, therefore, highly concentrated. Not more than 10 percent of the total number of farms in California employ approximately two thirds of all workers in agriculture, and this same percentage of farms, incidentally, receives about 53 percent of the total agricultural income. Thus it is quite apparent that the problem of migratory or seasonal labor does not relate to all California farms or to California agriculture as such; but it is a problem which has a peculiar and direct relation to the operations of a certain type of farm, namely, the large-scale, industrialized, corporate farm. This statement requires, however, a word of explanation. It is large-scale operations that constitute the heart of the problem, regardless of the form in which these operations are conducted. Some of our largest farm operations are conducted, for example, by canneries and by shipper-grower interests; some of our largest farm operations are also conducted by corporate lessees or tenants. These concerns employ not one or two hired hands, but two or three thousand seasonal employees; they have annual payrolls for agricultural labor running as high as \$375,000 to \$1,500,000 a year; they sell agricultural produce, in certain instances, of a gross annual value in excess of a million dollars. These great farm-factories are the concerns whose operations have brought into existence our "peculiar institution," namely, migratory farm labor.

There is a latent danger involved in the use of such terms as "mechanization," "commercialization," and "industrialization" to describe the disruptive factors now changing the entire social pattern in agriculture. It is more accurate, and certainly more graphic, to picture this change as an invasion of the rural community by the forces of urban industry. Commercialization, for example, represents the intrusion of finance; mechanization and industrialization, the intrusion of factory means, methods, and procedures.

But the invasion is even more far-reaching than this general statement would indicate. Not only is the farm factory displacing the family-sized farm, but the packing, processing, canning, ship-

ping, and distributing aspects of agriculture are rapidly acquiring a clear dominance over the productive aspects. If one or two canneries, for example, control 50 or 60 percent of the total pack, as they do in California, they are clearly in a position to influence strongly, if not to control, the prices for certain farm commodities. Certain of these canneries already conduct through their own ownership and management extensive farm operations in California to insure themselves, so to speak, a steady flow of raw materials, but their dominance in the industry is such that they do not need to conduct actual farming operations in their own name. It is much cheaper for them to buy the crop in the field than to grow it, thus it is more realistic to regard thousands of small produce farmers and orchardists in California as the employees of our two largest canneries, than it is to regard them as independent economic units.

This is true, not only with respect to canneries and processing concerns, but also equally true with respect to shipper-growers and distributors. They have invaded our rural economy in a literal sense and by a number of devices. They buy the crop in place in the field, or they finance its production, or they contract for its purchase, but in every case they control the crop, and they control, in the last analysis, the price paid for the crop, the cost of operation, and, particularly, the amount allocated in the growers' budgets for labor.

To understand the economics of this situation it is essential to keep in mind the labor requirements, or the type of labor supply, which operations of this magnitude involve. This type of agricultural economy is predicated upon the existence of a supply of reserve labor, or a labor pool, which can be tapped for peak-period operations. By a labor pool or reserve, I mean simply this: a pool of labor that can be tapped by the industry when workers are not hired, each year, by the same concern, but range over a large territory working for various employers. Now this labor reserve must have certain basic characteristics in order to meet the requirements of the large growers. It must have, as I see it, three characteristics: first, it must be made up of a type of labor that is earmarked for exclusive employment in agriculture (that



is, it must be a type of labor that does not tend to drift to the city labor markets, for this tendency would ultimately involve agricultural employers in competition with urban industrial employers for the same labor, a competition that might result in higher farm wage rates); second, the pool or reserve of labor must be made up of unemployed destitute workers, for the simple reason that workers with even a slight chance of employment where they reside cannot be induced to migrate a thousand miles in a six-month period in search of occasional employment; and, third, the supply of labor must always be of such proportions, in relation to demand, as to constitute a relative oversupply of workers. On these three points, the large growers of California have been insistent for the last quarter of a century. It is possible to understand their attitude toward resettlement projects, for example, only in the light of their conception of the type and supply of labor which, in their eyes, they must have in order to conduct their operations at a profit.

One other important consideration must be kept in mind. There are, as I have indicated, two clearly defined types of farm operations in California: those conducted by the typical family-sized farm; those conducted by large-scale operators of the type I have mentioned. These two types of farms are, it should be noted, in competition. They regard labor costs from two quite different points of view. The annual earnings of the small farmer, in the last analysis, really constitute an annual wage. Thus the labor of the small farmer, on his acres, is necessarily in competition with the labor on the large-scale farm. Labor costs, to the large operator, are an extremely important item of total operating expense. But the amount that the small farmer pays out annually for hired labor is negligible, for he employs practically no labor whatever. Irrigation costs, power costs, and taxes are of far greater concern to the small farmer than labor costs. Thus the large operators demand cheap labor; and the fact that they can get cheap labor gives them a competitive advantage at the expense of the small operator.

In California at the present time it has become perfectly apparent, thanks in large measure to the excellent work of Senators

Thomas and La Follette, that the agricultural economy of the state is dominated in all of its aspects and in all of its ramifications by large-scale industrialized operations. In cotton 9.3 percent of the cotton farmers in the state control 50.4 percent of the total acreage in cotton, whereas 58.7 percent of the cotton farms, being those under twenty-five acres in size, account for only 15.6 percent of the total acreage in cotton. Two hundred and four members of the Associated Farmers of California constituted by number only 2.34 percent of all cotton farmers in the state and received 33 percent of all Triple A benefit payments for cotton in California in 1938. These figures with respect to cotton would apply approximately to practically every commercially grown crop in California.

The existence of a large reserve army of workers of the type I have mentioned has not only made possible agricultural operations of the magnitude of those conducted in California, but it has prevented, in large measure, the development of a large self-supporting rural population. Large-scale mechanized farm operations have resulted in a mechanization of the labor supply itself. Workers are brought into operations when needed, like farm machinery, and are discharged when the particular labor operation is concluded. Agricultural employment is turned on and off, in other words, like the utilization of power. This has made possible not only large-scale operations as such, but that "acute specialization" in production referred to by Dr. Paul Taylor. It has made large operators wholly insensitive to the needs of their workers. Production is never planned, for example, with respect to providing the maximum employment of workers or in an effort to stabilize employment. These operators give no more consideration to such issues than they do to soil conservation, or to the development of that type of agriculture which would support the maximum rural population or which would create the most prosperity in rural communities.

This type of agricultural economy is rife with contradictions and social absurdities. The markets in Imperial Valley, which is one of the great produce gardens of America, purchase their vegetables from concerns in Los Angeles County, 300 miles distant. Vege-

tables are trucked into Imperial Valley, in other words, because the large shipper-growers in the valley are not interested in the petty local market. Farm workers, under this curious system, actually live on diets wholly lacking in those elements which exist in abundance all about them, which rot or are destroyed under their eyes, but which they dare not touch, much less consume. This system, moreover, is a direct source of rural dependency; in fact, it has always been a source of rural dependency.

A series of studies or observations made in California over a period of years, beginning with an extremely interesting pamphlet published in San Francisco in 1896 entitled "What It Means to Be a Tramp in California," and coming down to a number of governmental investigations made in 1913 and 1914, clearly indicate that this system of employment necessarily leads to dependency. In 1914 the Commission of Immigration and Housing reported to Governor Hiram Johnson on the unemployment problem in California. The Commission pointed directly to the system of farm operations even then dominant in the state and called attention to the fact that unemployment was inseparable from the system itself.

Many of the workers in previous years, moreover, were alien immigrants who knew better than to apply for assistance. Nowadays all this has changed. The bulk of the migratory workers are Dust Bowl migrants; families instead of single men; American citizens instead of alien immigrants; homeseekers instead of transients. They have settled, after a fashion, in the communities in which they work. They are a strange people, possessed of peculiar impulses. They want to send their children to school, for example; they want to have a home; they even want to vote. All this is bad enough, but these people, in the words of Dr. George Clements, of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "are not tractable since they will demand, in time, the so-called American standard of living." This, of course, makes them aliens in California.

An official of the United States Farm Placement Service in California observed in 1938 that "all cotton pickers are prospective relief clients within ten days after the cotton-picking jobs are over." This is literally quite correct. Before we had a system of

state-wide relief, the rural counties in the San Joaquin Valley used to appropriate county funds at the end of the cotton-picking season for two curious purposes: to buy license plates for the jaloppies of Mexican migrant families so that these same families could start down Highway 99 for Los Angeles County; and, second, to buy just enough gasoline for these same cars to insure the fact that they would get out of the local communities and into the arms of the social agencies in Los Angeles before they became wholly destitute. For over a quarter of a century the social costs inherent in this system have been truly enormous, and the circumstance that these costs are disguised in budgets and difficult to verify does not detract from the importance of the fact itself.

Today the trend toward dependency has been accelerated. Productivity and output per worker in agriculture in California have grown; farm wage rates have declined. Between 1929 and 1936, increased output per worker in California agriculture grew by 24 percent, whereas the index on farm wage rates declined 47 percent. Since then the index for farm wage rates has increased, but in 1939 the index figure was still 20 percent below the average for the base period of 1924 to 1929. Today in California mechanization is proceeding at a spectacular and wholly unpredictable rate. The robots are moving into the fields, not only as mechanical hop pickers, mechanical sugar beet lifters, and machines that have been combined to dig, shake, top, and load sugar beets, but also as highly ingenious contrivances which will enormously reduce the amount of labor required in canning, processing, and packing of agricultural products. Even an internal combustion nutcracker, the perfection of which would throw out of employment thousands upon thousands of seasonal workers in the walnut industry, has appeared. The oversupply of workers is mounting. This oversupply has been so great that for a number of years it has stood, for example, at about 200 percent of effective demand. An oversupply has, in fact, existed every year since 1921, with the exception of two brief intervening periods. These factors have, of course, exerted a disastrously depressing effect on farm wages. It is quite apparent, for example, that the duration of typical labor operations is shortening, because more and more workers are in the

field; and it is likewise apparent that average annual earnings per worker are decreasing. This in turn means, of course, that the degree of dependency is increasing. Comparison of the first ten months of 1937 with the first ten months of 1939, with respect to the case load of the State Relief Administration in the eight San Joaquin Valley counties, shows that the case load in these counties increased 344.4 percent, as compared with an increase for all counties, during the same period, of 76.6 percent. The increase for all counties, moreover, can be almost wholly accounted for by the suspension of WPA projects; but the increase in the rural counties is related almost entirely to agricultural unemployment.

One or two somewhat collateral considerations must be discussed, however briefly, in order to grasp the significance of this situation. The large-scale growers in California are effectively organized. They are organized to keep labor costs at the lowest possible point. They meet in advance of seasonal labor operations and agree among themselves what the going rate will be and, once this rate has been determined (incidentally, always in consultation with the interests which are financing their operations), it is rigidly enforced. These growers, in other words, are devout believers in collective bargaining when it comes to pooling their resources to depress farm wage rates, but they shriek like dervishes when their employees have the un-American, thoroughly alien impulse to indulge in precisely the same tactics to raise farm wage rates. The growers are passionately obsessed with the notion that they, and they alone, must have exclusive control over the determination of wage rates. One reason for this obsession is, of course, that other operating costs have shown a tendency to become rigid and inflexible, namely, power rates, freight rates, etc. Since labor costs are the only flexible item, they feel that they must maintain a death grip upon wage-rate determination.

This policy with respect to wage rates naturally involves the grower interests in conflict with any fairly or decently administered relief program. To understand this conflict, a few words of explanation are necessary. The growers, for example, are not opposed to relief. On the contrary, they have come to regard relief as an excellent means of obtaining a subsidy for farm wages. They



have no objection, such is the true fullness of their sense of responsibility for the general welfare, to the state supporting this vast supply of labor for them during the non-season period in localities where it will be immediately available when needed. The reason they have no basic objection to this procedure is that they do not carry the brunt of the burden. Approximately 54 percent of the state government's income in California is derived from a sales tax which bears most heavily, of course, upon the residents of the large metropolitan centers. The growers have discovered, moreover, that there is a close correlation between wage rates in agriculture and relief budgets.

In making their wage-rate determinations since 1933, their first inquiry has been to determine what their employees are receiving on relief. With this figure in mind, they then fix a wage rate which, on an average for a ten-hour day, will return an income the approximate equivalent of the relief standard. To make this system function the way they want it to function, however, they must control the administration of relief. They want to be able to turn relief on and off; they want to make sure that relief standards are kept at the lowest possible point, because if relief standards were sufficient to insure even a minimum subsistence budget, they might be forced to raise wage rates. They want to be able to march en masse to the county relief administrator and demand the immediate suspension of relief during the harvest season. In some areas, in the past, they have even developed this system one step further: they have persuaded the relief administration actually to supplement existing wage rates by paying the difference between what these rates will return to workers and the amount necessary to keep workers alive. Naturally when wage rates are fixed so low that workers cannot earn even the equivalent of relief budgets, trouble develops.

And this is quite a typical situation in California. In 1939, the new administration in California held two wage-rate hearings to determine whether, at the offered rate, workers could earn the equivalent of their budgets. The State Relief Commission then approved our findings and workers were not forced to accept employment at the offered rate in those cases where it was found to



be so low that it did not even hold out the possibility of earning the equivalent of the budget.

The administration of relief, for reasons which I have indicated, has become the central political issue in California. It is a fight for control which, because of the deep-seated implications of the problem of farm labor, raises basic issues. It is a fight which goes on incessantly, every day, every month, every year. When they are momentarily frustrated in their campaign to gain control of relief, the large growers carry the fight into other fields. They have, for example, concentrated recently on the intimidation of relief clients and social workers. For a social worker to show an attitude of professional independence toward these groups is to invite instant attack. Fake grand jury investigations of relief are organized and publicized in the local newspapers in a manner carefully calculated to frighten both social workers and relief clients. Investigating committees are employed at enormous expense to ferret out a few cases of relief chiseling. Informers and tattletales are planted in relief agencies, and every avenue of publicity is exploited to "turn the heat" on the relief administration. At the same time, every effort to make these workers self-supporting, all rehabilitation or resettlement programs, are fought relentlessly. The essential notion seems to be to keep relief clients, in the rural areas, in a twilight zone, where they are neither dead nor alive.

Since the problem of rural dependency does have definite political implications, the growers fight the organization of social workers, of relief clients, of agricultural workers. They have shown exactly the same intolerance toward the idea of social workers organizing trade unions as they have shown toward the organization of their own employees. They are greatly alarmed over the increased voting registration in the rural areas occasioned by the Dust Bowl influx. So they endeavor, by numerous devices, to make it impossible for migrants to vote. And, at cleverly timed intervals, they cause the arrest of migrants for bringing their destitute relatives into the state in quest of employment, contrary to a provision in our Social Welfare Code. They are, moreover, organized to fight on all fronts. Somewhat battle scarred and tottering, the Associated Farmers of California, like a battered Nazi

eighty-ton tank, is still capable of spitting fire in all directions. It is, of course, no more a farm organization than is the Los Angeles Choral Club. It is the creature of the great financial and industrial interests which control California agriculture, and so effective has it been in the past, that it has come to be the spearhead of reaction in the state.

The economics of rural dependency in California, in other words, are quite simple; but the politics of rural dependency are involved, explosive, and turgid. Naturally this creates an atmosphere of such bitterness and tension that it becomes well-nigh impossible to secure the decent administration of any welfare program. A sharply edged line divides our rural communities, a line that is as clearly marked as the separation of a typical Little Oklahoma shack town from the town to which it is attached, as it were, as an appendage. Migrant settlements are always located in an unincorporated part of the county, and the location of these settlements is symbolic of the relation which the migrants occupy to the rest of the community. They are attached to the community, but not incorporated in the community; the new migrant community impinges upon the older settlement; the native son by adoption—the intensely Californian individual who has been in the state, say, for ten years—glowers at the Okies whom he will not accept as neighbors.

Industrialized agriculture has been entrenched in California for nearly a quarter of a century due to a number of peculiar historical factors affecting the land settlement of the state, but this situation is by no means restricted to California, for, as Dr. Paul Taylor testified before the La Follette committee, California agriculture may be the preview of what agriculture may come to look like throughout the United States. What has happened has been that an incubus has fastened itself upon agriculture; it is difficult to see; but it can be sensed and it can be appraised. It is possible to point to the barometers of distress such as diminishing income for agricultural workers, mounting rural poverty, the displacement caused by mechanization, etc. These factors can be verified to some extent, but over and above these considerations is the controlling fact that agriculture has become geared to the dictates

of finance and profit economy. These dictates are arbitrary, in many cases senseless and usually beyond review or appeal.

When social planners discuss the necessity of developing a new type of rural economy, they assume that they can free the land and the people from the captivity into which they have been sold or that they can at least gain for these people a temporary respite from the consistent pressures that I have mentioned, but this involves basically and in the fundamental sense a political question. One of the most moving passages in recent American fiction is the scene in the *Grapes of Wrath* where Muley, one of the share-cropper victims, cries out in frantic desperation, "Who do we shoot?" This cry is tragic, not only because of the human implications involved, but because it represents the acme of political frustration. There is no longer any reason why confusion should exist as to the identity of those undemocratic forces which are rapidly creating a landless, dispossessed, and thoroughly disadvantaged class of agricultural workers in the United States. The real problem is to set in motion the progressive forces to achieve a democratic solution of this problem, but so strongly have the entrenched interests become in California due to the long neglect of the problem itself that doubt actually exists in many people's minds today as to whether we are not threatened with a breakdown of democracy itself. Should this country become involved in the present European War, there is no doubt whatever that the solution of this problem will be indefinitely postponed.



PART THREE  
SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE





## CASE WORK WITH CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

*Lillian J. Johnson*

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**T**OO FREQUENTLY CASE WORK SERVICE with children in institutions is assumed to be a question of intake and discharge, of custody and finance—entirely a planning as opposed to a therapeutic function. Too frequently the plans are processes worked out by benevolent adults for uncomprehending children. Even today it is not unusual when asking a child what he was told when he left this or that institution to get the time-honored answer, "I was told to get my clothes." Small wonder that such brash disregard of the child's right to participate in his own life decisions has brought rebellion and "ungratefulness" in the face of the most generous and solicitous "doing for him."

Likewise, too frequently institutional care is treated as a period of residence rather than as an opportunity for growth; even where the problem of adjustment is faced, it is largely a question of adjustment to the institutional medium rather than to the entire life process, the events which preceded his arrival, the incidents which must inevitably follow his discharge.

The issue is sometimes evaded with the statement that the institution deals only with so-called "normal" children for whom no therapeutic case work is necessary. Obviously, this begs the question, since all adjustment is a matter of degree only, and the process of living is difficult enough at best. The very fact that the child is placed in the institution implies a major disruption in the normal setup of childhood relationships.

Perhaps it is the death of one of the parents that has necessitated placement. What does the child think of this arbitrary and devastating experience? A child who apparently assimilates a death easily may consciously or unconsciously "hold it against" a parent for dying, as though the parent had chosen this subtle way of

deserting him. It is more probable that he blames the surviving parent, the doctor, or whatever God he worships. Most destructive can be the feeling that the parent died because of some misconduct of the child himself, in which case his guilt may easily assume disastrous proportions. A fourteen-year-old caught in a compulsive pattern of theft and truancy revealed that his mother, who had died when he was five, had made persistent and unsuccessful efforts to cure him of masturbation. After her death the father had held the child on his lap and, ruminating on his own infidelity, had said, "Perhaps if we had been better to her, she would not have left us." When asked by the worker if he stopped masturbation after her death, the boy revealed in a terrific upheaval of emotion, that he then masturbated more than ever, had never conquered the habit, and that it was flight from this guilt which precipitated his theft and truancy.

It is possible that it took a crisis situation to permit the child to reveal this or even to bring it into his own consciousness, but it is equally possible that interpretation at five, six, and seven could have avoided years of delinquency. Following a series of interviews, the boy was for the first time able to accept the security of a substitute mother relationship, and subsequently to abandon the thefts and truancy.

A second child, whose mother had died when he was four, revealed at twelve a willful, demanding attitude which flung him into an assortment of delinquent acts ranging from defiance to destructiveness and theft, whenever any of his desires were circumvented. Interviewing revealed that he had never recovered from his mother's death, that he had "tried out" a number of substitute mother relationships but that each had failed him as soon as he made a mistake, none of them giving him the solicitous protection his own mother had given and, he felt confident, would have continued to give him. When it was interpreted to him that at twelve, old enough to accept the consequences of his acts, he was expecting someone to be to him the mother of a four-year-old, he attempted for the first time a reality adjustment.

No single pattern recurs so frequently among the children referred to the Ryther Child Center as that of the boy who, fol-

lowing the death of his father, becomes temporarily and largely unconsciously the "man person" in the life of an emotionally deprived mother and is completely disoriented by her subsequent remarriage. Even worse, perhaps, he may reach a stage of physical maturity still psychologically the mother's only masculine resource.

The more frequent among the causes of institutional placement are, of course, separation and divorce with their pulling and hauling at the child's loyalties, their frequent implications of socially improper conduct. The child who finds himself loving deeply a parent he considers unworthy of that love is caught in a conflict that may well test the best of therapeutic skill. Rejection in its myriad forms of parent by child and child by parent, consciously or unconsciously expressed, consciously or unconsciously perceived, has implications so far-reaching for the child that volumes could not exhaust it. If the reason for placement is illness, there may well be anxiety; if parental incarceration, there will, of course, be shame. Rejection by foster parents following original rejection by parents is not an infrequent circumstance of institutional care.

In fact, behind most institutional placements lies an assortment of factors which psychiatrists have come to recognize as the underlying causes of a vast amount of adult psychosis and delinquency. To set about, therefore, giving the child wholesome food, school opportunities, recreational direction, and that whole pattern we have come to think of as good institutional care, without facing his basic problem, is at the best naïve and at the worst vicious.

On the other hand, institutions which attempt therapeutic treatment are likely to think of it entirely in terms of the utilization of outside psychiatric or clinical services. They do not seem to recognize therapy unless the child is actually brought into the office of a psychiatrist. I do not mean to disparage the contribution of those psychiatric services which have performed largely through the clinic medium, but I think the problem of integrating them with the institutional service in such a way that they become actually a functioning part is almost insurmount-

able. The service needed is not just the referral for comprehensive diagnosis and treatment of certain children showing major deviations from the normal or creating crisis, but is therapeutic case work closely enough integrated with the institutional pattern of functioning so that all children are dealt with in terms of their daily life pattern.

I would far rather see an agency with psychiatrically trained case workers who are carrying small case loads and doing the entire treatment job with the assistance of a consultant psychiatrist, if possible, than to see what too frequently exists—an overburdened case work staff frantically preparing case histories and whisking children downtown for a one- or two-hour psychiatric examination whose limitations must be obvious. Unless the situation is serious enough to necessitate actual long-time treatment by the psychiatrist, it would seem far less costly, less disturbing to the child, and more likely to produce results if the psychiatrist utilized his time in analysis and clarification of patterns of response for those working directly with the child. Whenever he does more than that on the basis of a written history and a brief contact, he runs a real danger of error. Likewise, institutional administration is outside his area of competence, and there are, therefore, many instances when he is no judge of the various factors involved in the situation, and should not be expected to make a recommendation.

The pity of all this failure to make therapeutic skills directly available to the institutional child is that, granting anything like a flexible organization, the institutional situation offers almost unparalleled opportunities for observation and treatment. Obviously, this does not refer to the organization so regimented that it demands nothing of the child but docility and a patternized form of response. However, given an informal arrangement with some age range, with contact between boys and girls, a family sharing of responsibility, some participation in community life, and an easy give-and-take between the children and staff, you may expose the child in a few weeks to life experiences and to that adaptation to experience which is the essence of life, which he might ordinarily not encounter in many years. It is as though

you placed him under a microscope. You bring into bold relief the contour of his personality structure in a situation where a professional staff is available to observe and interpret his reactions.

If the child has really shared in the decision to place him in an institution, he will already have faced analytically the problem which confronts him and the need to accept this temporary solution. In the process of the initial interviewing, he should have acquired enough confidence in his case worker to be willing to accept residence in the unit with which he sees that she is affiliated. Her availability for future help when the problems of institutional life become too difficult for him should also have been well established at that time, although obviously it will have to be reiterated, since he may be too overwhelmed by the swift series of events to get any one fact very clearly.

The curiosity of the other children regarding the reasons for his admission makes the child again vividly conscious of those reasons and prone to test their validity. We are always grateful in our own organization that, along with the first question from the group as to why he is there, comes inevitably the question, "Who is your case worker?" In other words, just as these children in their daily life with him will force upon him the problem of adaptation, they will also reveal to him their utilization of the case work process for the purpose of understanding that adaptation. We like, for instance, the fact that our case work offices are part of the same building as the institutional unit. That means that a child does not have to make any bold gesture in order to ask for contact with his case worker. He may watch for her as she parks her car, cross the dining room at lunch to ask for a chance to talk to her, or with dignity approach the office secretary with a request for an appointment. In other words, the case work process is not something superimposed upon the child. It is something available to him, to use as he needs it. It is not at all unusual to hear one child tell another in the midst of a conflict to talk to his case worker about it. It is well-established house practice to urge that a child turn to his case worker for interpretation of a conflict, agreeing that the staff person will do likewise, in order that they both may have help in coming to an



understanding. A child who has been a resident for a period may well have reached the place where he asks only a few minutes a week in which he reviews the week's events in terms of his conflicts and the adjustments he has been able to make. Another child, caught in great difficulties, may make daily or even more frequent demands for help.

Obviously, only the closest integration and good faith between the house staff and the case work staff can keep such a situation running smoothly. The house staff must understand that they create the reality medium in which the child lives, and that without making demands upon him beyond his ability, they must constantly confront him with those decisions and responsibilities which he will inevitably encounter in later life. Through integration there can be planning as to what new demands and responsibilities may well be presented, with the child himself sharing in these decisions. For example, a boy who recognized that he constantly resisted all adult authority, so that the staff needed to approach him most diplomatically in order to get his coöperation, agreed at a certain stage in his development that the staff should abandon the cautious technique and treat him with the direct manner they would utilize with a nonresistive child, in order that he might have the experience of seeing if he could make the adjustment, recognizing that he might fail and would need case work help in again thinking through his problem of resistance.

Quite apart from the daily life of the household itself, the institution offers whole areas for observation and treatment in connection with parental visitation to the child and of the child to the parent. The anticipation, the mounting tension or resistance of the child as such an event approaches, the joyousness or fear with which he greets the parent or relative, the embarrassment, restraint, or pleasure with which the parent responds, all give clues to the fundamental relationships. Recently a child, who had been removed from his own home following a series of antisocial acts which made his assimilation in the community impossible, revealed at the time of an approaching visit to his home mounting tension, which seemed to the staff to be in terms of his great



desire to see his parents and his strong need for their acceptance and approval. However, at the time of his return to the institution he was haggard and worn; the father, grim-lipped and non-committal. At bedtime the child flung himself weeping upon a staff person, confiding he had done everything wrong over the week end. He had stolen, had masturbated, and had openly defied his parents. Pathetically he stated, "I am not ready to go home and I shouldn't have tried it." For the first time the ego conflict between the child and his father became apparent and led the way for interpretation to both. In some cases the staff has seen clearly on parental visits the violent caressing of psychologically incestuous relationships, the embarrassment of children ashamed of their parents, the ingratiating dependence of the indulged, and the frightened tension of the rejected. The adaptation to school, to neighborhood, to recreational privileges, to the life outside the institution as well as within it reveals the child's basic personality trend.

Just so surely as the question of admission should be shared with the child, it is equally his right to share the question of whether or not residence should be continued. A spoiled, petulant boy, who consistently broke house rules, complained loudly of staff injustices, and talked belligerently of "when I get out of this place," was approached most frankly by his case worker. It was pointed out that residence was not compulsory and that since he was not availing himself of the opportunities for growth which the experience offered, probably some other plans should be made. Immediately the child protested that he wished to remain, that he had no honest charge against the staff, that he did recognize the values in residence, and he presented a very convincing account of what growth he believed he had made. As a result of this interview, the child made an immediate readjustment, utilizing the case worker process in clarifying his emotional pattern.

We feel that one strength of our situation is that case work service is really available at the moment of crisis instead of hours or days after the event. A nine-year-old, for instance, brought home an alley cat which he fondled affectionately for a period and finally mutilated. Group indignation ran high. Punishment

was patently not in order. Reassurance to the children that the child would be seen immediately by his case worker quieted the group and made possible his reacceptance without protest. After an interview, in which the child was able to interpret the ambivalent emotions which he had felt for the cat, the compulsion which had driven him to destroy it, which tied in with his ambivalent feeling about a prostitute mother whom he loved, the child was able to resume his place in the household without fear. Just what an institution does in such a situation if it must wait a week for an appointment with some busy psychiatrist seems utterly beyond us, since patently it is therapy of the purest form which is essential at that moment, preferably through the medium of relationships which the child has come to trust through previous association.

All of this education of children in self-analysis works, of course, as a boomerang in the case of children who understand not only their emotional pattern, but also your own. A child recently warned me of my hostility in a certain situation, and another just last week accused a case worker of having an ego drive. On one occasion when an alert eleven-year-old was told by his supervisor that he did not understand why he needed to kick out the plaster because he was angry at a playmate, the child answered simply, "You would be a better staff person if you did." But in our situation just such easy give-and-take, such constant awareness of each person's involvement in conscious and unconscious drives, such shameless and open analysis of the weaknesses and limitations in us all, create the vital therapeutic medium we have attempted to establish.

The question of ultimate plans and the child's acceptance of them, of his being consciously prepared for a way of life other than the strange group medium in which he has lived, presents a case worker responsibility as far-reaching as interpretation of the initial plan or of assistance in adaptation to the institution itself. Too frequently we assume that if the child fails after he leaves the institution, there was something wrong with the situation to which he went, but it may be equally true that there was something wrong with our preparation of the child. In this

connection, I cannot help but lament that form of agency or community planning which transfers responsibility for supervision to some other department or agency at the time the child leaves the institution. If the case worker's relationship has any value, if it has really produced opportunities for growth, it would seem like scrapping the most valuable resource available, if the child must now transfer to an entirely new and untried relationship. We feel that the greatest value in our situation is that return to the child's own home or foster-home placement present for him no terrifying severing of securities. He knows from experience that he can continue his relationship with his case worker, that he can return for visits, that there will be a bed available for him if a week-end plan is necessary, that should he fail completely in the readjustment, he has the right to return for additional help.

But quite apart from this question of continued relationship or continued therapeutic assistance, a child who has once accepted the procedure of withdrawing temporarily from the point of conflict, of attempting analytically to see not only his own, but other people's motivating pattern in the situation, of orienting to a mature concern for human welfare even at the expense of pain and inconvenience for himself, will have evolved a philosophy of life and will have had actual practice in the application of that philosophy which no one can take from him. In other words, in exchange for this painful experience of being disrupted in the normal home relationships of childhood, we can offer the child an experience in analytic living which may well serve as an effective armor for the whole hazardous process of life.

## CASE WORK IMPLICATIONS IN THE USE OF MONEY IN CHILD PLACING

*Dorothy Hutchinson*

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THIS PAPER BEGINS WITH THE ASSUMPTION that the child is already placed in a foster home; that board for his care is being paid by the child-placing agency to the foster parents; and that the child's own parent is able to afford either partial or total financial responsibility for this care. It is assumed that before the placement the parent understands the cost and expresses a willingness to pay the agency—in other words, he has already entered into an agreement with the agency to pay for the service rendered his child.

I like to think of four threads running through this paper: (1) the meaning to the parent of paying for his child's care; (2) the significance of this to the child; (3) foster parents and money; and (4) the case worker's dilemma. Although I have tried to make this material general in its application, it frankly does not attempt to deal with some of the particularized adaptations necessary in a public agency where legal-philosophical considerations obtain.

The parent whose child is cared for by the placing agency is usually a poor person. His ability and willingness to pay depend on how much he makes and on his feeling about paying. It involves his attitude toward his child, toward himself as a person and a parent, and toward the agency. His use of money or his way of meeting or not meeting his financial responsibility to the agency and the child is a means by which he expresses love, hate, spite, resentment, jealousy, competition, benevolence, and control; in other words, paying for his child's board may not be so much payment for service rendered as it is one solution to his personal strivings. A vast majority of parents who come to child-placing agencies are not full-fledged mature people. They are

frequently neurotic, deeply unhappy, and conscience stricken. This fact, taken together with another, namely, that they are paying for something which often they do not completely want, intensifies the situation for them. Foster-home care, in a sense, is not a normal form of care. It is never normal for a mother to give up a child. It is an unnatural situation to see your child loving a foster parent. It is artificial to pay an agency while a substitute parent gives the service. It is, furthermore, an enraging experience to pay for something you may feel ashamed about. All of this makes the question of the parent's paying board a complicated state of affairs. The parent, then, by the way he handles his financial responsibility to the child-placing agency attempts to solve for himself the unbearableness of the situation. Sometimes the manner in which he does this results in the agency being paid, and sometimes it does not.

Miss X is an efficient and temperamental German domestic of thirty-five whose child, a boy of seven, was illegitimately born. She has hatred for the child and his father and an enormous amount of pride in herself. Her son has lived in an unsatisfactory private boarding home and, following this, in a repressive institution. Miss X appeals to a Children's Aid Society for Paul's placement in a boarding home because, she says, she is dissatisfied with his care in the institution. She is unaware of her desire to damage her child. Her bad conscience in relation to the good foster mother where Paul is placed is assuaged through the case worker's acceptance of her, the mother, and a sincere and consistent warmth in their relationship. Miss X is not a loving parent, but money is no problem here because her pressing guilt is eased by paying. What she cannot give in love, she makes up in money. Her hurt self-esteem and her bad conscience she is able to soothe and evade, to a degree, behind the practical evidence of what she does. An unbearable situation becomes more bearable because she has chosen a socially acceptable outlet for self-punishment and hate.

Not all situations work out so favorably from the standpoint of the agency's actually receiving money from parents. Take the immature mother who chooses to encircle herself with difficulties.

Her husband, or husbands, in repeated cycles deserts her. She carefully arranges to lose job after job. She is most happy when she is a victim and is wretched if one wants to help her. If she were asked about other parents' responsibility in paying board, she would stoutly proclaim that they should pay, but that for her the request is an insult and a persecution. She is insincerely concerned about her rising board bill, and although she agreed to pay at the outset, she now is ingenious in getting herself into convincing difficulties so that she cannot pay. The agency has the children and is thus left "holding the financial bag." Such a parent is frequently monotonously repeating childhood situations in which, of course, pay was not expected: a little girl of seven doesn't pay mother and father. Sometimes a parent will transfer this situation to the foster parents, saying with repeated familiarity that they should be willing to take his child free, that anyone who receives money for a child must, *a priori*, be exploiting him.

There are the parents who greatly resent paying a social agency. They talk openly about it and express the same attitude that they sometimes do toward public relief, that is, free care of their child is a 1940 right and somehow connected with Mr. Roosevelt. There are also those parents, usually few in number, to whom paying a social agency for the care of their child is a natural and normal obligation and an expression of their mature parenthood and its responsibilities. It is not with these parents that we are concerned, but with that far greater number for whom the whole question of paying board is tied up with their strivings, their temperament, and the repetition of childhood experiences. This is one of the interesting and important reasons for case work with parents in a child-caring agency.

If the use of money has meaning and significance to the parent, so does it for the child in the foster home; so is it also related to his feelings about mother and father and himself. To the child, it is normal for mother or father to earn money for him; it is abnormal when they do not. The child's basic need to think well of his parents is partially gratified if they meet this responsibility. His need for proof of their love can be somewhat eased by the



knowledge that they pay for him, although just paying the board bill will not be convincing to a child if sincere feeling is not really there.

The child in foster care, contrary to lay opinion, is apt to be an indulged child so far as the ease with which money is spent on him. He learns this quickly and capitalizes on the emotions of the grownups around him. The worker who feels too sorry, the foster parent who is in love with him, the parent whose guilt is a nagging anxiety, all are putty in his hands. He soon becomes a shrewd politician in his ability to use them for his own childish needs and to play one of the trio off against the other: "My mother pays for me so I don't have to do what you say." To him the social agency is often a reservoir without those limits experienced by a child in normal home life.

We can say that to have the lady a child lives with receive money for him is not a common experience of childhood. Other children do not have this curious arrangement, and other children don't have another lady who comes and seems to have a lot to say about whether they get new suits or not. Board money, decisions about clothing, and the social worker are all very odd things in the foster child's life. They cannot be divorced from the way he feels about himself, from the painful fact of separation, from the goodness or badness of a foster mother, and from the case worker with her power to give or to withhold. In other words, case work in a children's agency acknowledges the importance and the significance of money matters to the child and deals with these on an individual basis.

To me, one of the most striking and inevitable case work factors in the handling of money questions with the child is its logical entrance into the traumatic areas of the child's life. To talk about board is to talk about mother and father. It involves questions as to who he is, why this has happened to him, his disappointment in and resentment of his parents, his vindictiveness against the intruding social agency.

Margaret grew up in a free foster home and had no help with the normal questions that little girls raise about sex. She had repressed curiosity about her mother, who was unmarried and

who disappeared from her life when she was four years old. She grew into a frustrated and disappointed early adolescent, unpopular and unloved. She perpetuated in the free home the earlier wounding experience of being shunned by her mother. The free-home foster parents showed mounting resentment and in exasperation turned her over to a Children's Aid Society at the age of twelve. Margaret was placed in a small temporary home of the agency and transferred her hate to the case worker, refusing her acceptance and warmth and all efforts to help her until she had tested them out innumerable times. She tried to exploit the case worker financially and demanded gifts of the agency much as the hold-up man does of his victim. For Margaret to acknowledge a social agency and a case worker was to acknowledge what happened before all this, and therefore the inevitable facing of "no love" in her life. Showing a dawning capacity to participate and a willingness which, however reluctant, was for her a measure of growth, Margaret eventually went into a permanent boarding home. She tried to deny the agency's benevolence and the continued presence of the case worker. She wished to hide from herself the knowledge that her board was being paid and to disavow any responsibilities of the case worker in her life. Margaret, in time, began to be tolerant; later she had warmer feelings for the worker and the agency. This was only possible because the worker under the guidance of a psychiatrist and with consistent warmth and insight enabled Margaret gradually to face the unhappy and unbearable factors she so wished to hide from herself—her deserting mother, her deserting foster parents, all those who left her because she was bad.

There are innumerable attitudes a child will express concerning board payments. They are inevitably bound up with the rest of his life and almost always with those gigantic feelings he has about being separated from his parents and how that makes him feel about himself.

It is not within the scope of this paper to go into the reasons that motivate foster parents to take children into their homes. Their request for money is denied if this is the sole purpose and an end in itself. No longer is the child a source of relief. How-

ever, with a large majority of boarding parents, a desire to earn money is there, although incidental to gratification of more basic wishes. We leave to the home finder those insights essential to determining the contributions, the hostilities, and the gifts of would-be foster parents to foster children. Questions of income are a natural part of her social study, and like all other areas covered they lead to a knowledge of more subtle values. The desire of a foster mother to take a child to board almost always strikes at two basic human needs, one masculine, the other feminine. To supplement the income of one's husband may be a necessity growing out of practical circumstances, but it may also be a threat to masculine vanity. To the woman it may be a desire to perpetuate normal womanhood. At the same time it may indicate that this desirable state has never been reached. We are all familiar with the frequent statements of foster fathers to the effect that anything his wife wants to do is "O.K." with him. True, it may be, but then it may also be that he has long since surrendered to this woman. Foster mothers are proverbial as being efficient and dominating wives. We feel comfortable in refusing many of these, particularly where mothering is absent.

After placement the foster parents' anxiety about money may appear in forthright requests to the case worker, or it may be disguised behind an imperative insistence for another child. This is not the only significance of such a request, for it is frequently associated with a drive for love, for success, or as evidence of adequacy. There are some foster mothers who after placement charge the agency to the last farthing for incidental expenses, and some who feel apologetic for sending in any legitimate expense account. All this is to say that questions of money run like a thread through children's case work, that they are expressions of behavior as well as practical and literal issues. Questions of allowances to children, procedures as to buying clothes, etc., are subjects in themselves. In general, it would seem well to test the procedures for handling such matters in foster care by evaluating them in terms of what is most normal for the child in his own home.

For the case worker herself the experience of dealing with the use of money in the child-placing agency is frequently one of her

less attractive responsibilities and one of those she secretly hopes to skip. She doesn't like relief and may even have consciously chosen the field of children's work because surely there would be less of it here. If money were just a medium of exchange, her life would be easy; if it were just a question of giving money, that would be possible; but here she is in a field where she frequently has to get money from parents. If they do not pay the child's board, perhaps the agency cannot keep the child. Sometimes she is caught between the administration, which is pushing her, and the client who derisively manages not to be able to pay.

Most parents who come to a children's agency are more or less neurotic people with a large measure of rejection for their children. The case worker in the children's field is unable to help children unless she believes they are good. She is constantly exposed to a series of parents who do not believe this, and her temptations to resentment, punishment, and anger are manifold. It is the child, not the parents, who attracts her to this field, yet it frequently is her skill with the parents which determines whether the child will benefit by the service or not. Certain parents will consistently resist her case work help. They will strive against all such efforts on her part, yet she, of necessity, has to have some relationship with them because her agency and the foster parents chosen by it have the child. There are other parents who will compete with the child for the love of the worker. They want to win the worker's love on the one hand and to impair their child on the other. In other words, the worker is frequently and inherently drawn into the midst of a pathological parent-child relationship, a symptomatic part of which may be expressed through discussion of the parents' payment of board.

It is imperative that the trained case worker in any field of social work know herself. She is here, more than in most fields of endeavor, exposed to the pressure of sick situations. The children's field in case work is a very personal field in that its content so frequently starts in motion the deeper areas of the worker's own life. Her cases are full of sex, hatred, punishment, jealousy, deceit, guilt, and unpaid bills. She, therefore, needs in a sense to be better than normal and to keep her own strivings from

becoming involved. If she has hatred for the vindictive parent, she cannot help that parent. If she cannot separate herself from the child, she may well be competing for him with the parent or the foster parent. She cannot help a mother to give up her child if she herself cannot let the child go. She will be unable to assist the parent she is afraid of, and she cannot help him to pay if she feels she has no rights there.

In summary, money considerations in a child-placing agency have case work significance. They cannot be dissociated from feelings and relationships. Their treatment grows out of early and continued understanding as to the meaning they have for the child, the parent, foster parent, and worker. There will be a few cases where money factors are insignificant. A large number of them will be tied up with neurotic difficulties. We will have those cases that defeat us and where it is important to acknowledge this. In all of them, however, case work with the child, his parent, and the foster parent is a helpful, crucial, and economical measure without which the service is unproductive.

## THERAPY WITH OLDER CHILDREN AS SEEN BY THE PSYCHIATRIST

*George J. Mohr*

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THE PRESENT DISCUSSION pertains to children in the age range of about fourteen to twenty-one years. It might be well to direct our attention first to a general consideration of the psychological situation of the adolescent. By the time the child enters adolescence, he already has a long experience behind him. Presumably he has struggled with fundamental psychological problems, and at least some sort of temporary solution of these has been found. He has experienced the satisfactions of infancy, and the thwarting and dissatisfaction that come with renunciation of infantile prerogatives and indulgences. He has lived through the trying experience of finding a solution for the dilemma created by his competitive and anxious feeling toward other members of his family, and has had to deal with the attendant resentment and hostility. The child developing normally will have made some healthy identifications with suitable parent-images, will have thrown overboard, for the time being, the problem of his competitive feelings and of insecurity about his own status as a special object of love. He will have experienced some years of relative serenity, the latency period, during which he will have been expanding intellectually, and building up his capacity to cope with realistic situations more adequately.

Life for him during the latency period will be interesting more on account of the external world he is envisaging and conquering through understanding, than by virtue of the emotional involvements with those near to him. If, as is too often true, he has not made a very satisfactory solution of the problem of his infantile relationships, this fact will strongly influence his development during the latency period. He will be evolving defenses against



the persisting unpleasant or threatening impulses, and these defensive patterns may become organized in his personality as character traits or personality characteristics no longer readily amenable to modification. Conflictful situations or disturbing impulses may have undergone effective repression, but usually he will have achieved a relative serenity for this brief time. The latency period, during which the child's character is developing under the environmental influences, is a crucial one. Here he is amenable to pedagogic influences, builds up continuously his concept of a material and social world, and continues to take over, through introjection, those standards and ideals presented to him by parents and teachers.

You are all familiar with the disruption, with the approach of puberty, of the relative equilibrium that the child has achieved. This disruption is dependent upon the actual increase in quantity of instinctively derived energy now available to the child, and with which he must cope. The balance achieved between impulse on the one hand, and controlling force of the ego acquired during the latency period on the other, is upset by this accretion of energy. The reaction formations and defensive mechanisms already constructed are subjected to the pressure of impulses distinctly more vigorous than those thus far relatively effectively controlled. To quote a characterization by Anna Freud, "Aggressive impulses are intensified to the point of complete unruliness, hunger becomes voracity and the naughtiness of the latency period turns into the criminal behavior of adolescence."<sup>1</sup> This, of course, is an intentional oversimplification, but expresses well the changing economic balance in the psychic household. It will repay us to follow further here the characterization on the period of early puberty by Anna Freud, which I shall draw upon freely.<sup>2</sup> The unpredictable and frequently disquieting behavior of the adolescent betrays the surge and resurgence of his reaction to disturbing, dimly or consciously felt impulses that no longer leave him at peace with his previously satisfying activities and usual patterns

<sup>1</sup> Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (London: Hogarth Press, 1937), p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter XI.

of response. Everyone is familiar with the more or less obstreperous, boorish behavior of the early adolescent. This may, indeed, shortly yield to the more acceptable behavior of the adolescent who, no longer at sea in facing a confusing welter of conflictful feeling, recognizes and to some degree accepts his positive interest in the opposite sex, and begins to organize his behavior accordingly. That period, however, during which the adolescent first comes under the influence of the physiologically augmented instinctual drives, and gradually organizes his particular means for coping with them, may be quite as difficult for the adolescent as for those who live with him.

If we take cognizance, for our purposes, of the theoretically possible extremes of the outcome of the struggle the adolescent must make, it is apparent that there may be, on the one hand, a more or less complete breakdown of the reaction formations and defenses previously achieved during the latency period, with a correspondingly uninhibited living out of the gratification of the overwhelmingly strong urges. When this occurs, there is a loss of the character structure previously achieved. Every once in a while, one actually sees such a sudden overwhelming of an adolescent, under unfortunately conspiring circumstances, even though he may previously have given every indication of good capacity to control his impulses. Or the opposite extreme may be seen, namely, the nearly complete repudiation of the too-threatening impulses. When this latter occurs, the individual may remain confined much too narrowly within limits more appropriate for the child than for the adult. In some instances this repudiation may be far-reaching, with no quarter allowed. Here the individual is defending himself from the overwhelming quantity of instinctual impulse, rather than from specific aspects of feeling. If the ego is strong enough to enforce the carrying through of the repudiations, there is a considerable paralysis of many activities. The adolescent is in danger of becoming the ascetic.

What can be said concerning the possible outcome in either of the described directions? We have emphasized the importance of a quantitative factor, the actual strength of the instinctual drives. Certainly this varies in different individuals and, on the

basis of physiological considerations, varies in a given individual at different times. On the whole, the onslaught is relatively greatest at puberty. A second consideration that determines the outcome is the ego's tolerance or intolerance of the instinctual urges. These two factors, strength of impulse and tolerance for it, are importantly related. It is not a simple matter of a stronger impulse more directly coming to expression, or strong repudiating tendencies of the ego operating in unvarying manner. When the urgency of the impulse is not overwhelming great, hence less a source of anxiety, a greater tolerance of the ego may be observed, with more opportunity for actual gratification.

A third factor that has much to do with the outcome of the struggle at puberty is the nature and effectiveness of the defense mechanisms. Individuals take recourse in varying devices in their struggle to manage expression and control of their impulses. We see some of the tendencies of these differences in the varying neurotic disorders encountered clinically, e.g., one individual develops conversion symptoms; another, an obsessional neurosis. Adolescents present mechanisms of defense which may be in the direction of one or another of the recognizable personality constellations, or neurotic disorders. Such differences, undoubtedly, are primarily constitutionally determined.

The general considerations I have just discussed offer a basis for further inspection of the problems and limitation of therapy with older children. It is not my intention to discuss techniques of treatment as such, but rather to speak of opportunities and difficulties in application of treatment procedures with which you are already familiar. As a subject for psychotherapy, the adolescent, if we think in terms of the age consideration alone, is disquietingly unpredictable. This unpredictability is lessened, the more sharply we inspect (1) the human material with which we have to deal; (2) the influences to which the child has been subjected in the past; (3) the environmental conditions that pertain at present; and (4) the nature of the present character formation or of the psychological structure already presented by the child. All of these considerations are closely interwoven and cannot be separated.

Our point of departure can be the nature of the immediate adjustment the child is making. Obviously we must distinguish between what appears to be a good adjustment and what actually is such. I need not labor this point, but I am thinking of the adolescent girl who presents the picture of a modest, independent, somewhat retiring young lady, but who actually skillfully covers a deep unhappiness and burning resentment toward the head of the girls' home in which she lives. My chief point is that not infrequently, in the face of grossest handicaps, whether they be of intellectual limitation or of limitation imposed by a heredity burdened with psychosis, the most stubborn tendency to make a relatively adequate adjustment is evidenced by a certain number of adolescents. On the other hand, a child of apparently good potentialities may repeatedly fail in situations that would seem to offer him a real opportunity for success. We have here to deal with wide variations in capacity to cope with anxiety, and to integrate responses in accordance with reality demands. While again we will not ignore constitutional factors as having a role in determining these differences, our chief interest will center upon the nature of the previous experience which has favorably or unfavorably influenced the ego-building potentialities of the child.

We may have reserved expectations when an adolescent is making a poor adjustment under not unusually deviating environmental conditions and presents evidence of poor integrative capacities, and when at the same time there appear instances of gross deviations such as psychosis or marked personality disorder in the near family. Clinically, this combination is not infrequently encountered. Our treatment efforts may perhaps then be directed toward making possible the simpler adjustments of which a limited personality is capable, rather than toward seeking to achieve a goal beyond reasonable expectation for the given individual.

Treatment of the adolescent, as envisaged by the psychiatrist, requires a certain versatility and plasticity, since numerous variations in the psychological status of the child may be encountered. In psychoanalytical treatment, whether of younger children or adults, fairly definite rules can be stated. In psychotherapeutic

effort with adolescents, we may be guided by principles derived from psychoanalysis, but we cannot as succinctly state rules to follow. As in all forms of therapy, a crucial consideration is the possibility of developing a strong positive attitude on the part of the child toward the therapist. Here one may have an easy success, or be faced with a Maginot Line much more impregnable than the real Maginot Line unhappily has proved to be. Aichhorn has best described the difficulties and the tactics in approaches to adolescents. A difficulty in the approach to an adolescent is that so frequently he feels no need for help and will be pleased to have no interference from adults. This is particularly true of aggressive delinquent adolescents, especially if their delinquent behavior has the support of companions. With neurotically disturbed adolescents, this consideration is not so great, but here too we find the greatest resistance, at times, to the approach of the therapist. The reason may be that it seems most necessary for the child to defend himself against any further encroachment upon defenses already shaken by the pressure of urges augmented by the pubertal changes. On the other hand, there come to our aid the abundant capacity of most adolescents to form attachments to adults, the narcissistic feeling that produces a strong response to a therapist's interest in him, and the intellectual interest that can be utilized constructively as an instrument for mastery of the problems the child faces.

To digress for a moment, the intellectual interest of the adolescent can be called upon to aid in the solution of his psychological problems, as I have just stated. Not infrequently, however, as is true at times with adults under treatment, the intellectualizing of adolescents may constitute a strong defense against addressing interest toward situations or relationships too burdensome to be successfully dealt with. Cosmic rather than individual or personal issues occupy the center of interest; abstractions rather than concrete realities preoccupy the mind of the adolescent. He has abundant energy available for investment in intellectualizing processes because he cannot permit himself too great an investment in realistic personal relationships. To penetrate the intellectualizing fortification of some adolescents is no mean task. Doing so, where



the defenses are particularly strong, may entail a great responsibility by virtue of unloosing a flood of response which may be primarily anxiety reaction, or, on the other hand, may tend to uninhibited acting out of hitherto leashed impulses.

But to return to intellectual interest as an aid, it is my impression that unless both the narcissistic attitude that welcomes interest in him as a personality and the intellectual interest are at once evoked by a therapist, little will be accomplished with an adolescent, unless suffering and awareness of need for help drive him to seek it. An adolescent girl, for example, markedly on the defensive because she has been sent to see the psychiatrist, rather than coming of her own free will, and yet quite intrigued by the opportunity to speak of herself, at once launches into a "sophisticated" account of her own personality as she sees it. She is unutterably selfish, she states, bad-tempered, has to have her own way, always quarrels at home, but never among her school associates who respect her. Her description corresponds quite closely with that given by her mother in an earlier interview. When the psychiatrist, instead of accepting her statements, comments that she is much more uncomfortable when with the members of her own family than among her schoolmates, she immediately retorts that the psychiatrist apparently doesn't believe her at all, and repeats again how mean she is, etc. There is opportunity to relate her "meanness" to discomfort or possibly to disappointment in some of her expectations. There is further somewhat excited protest that the psychiatrist is getting a totally wrong picture of her, that she really is a pretty bad character, and this she elaborates. Without following his situation further, it must be noted that the initial effort on the part of the patient is to discover that the psychiatrist is just another adult who will be as uncomprehending and as critical as her parents. When this is found not to be justified, she quickly adopts an attitude of being sincerely interested in what has been operating in her disturbed relationship with her family and, in this particular instance, rather quickly shows a considerable capacity to abandon direct, infantile acting out of resentful feeling, in favor of an intelligent and interested inspection of these habits of response. We now have open the possi-



bility of reorienting the patient toward her actual situation and furthering the possibility of the development of healthier relations with her disquieting family and of modifying her self-critical attitudes.

To summarize the positive aspects of the adolescent's reaction to the direct approaches by a therapist: he is pleased that someone is interested in him and takes him seriously, is relieved when he is not responded to with what he could interpret as condemnation, and sometimes is astonished that the psychiatrist seems to know or guess correctly feelings or ideas not verbally expressed by the patient. With certain adolescents, nothing short of a rather dramatic exposure of some features of his personal situation, in the initial interviews, will serve to provoke an acceptance of the therapeutic situation.

We may now turn our attention to the question of limitations of therapy with older children. Merely for completeness, I shall mention but not discuss those obvious limitations to treatment imposed by physiological or organic considerations, such as organic disease (e.g., encephalitis) and endocrinological disturbances to development, which, of course, are not peculiarly problems of the adolescent period. I should merely like to comment that a correct orientation as to the role such conditions play in the given case will do much to spare misguided therapeutic efforts, and not infrequently will lead to the construction of a sounder and more effective treatment program.

I have already referred to some limiting factors in discussing prognosis of treatment and in describing the psychological situation of the adolescent. I can be more specific, however, by commenting upon practical, clinically encountered situations in which we discover distinct limitations in our therapeutic approaches. Perhaps the situation most familiar to you is that presented by the family of my neighbor of some years ago. The thin-lipped, excessively reserved mother in the family went out little, might or might not greet her neighbors with a nod, but never with a smile, and was never seen abroad except in the company of her husband or son, or both. The gentle, sweet-natured, cultured

father of the family attended to his business activities with great regularity and manifested a somewhat punctilious friendliness toward his neighbors. Almost any evening that one passed by the house, the mother could be seen sitting in the enclosed veranda, the son almost invariably seated by her side reading, and the father in the adjoining room absorbed at his desk. This situation existed to the almost complete exclusion of other social or personal relationships. We know at once that the adolescent son of such a schizoid mother will offer perhaps insuperable problems for the therapist, even should the mother herself be moved to seek psychiatric advice for him when she finds herself in difficulties. Such a boy not infrequently offers the strongest resistance to any disturbance of the overwhelmingly strong defenses he will have erected against his aggressive and sexual impulses. He tends to maintain the unhappy security, possible only if his situation remains untouched. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a therapist to establish any meaningful relationship with him. The situation may, indeed, be different if he is removed from the family setting, but both mother and son strongly resist such a suggestion. If he does manage to separate himself from the setting, he will tend to return and to restore the old relationship. There is no possibility for therapy unless there can be actual physical breaking up of the situation, in which case the difficulties the boy encounters may open the possibility for therapeutic approaches. I think you will all agree that our expectations, however, will be modest indeed.

We may contrast the situation of this passive boy, who will do nothing, with that of boys who aggressively act under the influence of a variety of motives. I have in mind certain boys, and girls, for that matter, who could be generally characterized as presenting a pregenital character. Though chronologically adolescent, these young people are psychosexually primitively undeveloped, or may have regressed to such a status.

Studies of aggressive delinquent boys indicate that many of them are reacting under the influence of the sharp conflict between passive, feminine tendencies and masculine strivings and

ambitions. This concept has been made clear by Alexander.<sup>3</sup> An excellent description of a group of such children has been presented by Martha McDonald.<sup>4</sup> Here one deals with the boy who has been under the influence of a harsh, severe, yet seductive mother. The identifications he makes are in the direction of the mother. The conception of physical relationships is strongly sado-masochistically colored. Chronic, or impulsive, aggressive acting out constitutes a defense against the passive tendencies and at once serves to discharge the intense hostility engendered by the mother's aggressiveness and domination. Since such adolescents are distinctly antisocial in their overt behavior, therapeutic efforts with them under usual treatment conditions are seriously handicapped. Treatment would require control that can be exercised only in a hospital or school setting, together with facilities for intensive psychotherapy.

I have confined myself to the problem of direct treatment approaches to the older child and have refrained from discussion of other important aspects of treatment, such as that of treatment of the family setting, social, environmental, and manipulative procedures. In concluding, I must remark that the rapid changes, both physical and psychological, that occur during the adolescent period obscure the evaluation to be placed upon any particular therapeutic effort undertaken during this period. The latency period offers, of course, the favorable opportunity for ego-building experience, assuming the child has not been sufficiently disturbed in his emotional development to make it difficult or impossible for him to profit by the opportunities he may have during this period. The pre-pubertal period, or early puberty, is not infrequently an age-period offering much opportunity for the psychotherapist, particularly in dealing with neurotic children. Here they begin to be disturbed about and conscious of the problems of adolescence. They may be helped to a more effective dealing with the pressures of adolescent life, and a healthier

<sup>3</sup> Franz Alexander, "Relation of Structural and Instinctual Conflict," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. II (April, 1933), No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Martha W. McDonald, "Criminally Aggressive Behavior in Passive, Effeminate Boys," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. VIII (January, 1938), No. 1.

utilization of the now active, innate tendencies of growth and maturation may be evoked. Psychotherapy during the adolescent period is dependent more upon transference phenomena than upon insight, although I have indicated that current conflictful situations may readily be worked out with the adolescent. This is true particularly where there is open conflict with the environment, or where there is unhappiness or suffering on the part of the individual.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF PATERNITY

*Maud Morlock*

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AT THE PRESENT TIME social work literature contains little on the subject of the father of the child born out of wedlock in contrast to the amount that has been written on the general subject of illegitimacy. This dearth of material may be due, in part, to the confusion in the minds of social workers in regard to the father. There is a lack of clarity in the thinking about the father's "rights" and responsibilities in regard to the child. Distinction has not been made between the need to know who the father is and when and how to obtain this information and the need for more formal procedure in regard to paternity and support.

Two procedures may be involved: The first, "determination" of paternity, may be a relatively informal matter of knowing who the father is, involving such information as is frequently found in case records, where either the father admits his responsibility, or where the material clearly indicates that he is the only man involved. The second procedure, "establishment" of paternity, indicates the more formal court process.

Within recent years social agencies have recognized the importance of case work procedures in dealing with the fathers of children born out of wedlock. Considerable interest has been expressed in this subject, particularly as to agency and community problems and practices. In order to obtain more complete information as to practices in different places, questionnaires requesting such information were sent to the thirty committees in different cities that are coöperating with the United States Children's Bureau in the development of programs for unmarried mothers and their children. Two questionnaires were used for this purpose: one asking for information in regard to general practices

in the community, and the other to be filled out by individual agencies in regard to their own practice. Data were obtained from thirty-three cities located in seventeen states which included a general report from each city and individual reports from fifty-five public and private agencies providing services to unmarried mothers.

Reports from the individual agencies showed that they had served 5,745 unmarried mothers in 1939. It is recognized that some duplication probably occurred in the number of mothers, since more than one agency may have been involved in a single situation. However, this does not detract from the general picture, since the objective was to determine practice in regard to establishment and determination of paternity.

These agencies reported that paternity was established by court action in 1,115 cases (20 percent) and that paternity was determined by formal or informal agreement in 1,353 cases (24 percent). It is interesting to note that in a slightly larger group of cases, 1,519 (27 percent), the father was not interviewed, although his identity was known; and in 941 cases his identity was not known to the agency. The reasons given for the lack of action to determine or establish paternity included: (1) failure or inability to get in touch with the alleged fathers, some of whom had left the city; (2) refusal of the mother to give information or to take action; (3) denial of paternity by the putative father following an interview, with no further action taken; (4) lack of evidence to support the mother's claim as to the man's responsibility; (5) the preference of the girl's family for making its own plans; and (6) the promiscuity of the mother.

These figures as to the extent to which paternity is established compare favorably with previously available data on the subject, which indicate that in urban areas paternity is established through court procedure in 10 to 25 percent of the cases of children born out of wedlock. For example, state-wide statistics on all children born to unmarried mothers in Minnesota during a twelve-year period (1918-30) show that paternity was established by court adjudication in 20 percent of the cases; and by written acknowledgment or admission in 10 percent. In addition to these, 16



percent of the mothers married the fathers subsequent to the birth of the children. The total number of cases in which paternity was established through court order, or was voluntarily acknowledged through admission or marriage, constituted less than one-half (46 percent) of the entire group. This figure may be higher than it would be in most states, since Minnesota has for many years, through its department of public welfare, offered assistance to unmarried mothers to an unusual extent.

The agencies were asked to state their policies in regard to advising or encouraging a mother to take court action. Many replies indicated that the decision was reached through an understanding of the total situation involving the welfare of the mother, the child, and the alleged father. The replies showed a recognition not only of the economic need for the support of the child, but of the fact that social and emotional factors should also be considered. Consideration is, of course, given by the agencies to the truthfulness of the mother's statement and to what evidence could be presented to the court. Some agencies leave the decision on the latter point to the mother and her family, since they are the ones primarily concerned and must go through the sometimes grueling process of court action.

A majority of the agencies replying make a practice of advising court action in all cases in which the alleged father refuses in a private interview to acknowledge paternity or to assume financial responsibility for the child. A few agencies advise formal action only when the mother needs the money or is dependent upon public funds. One agency takes action only "provided the father's own family will not be broken up"; another "when such action will not embarrass either party." One agency advises action when the father has no established residence or employment and the girl is truthful, and, if she is a minor, her parents approve and consent to the filing of the complaint. One county welfare board considers action desirable when the mother plans to keep the child and the father is unable to make a lump-sum settlement.

The practice of agencies in regard to paternity and support action may be primarily influenced by their philosophy of case work, by their definition of function of the agency, or by their

interpretation of legal requirements and regulations. There are many social workers who think that court action by an unmarried mother against the father of her child involves such deep-seated emotional problems, and such an experience in the court procedure itself, that the most a social worker can do is to help the mother become aware of her own attitudes, to be fully aware of what the court experience will involve, and to assist her in whatever decision she makes. Social workers are far less ready than formerly to plunge the unmarried mother into hurried court action. This is partly due to a realization of the emotional factors involved, often concealed or disguised, and to an awareness of the constantly changing feeling of the mother toward the father of her child which may involve hurt pride and a wish to punish, or a desire for marriage. This latter feeling may, in part, account for the group of "fathers unknown to social agencies" who cannot be located.

The action of the agency may also be influenced by its philosophy and experience in regard to what is accomplished by procedures to determine paternity. Probably most social workers believe that it is important to know who the father is in order that the child may know, when the proper moment comes, such facts about the father as are pertinent. This information need not necessarily be established through court procedure. In fact, in many instances it may be as authentically determined through the dignity and privacy of a case work interview. It is an advantage if the father can then be persuaded to acknowledge his responsibility to the court in private chambers.

It is also important in situations involving adoption to know not only the mother's background, but the father's, so that there can be adequate understanding of the child and suitable placement in a foster home. It would be difficult, however, to think of a situation where establishment of paternity through court procedure was indicated when a mother planned in the immediate future to give up her child. Yet in one city, if a mother desires public assistance for the placement of her child until the adoption occurs, she is referred to the juvenile court, where she must immediately start "bastardy" action.

While agencies may be thinking clearly about what they would like to do in regard to the establishment of paternity, their policies may be influenced in another direction by community pressures. Such pressures are usually exerted when requests are made for the use of public funds for the support of children of unmarried mothers. Frequent reports are received from various parts of the country that an unmarried mother is refused placement of her child and denied economic assistance or even medical care during pregnancy, unless she immediately initiates action against the father to obtain his contribution to such services.

In view of the general impression that public departments, before granting public assistance, exert pressure to establish the paternity of a child born out of wedlock, it was interesting to find that of the twenty-seven cities located in states having laws relating to establishment of paternity, only three cities specifically stated that this procedure was generally required, although five other cities reported that emphasis on establishment of paternity was made by the welfare agency. Three of the cities from which reports were received were located in Texas and Missouri, states which have no law on the establishment of paternity, and two other cities were located in California, where the only court procedure is a civil action to obtain support from the father of a child born out of wedlock. Since the major sources of support from public funds for children remaining with a parent is general public assistance or aid to dependent children, the procedures of public agencies in this regard are of vital significance.

The Social Security Act makes no distinction in defining eligibility for aid to dependent children between children of legitimate or illegitimate birth, eligibility for assistance being based on the need of the child. It is gratifying to note that information from the Social Security Board for the fiscal year 1938-39 indicates that all states accepted for aid to dependent children some unmarried mothers, the proportionate number so aided being larger in some states than in others. During the year ending June 30, 1939, 12,634 children living with their unmarried mothers were placed on state lists to receive aid to dependent children. Miss Hoey, com-

menting on this problem in the *Social Work Year Book* for 1939, states:

Even in states which do give aid to illegitimate children, the procedures followed are sometimes quite rigid and frequently work hardship. For example, in cases of both illegitimacy and desertion it is impossible in some states for a dependent child to receive assistance unless the mother takes court action against the father. Such action frequently closes the door to any more constructive solution of the problem.

The effectiveness of court orders as a means of support for children born out of wedlock depends upon the amounts that are actually collected. Records obtained by the Children's Bureau of collection of support orders show that the number of men who are in arrears in payments steadily increases with each year succeeding the date of the order. In one study made in 1928 the records showed that 44 percent of the men whose orders to pay had been in force for from one to two years were in arrears, while no less than 73 percent of those whose orders had been in force from five to seven years were in arrears. Records of children born in 1935, a depression year, showed that within one or two years 80 percent of the white fathers and 86 percent of the Negro fathers had already fallen behind in their payments, nearly half of the fathers being in arrears for 50 percent or more of the amount due.

These figures clearly suggest that we have had false hopes of the efficacy of court orders as a means of actually providing support for children born out of wedlock. Although support may be obtained for the difficult early years, it is probable that only a small proportion of the children born out of wedlock are supported until they are sixteen years of age by the men adjudged to be their fathers. The present emphasis on establishment of paternity as a routine procedure in order to establish eligibility for public support of the child would seem scarcely to be justified, particularly in view of the great social and emotional values at stake. Total amounts collected sound large, but when analyzed for the individual the results are not impressive, particularly in view of the fact that the mother has often submitted to a more or less

public court procedure in order to secure adequate financial provision for the child.

Somewhat general agreement exists among the agencies as to the undesirability of the father's making payments directly to the mother in cases in which paternity is acknowledged without court action. The plan that has been adopted by the largest number of agencies that have an established policy as to payments is to have the father make payments to the agency, which in turn sends the money to the mother, to the foster mother, or to any other person responsible for the care of the child. A small group of agencies prefers not to follow any one plan but to handle each case individually, on a case work basis. One county welfare board responsible for the cases of a large number of unmarried mothers reported that although occasionally the father was instructed to pay the money to the mother, this plan was not encouraged. Twenty-four agencies in fourteen cities stated that they had no policy as to collections from the father, possibly because of the small number of cases in which arrangements for support had been made following acknowledgment of paternity.

Most of the children and family agencies reported that they made a practice of assisting mothers in obtaining support from fathers who defaulted in payment after having made voluntary acknowledgment of paternity. The practice most usually adopted was to refer the mothers for advice to the agency's attorney or to the local legal aid society. One additional agency had also resorted to the use of a commercial collection agency, but with limited success. Assistance may be given in filing a nonsupport affidavit against the father or in making formal complaint in court, or action may be taken under the general desertion and nonsupport laws in some states. In two communities, however, action to obtain support cannot be initiated on a voluntary acknowledgment without court action, which means that court adjudication of paternity is necessary before any legal action in connection with support can be taken. Twelve case work agencies did nothing to enforce payment from the father if he defaulted in cases of voluntary payment. One agency considered that it met with better success in cases in which no court action was taken to enforce payment.



Considerable discussion has taken place in recent years on the question of responsibility for the initial interview with the putative father. Is it part of the case work process and therefore should it be done by the social worker rather than by an attorney? There are those who still insist that since establishment of paternity is a legal matter, the approach to the man involved should be made by an attorney or by the social worker associated with the court. The arguments for such an approach are that it emphasizes to the man the seriousness of the charge, protects his interests, and also protects the interests of society, since the court is in a position to decide whether the man is likely to evade his responsibilities and, if so, to take action immediately to hold him.

Many social workers believe that the issues are too important for such an approach, since they go far beyond the immediate economic question, and that the initial interview is only one part of the total case work process. They further contend that any association with the court in the beginning is a threat to the putative father which immediately arouses his instinct to fight and tends to make him deny his responsibility. Considering the difficulties in regard to payment which most communities are encountering and which they will continue to encounter because of the very nature of the situation, it would seem advisable to use the approach which is most likely to gain the man's good will and his coöperation on behalf of his child. These can be attained only if he feels that his welfare is being considered and that he is being approached in an atmosphere of objectivity and fairness and in a place where there is an opportunity for privacy and unhurried interviews. His first reaction, even under these circumstances, may be one of denial, but this may not necessarily be his final decision in regard to his responsibility.

It is difficult, therefore, to interpret the replies to the questionnaires received from certain cities indicating that no problem concerning the first interview existed there. In one large city the family court has social workers on its staff who are responsible for all first interviews with the alleged father. On this question the social workers in that city are not in complete agreement. One state welfare department urges each county welfare board to ar-



range an interview between the alleged father and a social worker before court action is initiated. One of the largest counties in that state employs a man worker for the purpose. The whole problem of establishing paternity and obtaining support from the father in one Eastern city is usually approached from a legal standpoint by the girl's family working through the police, local directors of public aid, or attorneys. Under such circumstances, social agencies find it difficult to undertake any case work service with the alleged father. It would be distinctly advantageous in most instances if the alleged father could be interviewed, before action is initiated, by a skilled case worker, free enough from pressure to give him an objective and friendly hearing which might result in his voluntarily assuming responsibility rather than forcing a prolonged court hearing.

State laws relative to the establishment of paternity should be liberalized so as to make it possible for the father to acknowledge paternity without having to go through the criminal or quasi-criminal procedure which is now required by many of these laws. To give him the opportunity to make up his own mind and to register his fatherhood with the court seems a much more dignified method, and one conducive to the maintenance of self-respect on the part of the mother, the father, and, in future years, the child. A different procedure can be established for dealing with contested cases.

Probably one reason why social workers hesitate to suggest that a mother initiate court proceedings is the realization of how difficult the experience may be for the mother because of the type of evidence likely to be introduced and the impossibility in many states of having the public barred from the court hearing. Preceding the hearing itself, the mother may in some states have had to initiate action in a justice's court, to have repeated her story several times, and to have been subjected to such procedures as seem degrading to her. While social workers are all too familiar with such occurrences, they have probably been too willing to accept them as a necessary limitation and have attempted too little to arouse public opinion to demand a more humane legal treatment.

However, only seven of the cities stated that all hearings were

public. In the remaining cities some cases were heard privately in chambers or the court exercised its discretion in excluding the public. The report of one city specifically stated that all hearings were private, unless an open court was requested by the defendant. Six of the reports to the questionnaire came from cities located in Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, and Wisconsin. The laws of these states have provisions for exclusion of the public from hearings. Such exclusion lies within the discretion of the court in New York and Wisconsin but applies only to the preliminary hearing in Michigan. Closed hearings were almost universal in the cities in these states.

In response to the question concerning the need for change in the state laws relating to the establishment of paternity, all of the committees except five replied that there was need for revision in the law to afford more protection to the unmarried mother and the putative father.

Agencies concerned with the welfare of children of illegitimate birth encounter a wide variety of problems in connection with establishing paternity and obtaining support for the child. The difficulty of collecting the money from the fathers after paternity has been established was considered by several communities to be outstanding in the present procedure. The law of one state represented provides no machinery for enforcing the law, and since only contempt proceedings can be instituted if a man leaves the state, it is difficult to locate him and force him to return. Excessive leniency toward the fathers of children of illegitimate birth as to the amount they are required to pay, the ordering of a lump sum rather than continuing payments, and the short time that they are required to pay were mentioned as other difficulties that were encountered. One committee pointed out that fathers of children of illegitimate birth are required to provide support only until the children become fourteen years of age (as contrasted with the requirement that fathers of children of legitimate birth are responsible until the children become twenty-one years of age). In this connection it was thought in one city that the law allowing the father to go to jail under the Bankruptcy Law worked an injustice, since it was possible for him to be discharged as an

insolvent debtor and no money could then be collected for the child.

The committees in several cities reported that local agencies had found little permanent benefit to the mother or the child from the establishment of paternity through court action and court orders for support and that experience had proved that more desirable and lasting results were obtained through case work approach to the father than through court action. If the father does not voluntarily acknowledge paternity or agree to support the child, legal procedures are futile.

The legal aid society in one city has made a rule not to accept paternity cases because of the complications involved in a jury trial, which the defendant has a right to demand. The greatest weakness in existing procedure in one city was considered to be the requirement that paternity should be "proven beyond a reasonable doubt" before support can be ordered. Too many reasons exist for not being able to prove paternity, and most agencies think that attempting to establish paternity and to obtain support is practically futile.

The replies to the inquiry concerning the response of the fathers to the offer of social services indicated that such services are being used to a very limited extent by many agencies. Slightly over half of the agencies reporting considered that they had had insufficient experience of this kind to enable them to express an opinion of its value, and many of these agencies had had contact with the fathers in only a small proportion of the cases. Even those agencies that considered their experience in this type of service too limited to be of value, recognized the advantages of first-hand contact with the fathers and the desirability of developing such services. Agencies in only four cities reported that they had not undertaken any work with the fathers of the children.

Most agencies that have undertaken to offer social services to the fathers have found that, on the whole, the men have been most coöperative and that the contact has proved helpful and worth while in working out a plan for the mother and child, although, as might be expected, the effectiveness varies with the individual fathers and the way in which they are approached. Several agencies

considered that their success in providing this service might be due to some extent, at least, to the use of men social workers. The willingness of the father to coöperate was attributed by some agencies to their desire to avoid publicity by settling the matter privately and thus keeping out of court, rather than because of any genuine interest in the welfare of the mother and the child. In comparatively few cases did the father evince any interest in the child or his welfare, and no effort was made by the agencies to create interest in the child if none existed. Fathers who showed real concern for the baby were mentioned as exceptional cases. Several agencies found that the father's attitude was that adoption was the best plan for the child and that the agencies' services were accepted more readily when a plan for adoption was under consideration.

A few agencies made a practice of interviewing all fathers who could be located, unless some good reason existed for making this undesirable. On the other hand, other agencies did not see the fathers except with the knowledge and permission of the mother, and then services were offered only when the fathers indicated a need and desire for assistance. A few agencies stated definitely that no effort was made to arouse the father's interest in the baby for fear that it might encourage continued intimacy between him and the mother.

While the success or failure of the effort to give social services to the father and to arouse his interest in the child's welfare may depend to a large extent upon the type of man, the method of approach, and the skill of the case worker, the comments of some of the agencies that had been unsuccessful in their effort to deal with the fathers may be of interest: "The fathers do not care to be reminded of the child"; "fathers unwilling to coöperate, do not wish to have contact with agency"; "man's greatest desire is to be free from responsibility for child"; "shows little interest in child or in mother's problems"; "man shows little interest in offer of services and is apt to suspect legal action later. He may leave town if he feels any particular interest is being shown in him"; "fathers expressed indifference and even hostility in the few cases in which they were approached."

It is not necessary to present data on the importance of the father in family life and, particularly, in the life of a child. We are not clear, however, in our thinking as to the differences and similarities of fatherhood for the children of legitimate and illegitimate birth. Fatherhood for the child born out of wedlock may be fatherhood in the biological sense only.

We have no composite picture of the father of the child born out of wedlock. In general, we think of him as young, perhaps a few years older than the mother, frequently from the low-income group, and, in recent years, frequently unemployed. He may or may not have responsibility for contributing to the support of others. In all probability he will, within the next few years, want to marry and will find that payment for the support of this child will be a distinct hindrance to the success of his marriage and a hindrance to the welfare of his legitimate children. He may or may not have been approached by the irate father of the girl. In all probability the majority of men involved did not anticipate or welcome parenthood. It is, therefore, a natural first reaction for a man to deny the existence of the child, at least as his child, and to try to escape from any responsibility for its maintenance.

It is not strange that under these complicated circumstances social workers and others are still bewildered by the subject. We have oversimplified the problem, in all probability, into fathers who showed some sense of responsibility for the situation as contrasted with fathers who were totally indifferent. One of the most difficult problems with which we are now faced, and one for which we still have no answer, has arisen partly over our concern for the father as a person rather than just as a means of support. While the law gives him no legal rights in most states in regard to decisions for the child, what are his moral rights if he is interested in the child's future, and what have we as social workers done to him if we have aroused this interest and are not prepared to help the mother and the father to face and act wisely on their complicated relationships to the child throughout the future years? What is our answer to him if the mother wishes to give the child in adoption, and if he or his family wishes to assume responsibility for the



child? What if the mother in her bitterness opposes such a decision and still insists upon adoption?

We would probably be more nearly in agreement on some of the other fundamental problems:

1. The father in the majority of instances is not, at least in the beginning, a willing client of a social agency. He has not, as a rule, made the initial approach to the social agency asking its services. Rather, the agency has approached him on a subject that is too frequently unpleasant and one he would like to forget—certainly not a subject which many men would choose to keep alive for sixteen years. If, however, the situation is handled skillfully, and if he still has some respect and affection for the mother and a sense of responsibility for the child, he may desire interviews. He may wish to discuss his own problems or he may show a willingness to assist in planning for the total situation.

2. Social work with the father is so complicated that where possible only case workers with the best skill and emotional maturity should be used—case workers who are aware and in control of their own attitudes as they relate to this problem.

3. While maintenance of the child is important, our experience with this problem indicates that the amount contributed by the father is far from sufficient for the child's support, and that maintenance of the child can be approached constructively only when there is an awareness of emotional and social problems.

4. The relationship of the mother to the father may still be deeply important to her, regardless of what she fails to put into words. Social workers can do irreparable damage to the mother when they rush ahead in the first interview to obtain facts that to most people are sacred between the two individuals involved.

5. We need to remember that the father is a human being and that the birth of a child out of wedlock—much as it may be regretted by society—is not a crime, but only one manifestation of behavior to be approached by the social worker with objectivity and understanding.



## COMMON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNMARRIED FATHER

*Marguerite Marsh*

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IN CONSIDERING THIS PARTICULAR ASPECT of the whole subject of parenthood outside marriage, it becomes clear that to understand attitudes toward the father's role one needs to understand general attitudes toward parenthood within marriage. One must relate these to the reactions of the parents, their families, and the community toward deviation from the socially acceptable pattern. If we concern ourselves simply with the father-mother traditions as we see them revealed in the written and spoken word in twentieth-century American life, some of the fundamental difficulties in reaching and treating the case work problems of the unmarried father begin to appear.

In America, the woman and not the man is still considered the guardian of the home. She is still responsible for the moral and the spiritual well-being of the family. And this remains true, in spite of the changes which are taking place in the thinking and the sexual behavior of the younger generation, as evidenced by the information given to qualified analysts of social change by thousands of college and high-school youths throughout the nation.

In the ordinary community, urban or rural, the married father is generally spoken of in terms of physical guardianship and as the family banker. "He is a good provider" is an accepted description. His function is rarely spoken of in the same terms by which a mother's success is described; her children are well mannered, well behaved, etc., and not merely well fed and well clothed. Only in recent years has there been a revival of awareness that the father has contributions and responsibilities other than those physical-economic in character.

May I emphasize that I am describing attitudes of the general public and not attempting to give a scientific analysis of the family. One of the occupational diseases of social workers is our forgetting that it is the homekeeping woman and the conservative member of the Chamber of Commerce rather than the social worker who set the conditions of life which the client must meet.

We hear many times that "Men don't like babies. They only begin to care about them when they are old enough to be interesting." Likewise, *ad nauseam*, there is an almost unchallenged assumption of the wisdom and self-sacrificing nature of mother love; in theory, the natural inheritance of every female. The existence of these traditions obviously creates conflict for the individual who feels differently from the way he or she is supposed to feel. A man may be painfully embarrassed by his tender feeling for a baby or his concern over an older child. Indeed, he may think that such feelings invalidate his masculinity. We know from our daily experience that many a mother builds up antagonism toward her child when the real source of her emotion is the community pressure on her to conform to the pattern and feel as a mother should.

I have sketched in this highly generalized and incomplete description of some of the common attitudes toward parenthood which bear directly on the question before us—paternity outside wedlock. How do they affect our social and legal treatment of the illegitimate fathers and in what ways do they influence the case work relationship? Perhaps the most significant finding which emerges from any study of this question is the marked ambivalence of public attitudes. We have recognized that ambivalence as it relates to the problems of the unmarried mother; and we have also seen that the weight is on the condemnatory side. While the ambivalence toward the father is even more strongly marked, we have not always seen that the weight is on the protective side. This ambivalence influences the practice of both courts and social agencies in inverse proportion to the recognition of its existence.

It is perhaps quite natural in a culture which overemphasizes the married father's economic role that the major emphases, in law and in social work practice, as well as in community attitudes,

should be on the unmarried father's financial responsibility. Again, this is the state's major concern and one which frankly reveals the taxpayers' self-interest. Here, as in every other phase, the ambivalence of thought and feeling is revealed. On the one hand, the sum divided may be small and the judgments enforced reluctantly; on the other hand, warrants may be issued and the fathers incarcerated.

In the case of private settlements, other elements appear. Traditionally, men expect to pay in cash for illicit sex affairs. When a girl or her family approaches the father for money—regardless of motives or the reasonableness of their request—the masculine attitude of discharging responsibility for sexual indulgence by a cash payment may enter in. This, in turn, obviously has its effect on the girl's view of the character of their relationship. When the prostitute pattern is thus symbolized, the child becomes actually only the mother's in the sight of both parents. No woman wonders whether or not she is the mother of a child, but there can be no such biologic certainty for the father. In the eyes of both, therefore, the payment may be made to her as the sexual partner rather than for the child. A girl's awareness of the significance of the cash symbol may well account for her "ignorance" of the name and whereabouts of the father if she fears that pressure may be brought to bear on him on the basis of his financial responsibility.

In contrast, there are men with true parental feeling for whom the inadequacy of the cash payment, whether voluntary or through court order, increases rather than decreases the sense of guilt. It is significant that of thirty-eight men paying on court orders who were recently interviewed by Miss Lois Beemer in Minnesota (according to a summary of the study given by Mr. Richard Hunter), sixteen thought they were not paying enough in the light of their knowledge of what it costs to care for a child. This sense of guilt may be increased when cash-settlement plans are made by older men—fathers, lawyers, etc.—in behalf of the very young father. Especially in the case of a young man who knows enough of modern psychology to recognize the effect of deprived childhood, this guilt, later, may have a destructive effect on his relationship to his legitimate children. The way in which better

educational standards have created new awareness and thereby new problems for the unmarried mother is recognized by many social workers. But of a similar effect on the father's recognition of his more than financial responsibility, we may not be so aware. Again, to quote from the Minnesota study, fourteen of the thirty-eight men said they would like to have a picture of their child and fifteen said they would take him, in the event of the mother's death.

There are, however, other connotations of this exclusive emphasis on financial responsibility. Ambivalence is nowhere more obvious than in the punitive-protective nature of our court action. Another attitude is here reflected: that while he should pay for his own child, nothing is more unjust or puts a man in a more ridiculous light than to "father another man's child." The man is "accused" of paternity, yet the major change in paternity proceedings in recent years is the admission of blood tests as evidence—evidence which can be only negative, for it can prove that a certain man cannot be the father of a certain child, but it can never prove that he is the father. The axiom that he must pay, and not the taxpayers, is behind the quasi-criminal character of paternity proceedings; society punishes the individual for acts which cost it money. The punitive nature stems also, in part, from the cultural pattern that the man should protect himself, society, and the woman against the possibility of a child and from the equally strong feeling that such a relationship threatens the monogamous family.

There is a tendency to use the need of relief to force paternity proceedings against alleged fathers; yet in most states there is no machinery whereby a man who wishes to register his paternity legally can do so without appearing in court. The tendency of men to protect a member of their own sex is particularly shown by the ease with which an accused father can bring in numerous personal friends to swear that they also had relations with the mother, with the result, of course, of stigma for her and freedom from stigma for him. And yet our newspapers and our novels have made us familiar with the fact that in high places the fathering of an illegitimate child may be a fruitful source of blackmail.

In short, the punitive attitude expressed through legislation to enforce financial responsibility has created its own antidote—protective devices of various sorts. How much of this protectiveness comes from a conscious or subconscious sense of guilt on the part of men lawmakers, and how much from the married woman's desire to protect the legitimate family, no one knows. That it plays its part, both as to the father and mother and the social worker, is the important point.

Ignorance of the extent and character of the influence of these ambivalent attitudes has delayed the finding of the approach through which, in the majority of cases, effective contact can be made with the father. Furthermore, only as we begin to understand this influence will we be able to interpret the father to the various members of the community who may know him better than we do but who, I submit, have no greater understanding of his needs. I refer to the lawyers, doctors, friends, fathers, brothers, and uncles who rally around the "accused man" with an ardor that other forms of asocial behavior rarely elicit. This, too, is a common attitude that does not have a counterpart in similar protectiveness shown by women for the girl.

The clearest evidence we have of the effect on the man lies in the record of court hearings where all sorts of devices are used by him and his attorney, with the consent of the court, to disprove his sole responsibility. While this procedure may be effective legally, it has many destructive psychological and social consequences. For certain men it may result in a deep sense of guilt over this nontechnical but real perjury. In others it may release them from any sense of social responsibility, so that more children are born for the state to care for.

The existence within our culture of this punitive-protective attitude toward the father contributes to many of the mother's conflicts, which are thereby increased in proportion to her intelligence, education, and sophistication. Society's punitive-protective attitude toward the father is a factor in many situations where the girl seemingly does not know the man's last name or his address. Often, to our chagrin, we discover that she has told another girl or her employer who he is, or she herself has seen him in an



attempt to solve part of her problem without assistance. If she cares for him or hopes for marriage, the threat of arrest and publicity may check her frankness. She may fear to subject her relationship with the agency to the possibility of a shift from interest in her to interest in or protection of the man—a very real threat to an insecure person. If she has had relations with other men at any time, our readiness to accept one name may serve to block frankness if there is a possibility of this man's telling about the others. What sort of punishment will her parents mete out to him? In what way will his own or his family's self-protectiveness express itself in harmful activity toward her and her child? Will anyone really understand him and their relationship, or is it all to be reduced to a question of money? These are some of the questionings which lie behind the frequent reluctance of the mother to discuss the father of her child.

These fears are rooted in an awareness, often unconscious, of how the community thinks and acts and in a knowledge of how social workers have often acted. The practice of social work—public and private—shows the same ambivalence; any reading of case records reveals it clearly. From the extreme of the thinly veiled threat in letters sent to the alleged father, asking him to come in for an interview, to cases in which the worker has completely identified herself with his interests, the protective aspect shows itself in our hesitation to use the simple phrase "the baby's father," even after he has admitted paternity. He is always "alleged," "putative," "accused," or "adjudged." By some agencies he is asked to meet his financial responsibility, yet at the same time they deny him any right to see his child, even at the mother's request. According to the law, the father has no rights, merely responsibility.

One reason for our failure may lie in the fact that the majority of fathers who have been known to social agencies have been those against whom legal action has been taken, which has created a strained, resentful, and fear-filled atmosphere, in which a case work relationship is difficult if not impossible to establish. Another small group is known through newspaper accounts of acts of violence, usually committed by young fathers, resulting from



the strain which paternity created. These acts have ranged from the father's suicide or his killing of the prospective mother to robbery with the intent of obtaining money for an abortion or for hospital fees. A still smaller group consists of those who have asked for or accepted a proffer of service from a case work agency. With this last group, as we honestly analyze our experience with them, lies our hope of increased knowledge and skill in meeting the individual's needs or effecting any change in public understanding.

So much for social attitudes. What, if anything, do we know of men's own attitudes toward their extramarital paternity? The following excerpts from the records of two different men are given here to indicate what men may reveal of their feelings in an atmosphere from which, so far as the agency could achieve it, fear and suspicion had been eliminated.

The first man was twenty-three, bigamously married at eighteen to an older woman and unable to annul the marriage because of lack of funds. Genuinely in love with the mother of his child, he had told her a story of his nonexistent record as a gangster in an effort to impress her and as compensation for his actual ineffectiveness and inability to cope with life as he had found it.

When he came to the office door, he hesitated on the threshold, stretched his neck several times, pulling with his forefinger at his collar. Stammering he said, "Well, I guess this is going to be kind of embarrassing for me." . . . He finally said he had not had any opportunity to talk much about Jessie and the baby. He had seen her one day at church for about a minute. However, he had been so embarrassed and overcome emotionally that he had not gotten said anything he wanted to say. He had asked her, "How's everything?" When she answered, "All right, I guess," all he could think of to say was, "That's swell." After he had left her he had thought of a million things he should have said and asked. . . . With a sort of sheepish grin, he said, "Why, I don't even know whether the baby is a boy or a girl." When told it was a boy, he immediately wanted to know what the baby's name was. When the worker said it was Albert, in absolute disgust he said, "Albert, gee what a hell of a thing to do to a kid." . . . Finally he looked at the worker and said, "Gee, it's hard to explain to you. It's funny to be a father like I am. Gosh, it's swell to have a son, but well, I can't explain it to you, but it's so funny to have a son seven

months old and not even to know that he was a son, not to know what he looks like, how much hair he has, whether he's got any teeth."

When the mother had started legal action against him, he came in again.

He started the conversation by saying, "What's the idea of Jessie putting me behind the eight ball?" He dug down in his pocket and brought out a summons for court. She told him we knew about the summons and had wanted to explain it to him because we thought that he might think that Jessie was trying to "put him behind the eight ball." He said "Mind reader, huh? What made you think I'd think that?" We told him that a great many young men reacted that way to a summons, and we thought that we knew him well enough to suspect that he might feel the same way for the same reasons that other fathers did.

. . . He said, "That's only what I thought at first. Then I looked harder and saw that the summons read 'In behalf of Albert Jones,' so I knew that Jessie was doing it for the kid." He wanted to know what would happen at court. . . . He interrupted the worker's explanation by saying, "Save your breath. You know what I'll say. The kid's mine." We then explained that following the order of filiation there would be a support hearing. Here he winked at the worker and said, "O.K., here it comes. This is where I get stuck." We wondered if he would not want to help support Albert, so that when Albert grew up he would know that his father had helped support him. He looked at the worker quizzically with his head on one side, saying "You put it swell but you can't kid me with all that stuff. I'd be willing to work my fingers to the bone for Jessie and the kid if we was married, and I'd marry her tomorrow, but I don't like the idea of her getting money from me through the court." We explained that Jessie was not very interested in the money but was most interested in establishing paternity for Albert. Then he said, "Well, O.K., if you're not kidding me and that's the way Jessie really feels, I guess I don't care much."

The second record is that of a much older man with a position of responsibility which was definitely threatened, if any hint of his parenthood became public. He was unhappily married, and while not living with his wife at the time of his relationship with the baby's mother, he later returned to her and his legitimate children in another effort to meet his problem there.

Mr. Williams cleared his throat and seemed to hesitate for a moment. He finally said that he thought there was something about him that

the worker might be interested in. Last year his father had died and left him some property. He had learned then for the first time that he was an adopted child, and he went into detail as to his feeling of insecurity. He said, "I want to find out all about myself and my people, and then I want to come in and give you all of the information I have about myself and my people and even my adopted parents, so that when my son gets to be my age, if I am not here or if I don't have any close relationship with him, he may know from some unprejudiced person who I am and what I'm like." He added, "Do you keep records here?" When we answered in the affirmative without any explanation, he said, "I do hope you will write what you think of me and anything you know about me so that in case you are not here when my son wants to know about me there will be something in writing."

He does not know what his relationship to the child will be. He does not think that it will be possible to establish a close relationship to the child because of the circumstances. He said that a year ago, when he first learned that he was an adopted child, he could not understand how his mother could have given him up. He wonders now if he were "like Millicent's baby." It was not until after Millicent said he was the father of her child that he began to realize what his mother must have gone through if he were illegitimate. His first thought as a plan for Millicent was that she give the child up for adoption. "She was so young and it would spoil everything for her to keep the baby with her." As he thinks of the child now, he does not know whether it is better for the child to know that his mother kept him or to have to face what he will have to face. He has not worked out in his own mind how he feels about himself. For almost a year he has felt that his mother must have been pretty heartless to have given him up, although all the time he tried to think of explanations as to why she did. Now he thinks that possibly "if I was like Millicent's baby, she did it for my own good more than for hers."

Thoughtful analysis of these cases reveals among many other elements the lack of understanding shown the man who deviates from the accepted pattern of paternal behavior. Our efforts or even our understanding of the cause behind our practice may fall far short of meeting this fundamental need of persons to know something, even though it is only a name, about their fathers. I am reminded of what one rather hardboiled young man said when we had been unable to locate his birth certificate, "My God, then who am I?" It is perhaps worth noting here that in these cases the child was a son, whose lifetime right to bear his father's name has

greater social significance for a man than it does for a woman. There is, also present, perhaps, that element of pride in possessing a son, a feeling so prevalent that we find references to it constantly in literature as well as in our own experience with families.

We need to apply to this particular problem the same process—that painfully slow process by which all gains in case work skill and psychiatry have come—individualization and analysis followed by development of methods by which the insight gained is used to further our understanding of other individuals involved in similar situations.

In an attempt to clarify our thinking a group of case workers from two agencies in New York City and Newark last winter set down the following description of the pre-pregnancy situations as we knew them. We recognized the influence of the purely biological urge and the fallacy of placing any situation or person in a single category. However, our experience had shown that the man's response to the news of his paternity was definitely affected by the terms of the relationship prior to the pregnancy.

The first division was in terms of permanent or temporary relationships, and each of these had its own major subdivisions. Under the more or less permanent relationships which continued over a period of time, we found the following groupings: (a) the relationship where there was an intent on the part of both to marry as soon as existing barriers were removed; (b) a more complex relationship in which there was an unwarranted belief on the part of one or the other in the intent to marry; (c) the relationship involving a married man, where both the man and the woman accepted the fact that while their relationship was permanent, it was also never to be legalized; and (d) the relationships established with the acceptance on the part of both of personal non-conformity to the standard of legal marriage.

Under the temporary or incidental division we had the following: (a) the relationship which was casual from the girl's point of view; (b) the relationship which was casual from the man's point of view (in both of these there were ramifications where one or the other hoped that out of the intimacy there might be developed

a more permanent relationship); and (c) the relationship in which one or the other had been definitely aggressive.

In similar fashion the "unmarried father" was seen to be not only an individual, but also a member of any one of several groups possessing similar characteristics which conditioned his attitude and that of the mother. There were the chronologically adult but emotionally immature men unable to accept the responsibilities of marriage and family life. There were men in the late twenties, financially unable to marry, sometimes because of educational plans which apparently precluded marriage except at the price of too great personal sacrifice. There were youths not in love but having sex relations as an experience leading to maturity, and youths in love whose desire to marry was frustrated because of the community's insistence that one should not marry unless financially able to support a wife and family.

A later study made by a student of a special group of twenty cases, in which a degree of case work contact had been established with the fathers, showed an interesting variation in the education and occupation of the fathers. Out of the twenty, four were college graduates and two others had had more than a year of college work. It is perhaps significant that only in three other records was the education of the father mentioned. This may or may not reveal an inherent intellectual snobbery among social workers. One hesitates to draw conclusions from so small a number, but this high percentage of college men in a group selected because they had accepted a case work relationship raises the question previously mentioned: Does a higher standard of education make for clearer recognition of responsibilities for the child? Only four of the twenty were married, so far as the girls or the workers knew. Ten men were of foreign nationality, which raises an interesting question: What was there in the foreign cultural pattern that accounted for so high a percentage of foreign-born in a group of men who were ready to accept even a slight degree of responsibility? Has the American cultural pattern released men from such a sense of responsibility? Has our insistence on the woman's responsibility for the moral standards of the community had this particular result as one of its by-products?



If from the case load of only two agencies one can get so many divisions within the group of unmarried fathers, it becomes clear that narrowing the legal and social approach to the economic factor has not only been ineffective, but has been actually destructive to the human values that social work and social workers are presumed to enhance and develop. It reveals the fallacy in such approaches as have been made to the preventive aspect of this problem of excluding from our concern the boys and men who might show that they might become unmarried fathers.

In every other field of social work we have recognized the importance of prevention. In this field also we need to recognize our social responsibility to make known to other than social work circles the consequences to individuals and communities when sexual experimentation results in the birth of a child out of wedlock. We have a larger audience than we have as yet been aware of—an audience of young men and young women to whom this whole matter is of immediate concern. They would reject a moralistic lecture, and yet they are puzzled as to where to go to find people who can talk in understandable terms of the social consequences of individual acts—people who, without being judgmental, can interpret forms of exploitation other than the industrial. The fact that popular magazines are finding it profitable to publish articles not only on adoption, but on other aspects of this whole matter, is evidence of the reality of this audience from whom, in the last analysis, fathers and mothers come.

If there is reality in the assumption that there are common attitudes—traditional patterns—and that these in turn have tremendous influence on clients and social work, then the challenge to us is twofold. We not only need to utilize our experience with the fathers whom we know so that we may reach effectively an even larger number, but also we need to add to that responsibility for analysis the further step of articulating it so that it can be of help in reducing the present ambivalence and confusion in the community's attitudes. By such means can we hope for a saner and more understanding approach to the man involved in each case of a child born out of wedlock.



## THE VALUE OF CASE WORK SERVICES TO THE PROBATIONER

*Robert C. Taber*

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ONE QUESTION HAS REPEATEDLY been raised in our discussions of the various aspects of probation. It concerns the proposal that the treatment function of the court might be more effectively administered if it were removed from its present authoritative setting and placed in the hands of existing social agencies, either public or private. Although there can be no clear-cut answer which will hold for both urban and rural communities, an examination of the fundamentals underlying the treatment of delinquent behavior may throw some light on the question. If an authoritative setting is essential, and I firmly believe that it is, then the question may possibly reduce itself to the application of modern case work practice to probation versus the transferral of the treatment function to other case work agencies.

The application of modern case work practice to the field of probation has been gradual, but the extent of its introduction gives promise of steady growth and development. The value of case work to the probationer cannot be measured in simple tangible terms, but we have had the opportunity of observing its potentialities. When we stop to examine the delicate and highly complex nature of the responsibilities of a probation officer, we gain some insight into the validity of such an approach.

Among others, there would appear to be three major factors which have hindered the widespread introduction of the recent developments of case work into the probation field. In the first place, the concept of delinquency and crime has been steeped in the tradition of punishment and restraint. The offense has been the major concern, and the offender has been punished in accordance with the type and seriousness of his delinquent act. A method

of treatment which takes the individual into consideration frequently has been regarded as taking the edge off punishment and therefore defeating the very purpose of the judicial process. The extension of the juvenile court age from sixteen to eighteen years of age in the state of Pennsylvania in September, 1939, has met with a series of criticisms which give evidence to the prevalence of the punishing attitude. The chief of police in a small community made a newspaper statement to the effect that the extended jurisdiction of the juvenile court "had hamstrung his police force" since these culprits now had to be taken before a "lollypop court." Others stated that it was a "crime to mollycoddle these adolescent criminals."

However, other recent developments such as the widespread use of pre-sentence investigations in criminal procedure give evidence of the recognition of the need for a socialized approach. The American Law Institute, whose purpose it is "to clarify and simplify the law, to better adapt it to social needs, to secure the better administration of justice, and to encourage scholarly and scientific work," gives momentum to the development of an enlightened approach in which the offender rather than the offense becomes the focus of attention.

Secondly, the community at large has been slow to accept the necessity of a career service for those engaged in the field of probation. The lack of experience and educational requirements, the low salaries, the uncertainty of tenure, and the indifference to the size of case loads give evidence to the fact that probation has not yet been accorded professional status. The result has been that probation in many communities is a mere gesture with heavy odds against any possibility of rehabilitation of the offender. On the other hand, the increasing use of merit systems for the appointment of probation personnel is a highly favorable indication of a recognition on the part of the community of the necessity of setting and maintaining standards.

Furthermore, case work practice, which has made such strides in the last decade, at first seemed irreconcilable with the exercise of authority. How could an individual confronted with the power of a court which was beyond his control and which could arbitrarily

deprive him of his freedom, make constructive use of a helping process? Would not any desire he might have to help himself be stymied by these forces imposed upon him from without? How could a court which is delegated with the duty of enforcing compliance to the normal restrictions of society employ a method which recognizes the individual's inner capacity as the key to his adjustment and the necessity of his participating in the process of rehabilitation?

Backtracking over the history of probation, we find that there has been a continuous struggle with the effective use of authority. At one moment the probation officer was wedded to authority, and at another he was as completely divorced from it as he could possibly be. The punishing approach has probably been the more prevalent of the two extremes because of the general attitude that society must avenge itself against the offender. It was easily administered since almost anyone could preach to the probationer or frighten him with the aid of an officer's badge. It was similar to the old remedy of sulphur and molasses which was administered on the slightest provocation. Needless to say, the punishing approach has been found wanting. The officer, in effect, became the law, and, because of its personal basis, the relationship frequently resolved itself into a battle of wills between the officer and the probationer. If the latter didn't rebel against this crude use of authority, he was paralyzed with fright, and his confusion and problem were only accentuated. It might be compared to bandaging a festering wound without first examining and treating the wound itself. Extenuating circumstances and the personality of the individual were brushed aside with complete disregard for motivating factors, individual differences, and constructive measures. The offender had committed a delinquent act, and the officer was interested only in keeping him in line by refreshing his memory of the dire consequences which would follow if the act were repeated.

Equally blind and unrealistic was the sentimental approach in which the officer absolved the probationer of all responsibility. The offender was told, in effect, that the past would be forgotten, that it was just too bad that he had been arrested, since it was

really society's fault and not his. It is probably this type of attitude which has brought about the labels of "sob sister" and "mollycoddling." The primary concern of the officer was to win the child's confidence by any possible means, with the thought that he might be bribed into being good. Needless to say, this sentimental approach was also found wanting. In the vast majority of cases of delinquency, the offender has failed to exercise normal restraint, and it is false to aid and abet him in placing the blame elsewhere. Such an attitude is only likely to lead him into further and more serious difficulties. Furthermore, if the officer overindulges in friendliness, he will find himself on dangerous ground. For instance, a child who has been told that he can count upon his probation officer as his friend may be subsequently involved in another infraction of the law. The officer must then decide whether he shall betray the child's confidence by recommending further deprivation of freedom, if such is warranted, or whether he shall fail in his responsibility to both the child and the community by letting him go without an accounting. An increase in the child's irresponsibility and an utter disrespect for authority of any kind might easily be the end result of the second alternative.

An examination of the probation function indicates clearly that the modern practice of case work offers a positive and constructive process which I firmly believe can be reconciled with an authoritative setting. A social, as opposed to a civil, court has the dual function of protecting and preserving the welfare of the community and, at the same time, of helping the offender to make a satisfactory adjustment. In facing the task squarely, we find that we have on the one hand the offender, who is a human being possessed of all those intangible and unpredictable qualities which go to make up human behavior, and on the other hand we have the community, which is possessed of sanctions and laws so essential to its well-being. Probation, which has come to be an integral part of court procedure, must therefore provide an approach to delinquent behavior which contains a realistic acceptance of the need for authoritative rules and regulations as well as a realistic acceptance of the offender as an individual different from every other individual.

Probation implies that release is granted or sentence is suspended conditional upon satisfactory behavior. It is a trial period during which the convicted offender is given an opportunity to prove himself capable of conducting himself in such a way that he will be acceptable to the community. Although probation is but one of the many dispositions which a court may make on the basis of social investigation, its use will increase as it becomes a more effective method of treatment. Its potentialities have only begun to be realized; partly by reason of the fact that unduly heavy case loads have resulted in a greater proportion of the probation officer's time being spent upon the investigation of new cases at the sacrifice of adequate supervision of probationers; and partly because probation officers have been confused as to how they should properly exercise their delegated authority. If probation is to have real meaning, something new must be injected into the probationer's experience which will assist him in achieving a sense of equilibrium and harmony between himself and the community.

Although probation has always employed an individualized approach, it all too frequently lacks those vital but consciously directed forces which go to make up a constructive experience. Routine visits in the nature of a check-up, no matter how carefully recorded, give nothing more than a chronological chart of the course of behavior of the offender. It is a static kind of relationship—merely a period of observation or restraint which the individual may endure in a docile fashion as a means of earning his freedom, just as a prison inmate may seek an early parole through good behavior. It is a period of sufferance—a kind of black-out—in which the offender's attitude and outlook are not changed one iota. The offender, in a sense, remains on dead center during this period of time. Probation as such is meaningless. On the other hand, probation may even be a destructive influence, especially if the offender feels that his freedom actually has not been conditioned upon his own behavior. A haphazard relationship leaves the offender with the feeling that he has gotten away with something. This frequently is the tendency if the term of probation is definitely set by the court and has no relation to the kind or extent of adjustment that is necessary.



Probation, I firmly believe, can be set up within a framework which offers a helpful and constructive experience to the offender. To do so, the approach must accept the necessity of law and order and at the same time recognize that an individual cannot be forced to conform. We can assist him in helping himself, but we cannot impose a new pattern of behavior upon him against his own will. It is the function of probation officers to help the offender to understand clearly his own situation and to assist him in making a satisfying adjustment to the circumstances which surround him without coming into conflict with society.

The authoritative setting of course and probation is not mere happenstance. It plays a vital role in the entire court experience. In the first place, the authority of the court becomes one of the dynamic factors in the relationship between the offender and the officer. Perhaps for the first time, the individual is confronted by this new kind of force which transcends anything which he has previously known. Although he has been aware of authority, such as parental and school authority, in many areas of his life, he is now face to face with a power which can deprive him of his freedom. He has not come to the court for help of his own volition. The very reality of this force sets into motion his fundamental reactions and attitudes. It represents a sharply defined and kaleidoscopic experience which serves as a kind of testing ground in which he has an opportunity to reorient himself. In a sense those intangible rules and regulations inherent in society suddenly become resolved into very tangible limitations in the form of the investigation, the hearing or trial, the necessity for reporting to the probation officer and observing the regulations governing probation.

These limitations are symbolic of the limitations which exist for all of us in the community. How will he react to this new and critical experience? The responsibility for meeting the crisis is squarely upon his own shoulders. He may be utterly defiant, or he may be irresponsible about keeping his appointments with the officer, or he may report regularly but present a tight-lipped barrier which the officer cannot penetrate. In this experience the probation officer has the opportunity, not only of observing the offender's



behavior pattern and action, but of assisting him in clarifying his attitudes and feelings and of working with him to find ways and means of satisfying personal and social needs without coming into conflict with the law. Without the use of threats, a sound interpretation of what probation means gives the delinquent an opportunity to decide for himself whether he will conform or will continue to defy discipline. Whether it be a change in attitude or a change in circumstances, or both, which may be required, the officer, if he is alert and understanding, is in a position to see the problem more clearly by reason of the fact that it is brought out in sharp relief. In short, the presence of authority serves to precipitate a reaction on the part of the offender and thereby provides a springboard, so to speak, for the relationship between the delinquent and the probation officer.

Although I firmly believe in the wisdom and necessity of referring cases to social agencies on the basis of a carefully defined and discriminating referral policy, I am convinced that it would be impractical for both courts and agencies to transfer the treatment function to other agencies *in toto*. The authority of the court offers a meeting ground on which the offender and the worker get together. It is the force which engages them, so to speak, and becomes a vital factor as a point of departure. Once the element of authority is removed, this springboard is frequently lost.

This point is better understood when it is recognized that the delinquent as opposed to the neurotic expresses his impulses in aggressive overt action rather than by repression of his desires and withdrawal into himself. No general statement is justified, but there is a tendency for the delinquent type to dispose of his need or conflict in action, and consequently he does not feel the need of help. The impetus in his instance must come from without, whereas in the truly neurotic type, the impulse to seek help comes from within because of the pressure of the conflict from within.

In addition to providing a sharply defined experience and a meeting ground, authority also serves to sustain the relationship between the worker and the delinquent, inasmuch as the delinquent does not come to the court of his own volition. The case work agency, divorced from this authoritative setting, has no other

alternative but to close the case when the client does not take hold. The probation officer, on the other hand, offers help to the probationer, with a clear understanding that his ultimate freedom is dependent upon his constructive use of the probation experience. Although the officer cannot control the use the probationer makes of his experience, authority provides a limit which may help the offender to come to terms with himself and society.

Authority also provides a supporting quality frequently enabling an individual to come to a decision which he is unable to make of his own volition. There are crises in life so overwhelming in their nature that the individual, lacking the strength within himself to meet the situation, finds support in an external force until such time as he can find it within himself. When it is recognized that delinquency reflects instability, the value of this support can be appreciated. It enables the probation officer to differentiate between a chronic instability growing out of inherent weakness or deficiency and a temporary instability growing out of extenuating circumstances.

If this conception of probation as a possible period of growth and change proceeding from a dynamic relationship is acceptable, we find that the two methods previously described are incapable of bringing about the desired result. The punishing approach ruled out the individuality of the offender by riding over him in a roughshod fashion with no recognition of his personal needs and conflicts or of his capacity for redirection. The approach was motivated entirely from the viewpoint of the need for imposing social restrictions, and it condemned him from the outset. The sentimental approach, on the other hand, not only assumed that the offender was not responsible for his actions, but also ruled out the reality of and need for social restrictions.

The basic principles of modern case work offer a method and content which can be applied to the probation function. Case work for our purposes may be defined as a process of attempting to understand the needs, impulses, and actions of an individual and of helping him to reorganize his feelings, impulses, and actions in a way that is satisfying to himself and yet in accord with the

demands of social living. It is concerned with the release of individual capacities as well as the relieving of environmental pressures.

One of the basic concepts of social case work is that treatment cannot be forced upon another person. Domination or paternalism seldom, if ever, brings about effective results. To help another person, he must be accepted as he is with an honest respect for his capacity as well as for his need to solve his own problem with whatever help the worker can give him. The case worker is concerned with assisting the individual to realize his own capacities to the fullest extent, as well as with orienting him to the resources existent within his environment which will provide a satisfying outlet. In short, change to be effective depends upon the individual's willingness to help himself. A finely spun plan is utterly useless unless the probationer participates in making it, and it becomes a part of him. He must be assisted in finding his own way at his own pace, otherwise a superstructure is imposed upon a foundation which is not equal to sustaining it. A small degree of constructive change which is securely anchored within the individual will serve him far better than a rapid change which, when the support is removed, falls as does a house of cards.

The moment we recognize the individual rather than the offense as the focus of attention, we must also recognize the necessity of the probation officer's having specialized insight into human behavior. The worker's native ability is by far the more important factor, but to be helpful to others this native ability must be transformed into skills and insights which can be used in a conscious and purposeful manner by the worker. The self-discipline which enables the worker to differentiate his own feelings and attitudes from those of his client is so essential in achieving a helpful objective approach. This self-discipline, which is acquired through supervised experience and specialized training, minimizes the possibility of the worker's imposing his own ideas and prejudices on the person whom he is trying to help.

Case work offers a realistic approach to a realistic problem. We cannot manipulate human beings and mold them into our own preconceived patterns, nor can we endow them with intelligence and qualities which they do not possess. However, we frequently

can help them to reorganize and better use the capacities which they do possess. There are no formulas that we can readily apply which will bring about the desired result, but we can sharply define in a warm but objective manner the alternatives which confront a delinquent in order that he may redirect his behavior if he has the strength and will to do so. We have long since recognized that there is no one cause of delinquency and that there can be no one solution. Surely an honest attempt to understand the individual and the factors contributing to his delinquency cannot be labeled as "mollycoddling" or as a "lollypop" attitude. If it is our responsibility to help reconcile the delinquent with the demands of social living, then it is only intelligent that we should learn as much as we can about both and develop a method which is constructive.

Our task can be hindered or facilitated by our use of authority, because it is a keen-edged instrument. It might be compared to the physician's scalpel which in skillful hands makes a clean-cut incision facilitating the easy removal of the diseased organ. The selfsame scalpel in unskillful hands may result in nothing more than an ugly wound over a deeper disorder. These very ramifications of the responsibilities attending the treatment of delinquent behavior prompted the municipal court of Philadelphia two years after its creation in 1913 to establish a medical department to throw further light upon the probation officers' investigations. Physical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations have become an integral part of their procedure. The unusually broad jurisdiction of the court has made possible the gradual but steady application of this socialized approach, which originated in the juvenile division, to the misdemeanants, domestic relations, criminal, and adoptions divisions of the court. The very fact that this socialized approach has not been confined to the juvenile delinquent but has been applied to other branches of the court concerned with more serious offenses bears evidence of its practicability and effectiveness as a sound method.

The value of case work to the probationer rests in the fact that the application of case work skill and practice gives meaning to

probation. In short, the probationer is given every consideration as an individual, but he is held responsible for his behavior and at the same time is assisted in working out a satisfying adjustment. Only through such a process of strengthening the probationer as an individual in relation to his environment can we hope to prevent the recurrence of delinquency and crime.

## THE RANGE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Russell H. Kurtz*

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THIS QUICK SURVEY of the range of community organization starts with the assumption that community organization is a process of human relations having wide application in many fields, of which social work is only one; and proceeds on the thesis, by no means new, that as used in social work or for social welfare objectives the process manifests itself in many diverse geographical areas and functional relationships. It will be my endeavor to develop this thesis by illustrations drawn from observation of agency practice in a number of settings.

I would like first to say a word, however, in support of my initial assumption that community organization is a process widely used outside of, as well as within the structure of social work. Since no one lives to himself alone in this world, but always as a member of a group, he inevitably finds himself caught up in a network of relationships with his fellows which condition his own life. His "community" is shaped by organizational forces inherent in the group of which he is a part or imposed, in some cases, from without. These forces find expression in the actions of persons who, having selected an objective desirable by their own standards, attempt to attain that objective by persuading other members of the community to go along with them. For example, a political leader seeks to organize his community to vote for the party's ticket; a chamber of commerce tries to organize the businessmen to further the commercial life of the community; a ministerial association attempts to draw all the churches together to make a greater religious impact on the community than is possible where there is disunity or sectarian competition; or a civic group seeks to win community support for a legislative measure calculated to reduce the local tax rate. These efforts to affect the com-



munity pattern may all be regarded as illustrations, it seems to me, of the use of the community organization process outside the usually accepted boundaries of the field of social work. They differ in objective, of course, from the activities which social workers include within the meaning of the term, but by broad definition they may be said to be generically related to the latter activities.

To some of us, at least, community organization as it relates to social work would have greater clarity if we could use the word "social" in the term that identifies it. Awkward as it may sound when first heard, the term "social organization work" suggested at last year's Conference has, in my opinion, much to commend it in this connection. I suspect we would all agree that there are other communities than the locality (town, county, or city), much as we tend to use the terms "locality" and "community" interchangeably in discussing the use of the community organization process in social work. We seem to be more easily reminded, however, that there are smaller communities (neighborhoods and districts) than that larger ones also exist (the state and the nation). And it takes something of an effort to realize that communities of interest (race, religion, program) also surround our agencies and make necessary the use of the community organization process if effective relationships are to be established and maintained.

May I offer the observation that community organization is a process dealing primarily with program relationships and is thus to be distinguished in its social work setting from those other basic processes, case work and group work, which deal with people? These relationships—of agency to agency, of agency to community, and of community to agency—reach in all directions from any focal point in the social work picture. Community organization may be thought of as the process by which these relationships are initiated, altered, or terminated to meet changing conditions; and it is thus basic to all social work.

To illustrate the use of this process in the simplest possible setting, let us imagine a pioneer community in which, at the outset, no social services exist. Time passes, and as the community grows older and its population increases, troubling social prob-

lems begin to appear. At first these are met by voluntary effort, without formal organization of local resources; but eventually the day comes when a small but interested group of citizens decides that something more is necessary, that it would be advantageous to establish a family welfare agency in the community. Promotional activities follow, wider support is secured, and finally an organization is set up and a social worker employed.

Now here we have seen the community organization process used in its simplest and most direct form. An agency has been created, by laymen, without benefit of professional guidance or participation. I would like to drive my first peg right here and attach to it this tag: Community organization is effectively practiced in certain circumstances by laymen without the help of professionals.

Our hypothetical community's first social worker now takes up her duties and finds that she has a job requiring the use of many skills. Not all her responsibilities can be discharged, she discovers, by the use of her carefully acquired case work techniques. She realizes that she is not only a case worker, concerned with the problems of individual clients, but that she has also become in effect an agency, with all the needs an agency has to relate itself to its environment. She must frequently lay aside her clients' problems for considerable periods and devote herself with her board and others to agency fence-building and the winning of community support. In doing this she draws vitality from the community organization spirit of those citizens who established her in this job, and sinks new roots in whatever other soil appears hospitable. Let us set up our second marker here and label it thus: Community organization is necessarily practiced by every social agency in its struggle for survival and development.

The years roll by and our community continues to grow both in population and in the complexity of its social pattern. One by one other agencies are established: a hospital, a scout troop, a children's institution, a public welfare department. Some of these agencies are brought into existence on purely local initiative; others are promoted from the outside. Our first social worker, now something of a veteran in the local scene, welcomes the new

agencies as resources which she can use to advantage in her work. Friendly relationships are established and channels for informal conference and the discussion of joint problems are opened. Without relinquishing any of her own program of community relations, she works with the new agencies to achieve something of a united front for social work. She and her board share with the others a desire to "see the social work of the community whole," and by identifying its gaps and overlappings, to work for a better division of the field and for improved correlation of services. All of this goes on for years without the formal organization among the participants of any sort of instrumentality for regularizing the process. But the process itself is community organization, is it not, used in a promising new relationship? Shall we drive our third peg here and record that: Use of the community organization process is made between agencies in all communities, even where formal councils do not exist?

And now more years pass, further growth occurs, and the family of agencies becomes so large that formation of a council is seen to be necessary to bring order into the social work chaos that is developing. The earlier informality of interagency communication is replaced by a new set of relationships focused about the council. It may be that at first there is little or no surrender of agency autonomy to the council; but as times goes on the council is able to win from its members a series of concessions and compromises which result in greatly improved coördination of services in the total community. "Seeing the social work of the community whole" has now become a major objective which the council is charged with responsibility for keeping in view despite the competitive system still existing, in large measure, among the agencies.

The introduction of the council into the social work structure has made it possible for the community organization process to be applied much more methodically in working out relationships between the total group of agencies and the community. By pooling information about problems and services, joint planning, and united action toward a common goal, the agencies make of the council an addition to that total force which they can otherwise muster. The council's primary function is community organiza-

tion, and it is able to exercise that function with much more telling effect than can the member agencies whose primary functions lie in other fields. It becomes a specialist in the use of the community organization process; and after a while it may have to remind itself that this specialization is not synonymous with monopoly, although at times it may seem to be.

And so we set up our fourth marker: Intensive use of the community organization process is made by some specialized agencies, such as councils, organized for the purpose.

At this point it may be well to check up on our pioneer social worker to learn in how many ways she is now engaging in community organization practice. We find her still using the process in keeping her own agency geared to the community. We see her participating with others in its application around the council conference table. And, since her agency is an important member of the council, we find her concerned with the way the council itself uses the process as it goes before the community to speak for all the agencies. This threefold responsibility would seem to be quite enough to load upon any executive trained for the practice of case work, but this worker will tell you that there are still other "communities" with which she must deal and that the community organization process comes into play when she faces them, too.

One of these is the national association of welfare agencies with which her society decided to affiliate some time back. Another is the state department of welfare which licensed her organization for child placing a few years ago and now supervises her work in this field. Still another is the professional association to which she belongs and toward which she feels a sense of responsibility for her social work standards. All these relationships are vital and call for intelligent application of community organization principles. We will drive our fifth peg here and note that: Community organization is practiced vertically, between a local agency and its state and national affiliates, as well as horizontally in the local community.

In these attempts to relate her agency to the world round about her, our worker seldom finds herself in a commanding position

with respect to the forces she is dealing with. She is ever reminded that she is an agent of society rather than its self-appointed "organizer." Through interpretation of her work and participation in the democratic processes attending the social planning of her community, she makes such gains as she can, supplying leadership on some occasions and following it on others. She never forgets that it was lay action which brought her to the community in the first place and that it is lay judgment which determines the extent of her usefulness as long as she remains. She would agree, I think, to our setting up a sixth marker here: Community organization is generally a joint process in which professionals and nonprofessionals participate, with the nonprofessionals always having the last word.

And now let us leave this worker and her problems and go farther afield in our search for other examples of the uses of the community organization process in social work. Our first stop will be at the state capital, where we will shift our interest for a time from the private field to the public. Examining the work of the state department of welfare for illustrations of the practice of community organization, we find a repetition of the pattern of relationships just studied on the local level.

The state department as an agency in the "community" of the state exists side by side with other agencies on this level and finds an inevitable necessity to work out harmonious relationships with them. Sometimes this is achieved informally, by conference and interchange of correspondence. In other circumstances it is channeled through a council set up by legislative act or administrative order. Whatever the means used, the department participates in many attempts at correlation of services and finds itself engaging in the practice of community organization when it does so.

Beyond this area of interagency relationships and underlying the department's ability to function at all is, of course, the authorization of the legislature to which the department owes its existence. In a sense the legislature represents the "community" of the state and is the soil in which the agency is planted and from which it must draw its nourishment. The skillful use of



community organization methods by the state department is therefore necessary if the legislature, and the electorate which it represents, is to be kept favorably disposed to support of the department's program. The public must be satisfied that the department's work is necessary and its methods sound, or, as is true of any local agency, support will be withdrawn. Thus in its "community" the state-wide public agency has constant need to apply the community organization process in the horizontal relationships that surround it.

But there are vertical relationships as well which must be looked after if the department is to function effectively. These reach both upward and downward.

Among the upward relationships are those which the department has with the Federal agencies from whom funds are received and supervision accepted. Functioning independently, in an administrative sense, the department must nevertheless cooperate with such agencies as the Federal Social Security Board in order to continue to receive grants of Federal aid for services such as those which it provides through its public assistance program. This coöperation takes the form of adapting state standards to Federal requirements on a variety of matters—personnel, determination of client eligibility, methods of administration, and so forth. Frequently the authoritarian note is heard from above so loudly in this relationship that the harmony which community organization seeks to achieve is somewhat impaired; but despite that fact, the application of community organization principles in this setting remains basic to long-term effectiveness. In using the process here the state department finds ways of adapting it to the exigencies of the situation and is frequently able to show results on the other side of the ledger, in changed Federal attitudes and requirements.

On the downward side the department deals with the localities of the state, extending to them aid and supervision in their welfare programs and expecting from them coöperation of the sort it gives to the Federal Government. Now that the tables are reversed, if the department has a dual "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" personality it will be quickly apparent. Again, however,



the relationship calls for wise use of the community organization process, as any state administrator will tell you. Authoritarian tendencies must be held in check if true coöperation is to be won from the local agencies.

So much for the public department on the state level. What of the private agencies here?

Since most private social work skips the state level and federates into its functional associations on the national level, examples of state-wide voluntary use of the community organization process are few. Exceptions are found, however, in at least three types of association.

First, the state conferences of social work bring together workers, if not agencies, under conditions which vary from simple elbow-to-elbow relationship in a conference audience to joint service on committees engaged in attempting some kind of social action. Granting that a rather diluted application of the community organization process is made under most such conditions, the functional identification of the use of the procedure here with community organization in its broader aspects seems clear enough.

Second, there are occasions on which special conferences are called by the governor, or hearings held by the legislature, or commissions established, to consider problems of state-wide significance in the social welfare field. Such assemblages are likely to be participated in by both lay and professional persons from the private as well as the public field and afford opportunities for the community organization process to be used to advantage.

Third, in at least two states—New York and Pennsylvania—there exist voluntary state-wide agencies whose chief function is that of promoting better welfare organization. The State Charities Aid Association of New York declares its purpose to be "to aid and promote effective public administration . . . in the field of public health, public welfare, and mental hygiene." It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, state-wide citizens' organization. The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania has a similar purpose:

To work for the reduction of the social waste entailed by dependency, mental disease, and crime; and to gather and disseminate information which will influence and create public opinion and guide legislative action for better standards of public social services in local communities as well as in state-wide projects. The Association functions as an educational and organizing agency in the interest of all citizens of the Commonwealth.

It is worth noting that while both of these agencies are voluntary, they use the community organization process largely in relation to the work of governmental agencies and institutions, not only on the state, but also across to the local level. The direction of functional flow in the latter instance might, I suppose, be referred to as diagonal.

Reviewing these illustrations drawn from the organizational work going on in the "community" of the state—and there probably are other examples which could be cited—we would be justified, I think, in establishing here another marker, our seventh: The community organization process is used on the state level by both public and private agencies, in both horizontal and vertical relationships.

Next, let us take a look at the national arena. Here we find two large groups of agencies: the public, or Federal, and the national voluntary associations. The members of each group all have occasion to use the process of community organization in their individual and collective relationships, applying it again both vertically and horizontally. A few illustrations follow.

First, in the public field. An agency such as the United States Children's Bureau or the Social Security Board finds itself involved in a variety of environmental relationships on at least three fronts: (1) It must win public support for its program and maintain its status in the complicated governmental structure, avoiding curtailment of function through reorganization or the denial of adequate appropriations. This effort involves the use of all those devices—interpretation, negotiation, and perhaps compromise—which local agencies employ in similar situations. (2) Each agency must stand ready to work with coördinate governmental departments in attacking, through committees or joint

conference bodies, problems of interest to all. And (3) it must work out satisfactory relationships with the states on those matters which require state acceptance of Federal standards or regulations. The Social Security Board, for example, must use skills of a high order in winning coöperation from such states as find difficulty in accepting anything, excepting cash, that comes down to them from Washington.

But not only do these Federal agencies use the community organization process in their individual relationships, but also, collectively, they apply it in ways which present interesting illustrations. For example, the Interdepartmental Committee to Co-ordinate Health and Welfare Activities functions in specific situations in a manner which in some ways resembles the procedure of a council of social agencies at work on a local problem. To what degree the Interdepartmental Committee should be considered an administrative device rather than an agency practicing community organization work may be open to question. The United States Government *Manual* says of it that its purpose is to sponsor appropriate coöperative working agreements among the various agencies of the Government in the health and welfare field, to continue the work under agreements already in effect, and to study and make recommendations concerning specific aspects of the health and welfare activities of the Government looking toward a more nearly complete coördination of these activities.

It would be interesting to know by what methods it has been able to achieve the greatest measure of success in fulfilling this purpose in connection with specific projects.

Turning from the governmental to the voluntary agencies on the national level we find the same pattern of relationships in effect. A single national organization such as the Family Welfare Association of America has its problems of maintaining constituency and support horizontally, with individuals and foundations, as well as vertically, with its member agencies; it has opportunities, and often the necessity, to work with other national agencies in a council type of relationship similar to that found on the local level; and it reaches downward into the localities of its member agencies with a variety of activities which certainly

fall within the scope of our interest, using techniques of organization and social planning generically of a piece with those employed locally. There are countless variations, of course, in the way national agencies conduct themselves in working out these relationships, but fundamentally they are all practitioners of the process we are talking about.

Here in the national private field also, a certain degree of coöperation and correlation is worked out between agencies through the council device. Three of the most important national councils may be described briefly.

First, there is the National Social Work Council whose membership consists of individuals representing twenty-eight national associations. Its purpose is stated to be: "To provide a means through which those responsible for nationally organized social work, either as volunteers or as professional social workers, may more readily exchange information . . ." Second is the National Health Council, whose member agencies number thirteen. Its purpose is: "To coördinate the activities of its member organizations; to carry on joint projects in the field of public health . . ." A third is the National Education-Recreation Council consisting of representation from twenty-one national agencies organized into "an informal conference body to exchange information and study common problems in the leisure-time field."

In discussing the functions of these councils the executive of one of them said in a recent article:

[Through these councils] and in smaller and less formal groups, national agencies are constantly exchanging information, studying together a wide range of common problems growing out of the work in their various fields, and engaging in many joint enterprises locally and nationally that, taken together—though they never have been charted—constitute a vast network of coöperative effort.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, they are applying the community organization process, or at least certain elements of it, to the problems of private social work on the national level.

Now let us look at one or two illustrations of the way private

<sup>1</sup> David H. Holbrook, "National Association in Social Work," *Social Work Year Book*, 1939.

and governmental agencies on the national level come together for joint conference and planning. The promotion of the National Health Program in 1938 is a case in point. According to one account of this development,

a National Health Conference was held . . . delegates representing professional organizations, health and welfare workers, public officials, and representatives of labor, farm organizations, organized women's groups, the press, and the consuming public generally. Before this body was laid detailed findings of the National Health Inventory. . . . The Interdepartmental Committee submitted to the Conference a program of five tentative recommendations. . . . Delegates to the Conference were asked to discuss the recommendations, and to report facts and findings to the organizations they represented.<sup>2</sup>

Another example is the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, held in Washington last January. Here again, although the sponsorship was governmental, the participation was both official and nonofficial. Approximately 150 persons shared, as consultants, in the preparation of the reports which were brought before the Conference for action. Many of these were leaders in the private field. This conference represented community organization on a national scale, with boundaries of public and private activity forgotten as the conferees occupied common ground on a common problem.

And here we plant our eighth and final benchmark in this rather sketchy survey of the range of community organization: Community organization is practiced in the "community" of the nation by public and private agencies individually and collectively, even as on lesser jurisdictional levels. And laymen participate in the process here as elsewhere.

Summarizing, then, we find the community organization process being used for social welfare purposes on all jurisdictional levels, by single agencies and among groups of agencies; and we also find it employed between levels in a variety of relationships. This interpretation, setting the limits of the full range of community organization in areas far removed from the locality, may not be acceptable to many who would construe the term more

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Parran, "Public Health," *Social Work Year Book*, 1939.

narrowly. To some of us, however, the identification of needs for social programs, the formulation and establishment of such programs, and the gearing of them into the social and societal structure, whether on a local, state, or national front, appear as one process despite the fact that its techniques are given a variety of specific applications. It is a function of planning and implementation of services, of correlation of agencies with each other and with their respective "communities" (not always compact geographical areas), which finds expression wherever welfare work is engaged in. It is a two-way process, depending largely on democratic procedures for its effectiveness and including both lay and professional persons among its practitioners.

If this view of the wide range of community organization is valid, it follows that any study of method which may be undertaken by this conference or by other groups should be equally broad and should include analyses of the social planning experiences of all types of agencies in all settings. From such a study there might be expected to emerge a body of principles and standards to guide future practitioners, wherever they may be at work in the social welfare field.



## THE LITERATURE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Arthur Dunham*

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IF WE ARE TO DISCUSS THE LITERATURE of community organization, we must first define that elusive term "community organization," at least for the duration of this discussion. For our purposes then, I suggest this definition, which is based on the statement of the general aim and secondary objectives of community organization in the 1939 National Conference report on "The Field of Community Organization":

Community organization for social work, or social welfare organization, as I should prefer to call it, is the art or process of bringing about and maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs. Social welfare organization consists of activities in the field of social welfare which are concerned with fact-finding; raising standards; promoting teamwork and improving and facilitating inter-group relationships; increasing public understanding; enlisting public support and participation; and initiating, developing, and modifying welfare programs. Social welfare organization may be carried on in any geographical area. It is concerned with the discovery and definition of needs; the elimination and prevention as well as the treatment of social needs and disabilities; the articulation of resources and needs; and the constant readjustment of resources in order better to meet changing needs.

To bring our discussion within the practical necessities of time and space I should like to exclude certain categories of literature which have some relation to the subject and may have great value to social workers, but which appear to pertain to the fringes rather than the center of our topic, the literature of community organization for social work. The omissions which I suggest are as follows:

1. Sociological background literature touching the community and "community organization" in the sociological sense. This would include such contributions as MacIver's *Community*; the Lynds' *Middletown and Middletown in Transition*; Cooley's *Social Process*; Coyle's *Social Process in Organized Groups*; and Steiner's *American Community in Action*.

2. Literature relating to general "organization of the community" or "organization of social forces," without specific reference to social work. This would include books on *Rural Community Organization*, such as those by Hayes and Sanderson and Polson; and also a book like Joseph K. Hart's *Community Organization*, where "community organization" appears to be used almost as an equivalent of "the democratic way of life."

One friend of mine refers to this broad inclusive process as "totalitarian community organization," and he tells of one ambitious project to organize "a committee to coördinate coördinators." The great practical difficulty with this type of "community organization" is that as the field of operation becomes more inclusive the objectives become more and more vague, and it becomes increasingly difficult to secure any unified idea of the purpose for which the community is to be "organized."

3. We shall, of course, exclude also literature relating to "community organization" in other specialized fields outside of social work, such as education, interchurch organization, religious education, business organization through chambers of commerce, or organization of a special racial "community."

Moreover, for practical purposes, we shall need to narrow our focus somewhat, even when we come to the field of community organization for social work. We shall have to consider primarily the general literature of community welfare organization rather than the literature of more specialized areas such as social work surveys or the interpretation of social work. In the main, we shall have to concentrate on books and a few of the most important pamphlets and articles, leaving out of account many other articles and pamphlets of substantial value, as well as reports of agencies and other miscellaneous documents. Likewise we shall have to omit brief treatments of community organization in books on social work as a whole or on other fields, such as Warner, Queen,

and Harper's *American Charities and Social Work*; Bruno's *The Theory of Social Work*; O'Grady's *An Introduction to Social Work*; Josephine C. Brown's *The Rural Community and Social Case Work*; and the volume edited by Russell H. Kurtz on *The Public Assistance Worker*.

Finally, we may safely omit certain publications which have historical interest and which may have made important contributions, but which have little or no application to current situations and problems. Examples of publications thus omitted would include the early studies of financial federations, the earliest pamphlets on councils of social agencies, and some pioneer volumes such as Bessie A. McClenahan's *Organizing the Community* (1922).

All this process of exclusion narrows our field to a relatively small number of publications which I believe may be considered the core of the literature of community organization for social work. Any attempt to make a list of this sort is a highly adventurous proceeding. Obviously, subjective elements enter into the selection. Probably no two persons in this field would agree on the same list. Everyone is likely to be shocked at the omission of some titles and incensed at the inclusion of others.

Using the criteria suggested above, I would suggest the following items as composing the core of the current general literature of community organization for social work. These items seem to fall naturally into five divisions:

#### I. THE FIELD OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE

Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Community* (1921)

Lindeman's book is out of print and its contents are derived mainly from sociology and social philosophy; yet there is so much that is of unique value in this book and capable of direct application to social work, that it would be indefensible to omit it from the list.

Jesse F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (1925; revised 1930)

Steiner's book deals partly with sociological material, partly with the general "organization of the community," and partly with the community organization for social work. This, together with the fact that even the revised edition is pre-depression, is a drawback from the standpoint of the book's application to the specialized problems

of contemporary social work; but it has nevertheless been widely used and has made an important contribution because it remains the only general descriptive orientation which has thus far been attempted of the field of "community organization."

*Social Work Year Book* (1929, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939)

The articles on social welfare planning, councils of social agencies, community chests, and kindred topics have done much to clarify these subjects and the successive volumes present an increasingly valuable stream of thinking and interpretation bearing on this field.

White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930, *Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children* (1932)

This volume deals incidentally with several different aspects of community organization; but its outstanding contribution to this subject is a section misnamed "Educational Publicity for Promoting Social Work Programs," which is actually probably the most substantial contribution yet made to the subject of community organization by public welfare agencies.

Neva R. Deardorff, "Areas of Responsibility of Voluntary Social Work during Period of Changing Local and National Governmental Programs." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1936).

This formidable title covers a penetrating and stimulating discussion of planning and its relation to the development of community welfare programs.

Robert P. Lane, "The Field of Community Organization." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1939)

This 1939 committee report, tentative and incomplete as it is, is the most useful group statement we have yet had regarding the basic nature and characteristics of the field of community organization.

## II. THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL WORK

Joanna C. Colcord, *Your Community* (1939)

This volume is an expansion and complete rewriting of Margaret F. Byington's *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities*, which was written in 1911 and which passed through successive editions and reprintings up to 1937. *Your Community* affords a basis for a descriptive study of a community, with particular reference to social welfare services and problems.

## III. CASE STUDIES

Walter W. Pettit, *Case Studies in Community Organization* (1928)

This is unquestionably one of the most valuable books ever written in this field. Although the book was written in 1928, much of the material is still useful for teaching purposes, and, perhaps even more important, the book is a pioneer demonstration of one of the most promising methods yet devised for providing teaching material for community organization.

Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *Narratives of Achievement in Community Planning* (1935)

This pamphlet presents brief stories of successful accomplishments in selected chest and council projects.

## IV. COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

William J. Norton, *The Coöperative Movement in Social Work* (1927)

Mr. Norton's book is still the most careful and detailed analysis we have of the community fund movement.

Community Chests and Councils, Inc., has published a large number of valuable technical publications relating to chests and councils, with particular emphasis upon the various aspects of joint financing. Among these are manuals on budgets, campaigns, publicity, and "social planning in community chests and councils."

W. Frank Persons, *The Welfare Council of New York City* (1925)

This 100-page pamphlet, containing the plan for the New York Welfare Council, has been almost unknown and its significance almost unrecognized; yet it is one of the landmarks of community organization literature. In it for the first time, Frank Persons analyzed the basic objectives of community organization; and his analysis has so well withstood the passage of time that it still stands, with scarcely a change, in the National Conference Report of 1939. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *What Councils of Social Agencies Do* (1930)

This pamphlet, published last year, is the most detailed and useful analysis we have yet had of the activities of councils of social agencies.

## V. CONTENT OF SOCIAL WORK PROGRAMS

Cecil Clare North, *The Community and Social Welfare* (1931)

Professor North's volume analyzes the elements involved in the content of programs in various divisions of the field of social welfare.

Philip Klein and collaborators, *A Social Study of Pittsburgh* (1938)

This recent Pittsburgh study has more than local significance

because it represents a detailed laboratory study of social work in its relations to one of the most challenging industrial urban situations in America.

June Purcell Guild and Arthur Alden Guild, *Social Work Engineering* (1936, 1940)

This handbook, based primarily upon practical experience in the city of Richmond, presents plans for a "social inventory" and for the development of programs in various divisions of the field.

Supplementing the foregoing publications are the considerable number of articles on community organization, scattered through the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, *The Survey*, and other social work periodicals. It may be noted that at least two specialized national periodicals—*Community Chests and Councils* and *Community Coördination* (published by Coordinating Councils, Inc.)—relate specifically to the field of community organization.

This core of general literature on community organization is supplemented by the literature concerning several subordinate or related topics, some of this literature referring specifically to social work and some embracing a wider area. These related topics would include at least the following:

1. Fact finding and research in the field of social welfare; including registration of social statistics, methods of social study, and such material as Community Chests and Councils' recent challenging and provocative pamphlet on *Social Breakdown*.
2. Reports of social work surveys and studies.
3. Interpretation, publicity, and public relations. This would embrace an extensive literature, with full-length books like Mary and Evart Routzahn's *Publicity for Social Work*, Charles C. Stillman's *Social Work Publicity*, and the many special publications of the Social Work Publicity Council.
4. Group discussion, which is a matter of basic concern to adult education as well as social work, has now a considerable literature, including the classic discussion in Mary P. Follett's *The New State*, Walser's *The Art of Conference*, and Elliott's *The Process of Group Thinking*.



5. Conflict. The volume of case studies entitled *Community Conflict* is a pioneer contribution in this field.

6. Leadership. This would include Ordway Tead's invaluable discussion of *The Art of Leadership*.

7. "Social Action." John Fitch's article on this subject in the *Social Work Year Book, 1939*, gives this subject a clearer status, and scattered articles mark the beginnings of a literature.

8. Promotion of social legislation.

9. Relationships of public and private agencies. Linton B. Swift's pamphlet, *New Alignments*, at once comes to our mind in this connection, and there are other treatments in chapters of volumes such as those by Kelso, Millspaugh, and North.

10. Administration of social agencies, including the process of organization. Administration and community organization are not by any means the same thing, but there are certain methods which are common to both these fields.

It may be interesting to compare the foregoing analysis of the literature of community organization with what schools of social work are actually using in teaching this subject. The reading lists used in basic courses in community organization in seventeen schools of social work for 1938-39 were gathered by a committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and were recently analyzed by Monroe M. Title, a graduate student in the curriculum in social work of the University of Michigan.

Mr. Title discovered that 1,275 different publications were used in these seventeen courses! Of these, 961 were used by only one school, and 196 by two schools, leaving only 118 publications used by three or more schools. The publications ranged all the way from the Webbs' *English Poor Law History* to *Dead End* and a publication with the alluring and suggestive title *The Slippery Slope*.

In partial explanation of these figures, it should be said that several of these courses, while they were called community organization, were actually more in the nature of orientation courses in the field of social work, which meant that there was a tendency to use more publications and from a more miscellaneous field.

Mr. Title's analysis indicated that of the 1,275 publications,

only seven were used by a majority (nine or more) of the seventeen schools.<sup>1</sup> These seven publications were:

	<i>Number of Schools</i>
Steiner, <i>Community Organization</i>	14
North, <i>Community and Social Welfare</i>	13
Norton, <i>Coöperative Movement in Social Work</i>	13
Pettit, <i>Case Studies in Community Organization</i>	13
Byington, <i>What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities</i>	10
Swift, <i>New Alignments between Public and Private Agencies</i>	9
Watson, <i>Charity Organization Movement in the United States</i>	9

What conclusions may we draw concerning the existing literature of community organization? Obviously, it is widely dispersed and its boundaries are not well established. No one could teach the subject and no one would be well qualified for professional practice without being acquainted with and using a large and varied range of material.

As to what I have called the core of community organization literature, certain characteristics are evident. The literature is pathetically meager. I have found only sixteen items (two of them representing several publications) which seemed to belong in this list; and five of these sixteen are pre-depression publications. There is little unity in approach, and there are disconcerting gaps, such as an almost entire lack of any systematic treatment of methods, except in joint financing. The literature varies greatly in quality. It is fair to ask how many of these publications would find their way into a list of "100 of the best books" on social work, if anyone were brave enough to compile such a list. There has been relatively little rigorous and imaginative application of scientific method; there has been a good deal of empiricism and deductive generalization. Lindeman and Pettit are among those who have made original contributions to scientific method in

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed statement regarding this analysis, together with a list of the forty-one publications used by five or more schools, may be found in a mimeographed memorandum, "An Analysis of Reading References on Community Organization Used in Seventeen Schools of Social Work during 1938-39," obtainable from the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

this field. On the whole, it is clear that the present "core" literature of community organization is utterly inadequate to the present-day needs of practitioners, teachers, and students.

Nevertheless, in spite of all this, there are grounds for encouragement. The pioneer trails have been blazed. The foundations of a literature have been laid. Some excellent individual contributions have been made; there have been some demonstrations of scientific method and some original and creative thinking. Best of all, George Rabinoff's suggestion of two years ago has led to the development within this section of the National Conference of the most promising movement in the history of community organization in terms of group exploration and persistent search for integration of thinking regarding what we may call "generic community organization." We have made a start; we have no time and little reason to pause for self-congratulation; but we are on the way.

One more problem must engage our attention. If this is the present state of the existing literature of community organization, what are our greatest needs for literature in this field? Any sound contribution to our scanty literature is welcome, but I believe there are at least eight areas in which contributions to the subject are particularly needed. These are:

1. A book, or more than one book, that may serve as an introduction to the broad field of community organization for social work. No such book has ever been written with just this scope and focus. At the moment it is our greatest need in the literature of this field. Such a book would not be a textbook in the usual academic sense, and yet it ought to fill a basic need of orientation for social work students, community organization practitioners, and other social workers. It has been said that all books on social work ought to be written in loose-leaf form because the subject changes so rapidly. At any rate it should be recognized that an orientation volume on community organization ought to be revised or superseded by a new volume about once in five years.

2. Case studies in community organization are probably our next greatest need. Except in one or two schools, we have scarcely begun to realize the possibilities of the case method of teaching

in this field. We need current records, geared to the problems of today, with the Social Security Act in operation and public welfare abroad in all the 3,000 counties of the United States. We need particularly case studies of public welfare workers in rural counties; councils of social agencies; the incidental community organization aspects of the jobs of agencies and workers concerned primarily with case work or group work; agency case studies; the development of state welfare programs; and the diverting adventures of those new pioneers, the field representatives.

Incidentally, there is much need for teaching purposes of shorter "case problems," or statements of problem situations, as well as the longer case records. Some individual teachers are already experimenting with such problems; and a set of such problems are included in Elwood Street's recent book on *The Public Welfare Administrator*.

3. Studies of the methods of community organization are greatly needed. We lack any systematic analysis of the methods used in this field either by committees or similar groups or by individual practitioners. Inductive studies of the activities of community organization agencies and practitioners, through documentary analysis, logs, diaries, and first-hand observation, offer the best approach to the identification and analysis of methods.

4. Studies of certain particular neglected areas of community organization are needed. Public welfare is interlaced with community organization on every level of government; yet much public welfare teaching and practice is carried on with a strangely naïve unawareness that community organization has anything to do with this field. National agencies; state social welfare organization agencies; field services and relationships between agencies on various geographical levels; and the relationships between community organization and administration are some other neglected areas.

5. Job analyses are needed for positions primarily concerned with community organization.

6. Little has been done in recording the history of community

organization aside from certain chapters of Steiner's and Norton's treatment of the earlier history of community chests, and some incidental references to the community organization aspects of the charity organization and settlement movements. Adequate interpretation of the historical development of community organization would go far in giving us greater understanding of the current phenomena in the field.

7. Records for community organization agencies are still in their infancy. For the diverse activities of the council of social agencies or other organization in this field we have developed no such basic tool as the case record in the field of social case work. The subject is awakening more and more interest, but much painstaking research and experimentation are needed.

8. Much more work is needed in the field in which North and the Guilds have pioneered: the attempt to set forth sound programs and standards in various fields of service such as child welfare, recreation, and so on. In the main, such formulations must come from the specialists in these representative fields; and yet there is a need for the knowledge and skill of the specialist to be united with the understanding of the community organization worker as to how standards and programs in various fields may be related to each other and translated into reality.

9. Finally, we must develop criteria for the evaluation of programs and services. We have talked a good deal about yardsticks for social work but we have done relatively little to develop them. Whatever may be the final judgment regarding the proposals to measure "social breakdown," the move is significant because it is a search for objective criteria of judgment. The search will be a difficult one; it will require a broad and deep understanding of human needs and of the services directed toward meeting these needs. We may easily be betrayed by statistical oversimplifications, but the problem is one of the basic problems of community organization and of social work itself.

Harvey Cushing, in his *Life of Sir William Osler*, tells of the origin of a famous medical textbook. One Sunday evening Dr. George de Schweinitz, then a young man recently appointed

ophthalmic surgeon to Blockley Hospital, found Dr. Osler reading in the library of the Rittenhouse Club, Philadelphia. "Merely a wave of the hand passed between them, but later on when Osler got up to leave he tossed into de Schweinitz' lap a paper on which he had written the following: 'A Manual of Ophthalmic Surgery for Students. By G. E. de Schweinitz, etc., etc., etc. Phila. 1889. *A suggestion.—Verb. sap.*' " De Schweinitz wrote the book, and it passed through at least nine editions.

If a dozen persons, some of them younger practitioners, should determine to wrestle with some of the problems we have been discussing and to try to make sound, substantial, and scientific contributions to the literature of community organization within the next five years, this discussion will have been amply worth while. Community organization, with all that it represents in terms of better human relations, will go forward largely as the literature of community organization broadens and deepens. To contribute substantially to that literature during the coming decade is one of the most challenging, fascinating, and creative opportunities for service which are open to the social worker of today.



## THE OBSTACLE OF LIMITED PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL SOCIAL PLANNING

*Arlie Johnson*

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TODAY WE ARE LIVING through another world crisis. Ten years of depression have left a trail of maladjustments, of misery, of bewilderment, that has affected every individual in America, directly or indirectly. Problems of which we were dimly aware have become critical and urgent. Protracted unemployment with its demoralizing effects upon men, women, youth, and aged members of the family group still submerges a third of our population. Children to the number of six or eight million are growing up in families that are dependent for food and shelter on various forms of relief. What bearing do these problems have on social planning? How have they affected those communities in which councils of social agencies are well established?

Four developments that have resulted from or have been accelerated by the depression and that are affecting community planning will be distinguished. The first of these is the spread of social work under public—that is, governmental—auspices. Probably 95 percent of the dependent families and unattached individuals throughout the United States are receiving assistance from agencies that are supported from tax funds and administered by public employees. The Social Security Act has tremendously stimulated state legislation in this direction. Although public funds supplied about 70 percent of the total relief expenditure before 1930, the quality of administration did not compare favorably with that of private agencies. Now, however, many of the leaders from private social work have gone into the new public agencies and are helping to develop effective administration of public assistance. From the standpoint of amount of money spent, of volume and quality of service rendered, and of

personnel, the public agencies are a new force to be reckoned with in community planning. Not only have governmental agencies taken over and extended part of the traditional social services, but new public agencies also have been created to meet some of the needs that have become evident since the depression. Housing, unemployment and old age insurance, and employment service are all to be included as new resources.

A second development of significance is the extension of social work, as a part of the public welfare program, to rural areas. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration from 1933 to 1935 gave us our first experience with a comprehensive and universal coverage of those in need of assistance, and introduced the principle of Federal and state as well as local taxation for financing such a program. The Social Security Act on a permanent basis has continued public assistance for the aged, blind, and children, in accordance with this principle. In addition it has introduced rural communities to child welfare services under competent personnel and to maternal and child health programs, and has expanded the services of home economists and agricultural agents for farm families. With the exception of the American National Red Cross and a few of the so-called character-building agencies, private social work had barely penetrated rural communities. The coördinating council and the community council have met an enthusiastic reception in small towns during the last few years, because they have been primarily citizens' councils whose interests were in problems more than in agencies.

As a third development affecting community organization, I would mention the interest in research as a basis for community planning. Councils of social agencies have increasingly stressed the importance of knowledge as the basis for committee discussions and decisions. The studies at one time were directed toward securing material that would answer questions raised in chest agency budget reviews. Now many chests employ at least one staff member who gives all his time to the collection and analysis of data that relate to the total volume, cost, and characteristics of all social work in the community. The Federal and state governments have stimulated the interest in research by such comprehensive under-

takings as *Recent Social Trends*, the White House Conferences of 1930 and 1940, the report of the President's Committee on Economic Security, and scores of others. Indeed, the necessity for fact-finding agencies is so well accepted that probably we should now turn our attention to a greater extent than formerly to the interpretation and synthesis of what we have discovered, and to the interrelationship of planning in the economic, scientific, and social aspects of living. We can no longer be content with economic planning or educational planning or social work planning, but we must endeavor to integrate our efforts if they are to have genuine significance.

Finally, new forces are profoundly affecting community planning and community action. I refer to groups with a consciousness of common interests and power who are making themselves articulate. There are, for example, the pressure groups which have arisen out of the depression. The Townsend clubs for the aged, the American Youth Congress with its constituent membership, and the Workers' Alliance have made themselves national forces for social change—in their own behalf, it is true. There are also the rank-and-file movements that have found expression in industrial unionism. They are aggressive advocates of democratic procedures, of identification with the masses of the people. The schools, the churches, the service and fraternal clubs, responsive to these same influences, are urging upon their members the value of coördination and participation in community affairs.

What modifications in community chest and council structure and program do these developments suggest? Does the rise of rank-and-file groups indicate that in the future we should give more weight to representation from groups than from individual citizens? How can governmental agencies be given representation commensurate with their importance in the community social work program? Can we develop planning agencies in rural communities? And finally, should councils concern themselves with social action with respect to community problems, or should they limit their activity to professional problems?

With these questions in mind, let us examine our present council structure and program. The usual pattern of organization of a

council of social agencies is a delegate body made up of representatives, one lay and one professional, from each social and health agency in the community. Although it is not a general rule, a number of councils make provision for representation from individuals. Agencies eligible for membership are usually defined in terms of governing board, staff, and objectives. Those most frequently mentioned are: (1) member agencies of the community chest; (2) private social agencies not participating in the chest; and (3) public departments which meet the definition of "social agency." Individuals elected to membership are usually designated as "well-qualified" because of their interest in community planning or in social welfare, or because they are representatives of certain specified interests such as labor, parent-teacher associations, luncheon service clubs, fraternal orders, etc. Selection of these representatives, however, is practically always made by the council and not by the organization concerned. One might question, therefore, whether representation was not on an individual basis rather than on an organization basis. The proportion of individual members is usually limited to 10 or 15 percent of the number of delegates from social agencies.

With governmental agencies becoming increasingly important in the total social work program, we might well inquire whether their representation on the community planning body, the council, has been equalized. The fact that it has not, that the public agency, which spends as much in a month as all the private agencies together spend in a year, yet has only two delegates to the council, is a source of great weakness in community planning. Only where the council has exceptionally strong and trusted leadership do we find the public agencies feeling themselves an integral part of the council. Too often they regard the council as a private agency enterprise with which they coöperate, but upon which they do not depend for action. To help meet this situation, Mr. Pierce Atwater has proposed a plan of representation in the council which would give weight to the size of agency budgets and to the number of professional personnel employed. So far as I have been able to learn, no city has experimented with this proposal.

Another source of limited participation is in the choice of individuals who are elected to council membership. In the decade 1920 to 1930 when private social work dominated the scene, it was logical to have "influential" citizens drawn into community planning. Men and women actively associated with chambers of commerce, with professional associations, with men's and women's clubs, were invited to become members of committees and boards. Indeed, private agency boards were largely made up of men and women from well-to-do groups in the community. But who are the "influential" groups in the community today? For the public agency they include pressure groups, political parties, other governmental departments whose work touches on public welfare, and ordinary, middle-class citizens. Can local community planning make progress if it ignores these forces? One of the strongest arguments, in my opinion, for decentralized planning by means of neighborhood councils is that in this way we mobilize all strata of the community and reach groups which could not possibly be represented in a central functional council. Somewhat different techniques are required for neighborhood and for functional councils which may account in part for the tentative progress that has been made in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Hartford, and a few other cities which have been bold enough to undertake decentralized planning.

While the basis of agency and individual representation is a serious obstacle to unified action, the most serious defect in council structure is the close identification of the council with the community chest. According to Community Chests and Councils, Inc., "Where both chest and council exist, close integration between them is a general rule."<sup>1</sup> This integration may be accomplished by a single constitution or by a single staff which serves both organizations, or by both. Four fifths of the 306 councils report such a combination in whole or in part. We have the dilemma at once, therefore, of the council attempting to represent all the agencies and groups necessary to effective planning but at the same time being a part of the chest, which is concerned with

<sup>1</sup> *What Councils of Social Agencies Do*. (New York: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1939), Bulletin No. 100, p. 2.



a minority of those agencies. A more logical relationship would seem to be to have the chest a department of the council.<sup>2</sup> (It is interesting to find that in some of the young community councils which are springing up in rural communities, the councils are actually sponsoring the organization of chests.) Usually, however, the chest is the dominant agency in an integrated organization. Take, for example, Cincinnati, where the council was the original agency organized in 1913, with a community chest added in 1915. The two organizations united in 1922 under the name "Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies," which in 1930 was shortened to "The Community Chest," and the Council became a department of the Chest.<sup>3</sup> Even where such complete absorption does not occur, close association with the chest has certain deterrents to community-wide action, and these deterrents I shall now discuss.

First is the effect upon public opinion. The community chest is remembered by the man on the street because he has been solicited for a contribution. Industrial and group solicitations are well organized in most cities and have almost universally created resentment among wage earners who, through their unions, are now important factors in social action. When a council of social agencies which has offices with a chest invites a labor union representative to participate in a council committee, the invitation is viewed with suspicion. Is this another money-raising device? Whether fairly or unfairly, the chest is always suspected of having an ulterior motive. A second problem that arises from the association of the council with the chest is the interruption of council work when the staff must assume responsibilities for helping with the annual campaign for funds. Granted that planning can scarcely proceed without relation to financial resources, is it advisable to have the council involved to such a degree with the financing of private social agencies that it must necessarily lose perspective on the total problem of financing from public as well as from private funds? There are many instances where the council staff works

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Twenty-five Years* (Ohio: the Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, 1940).



with the public administrator of a health or a welfare department on special problems, but I have yet to hear of a council which annually has taken responsibility for analysis and promotion of the total budget of a public welfare department.

In my opinion the greatest drawback in the close association of chest and council is the inhibiting effect the chest has upon social action. The first question that comes to the mind of the executive when action is proposed is, "Will it offend any of our contributors? Will this action harm us when the next campaign is held?" For example, the council proposes to endorse legislation which will extend coverage of unemployment compensation to domestic employees. Instantly there are telephone calls from the president of the leading women's club, from the secretary of the chamber of commerce, from the president of the community chest board. They are threatening to withdraw their subscriptions if the council engages in such "radical" legislation.

So far I have discussed the limitations that are inherent in the structure of council-chest organization—limitations in agency representation, limitations because of omission of rank-and-file groups, and limitations due to identification with chest campaigns to finance private agencies. Another limitation is closely related to structure; viz., the base of financial support for council activities. Money and control are closely interrelated; but so are money and a sense of responsibility. We appreciate what we pay for. It seems to me inescapable, therefore, that if we widen council representation to include public agencies more adequately, we must devise a plan for joint public-private financing of council activities. A subsidy from public funds would not be desirable, nor does payment of a membership fee meet the situation. A new governing body, independent of chest control and protected from political manipulation, is required. Both public and private funds must then be available to support the organization. The extent to which coördinating councils have been supplied with staff by boards of county commissioners, by probation departments of juvenile courts, by public school boards, is evidence that the use of public funds for social planning is possible.

The last limitation has to do with the program. It seems to me

that the traditional divisions of the council into family, child welfare, health, and group work might well be challenged in the light of developments of the past ten years. While scattered councils have set up divisions or committees to give special consideration to such "hot" problems as the aged, youth, juvenile delinquency, neighborhood planning, local government, and public finance, much less seldom do we find councils studying such fundamental problems as the relation of social insurances to relief, or the coming alliances between health, education, and welfare agencies in the field of planning.

The purpose of a council, as stated by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., is "to bring about improvement in the quality and adequacy of the social and health services of the community and better to relate these services to the community's needs."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps rightly, attention has been centered upon agencies, upon their standards of performance, upon coördination of their efforts, upon establishing new agencies where gaps existed. (Much more difficult has been the burial of agencies that have reached senescence!) I am wondering whether we have not arrived at a new stage of growth in our conception of community planning. Given a council structure that is community-wide, which includes new forces important in our community life today, a council structure which is supported from public as well as private funds, what should its program be?

I would make so bold as to suggest two additional objectives for community planning. We might call the first of these a "community inventory." The purpose would be to relate our research facilities and findings to the problems of the community. I referred earlier to the importance of synthesizing our knowledge, of bringing into relationship our social planning and our economic planning, of clarifying and unifying the relationships between education, health, and welfare services. With the studies of official and voluntary agencies that have been made in the last ten years we have information available on which to plan for the total community. The task is to apply and interpret the materials that are at hand. In short, a community inventory calls for a community

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

council as distinguished from a council of social agencies. It calls for an attack on underlying problems that affect individual and family life, and it demands courageous and imaginative leadership which can help reshape institutions and ideas. The use of conscious intelligence in a world so torn by conflict as ours may be a utopian hope; but on the other hand, it may be our only salvation.

The second objective which I think we must include in our community planning is decentralized participation. The present world cataclysm has aroused our feeling for democratic principles and our faith that individual worth can best be realized through small community groups that are indigenous to the locality. Experiments with neighborhood councils, sponsored by councils of social agencies, have already been mentioned. Another type of council that has spread, partly because of promotion and partly because it has met a real need, is the coördinating council, which in some places has become a community council and in cities is a neighborhood council.

California, where coördinating councils originated, now has 180 such councils of which two-thirds are in cities and towns under 25,000 population. The distinguishing characteristics seem to be threefold: lay membership predominates, governmental agencies lend financial support, and the program often begins with prevention of juvenile delinquency and expands as needs and leadership direct. Small towns seem to have found the coördinating council a convenient, inexpensive type of organization at a time when new agencies were multiplying and coördination was needed. Where these councils have invaded urban areas, various relationships with existing councils of social agencies have developed. In Los Angeles County are seventy-two coördinating councils, representing 3,800 organized groups of which only 10 percent are private agencies, 28 percent are governmental departments and institutions, and 40 percent are civic organizations. The representatives of public schools account for one half of the governmental agencies. The probation department of the juvenile court gives the time of two persons to the federation of coördinating councils in the county.

At the California Conference of Social Work in May, 1940, several sessions were planned for the purpose of discussing the relationship between coördinating councils and councils of social agencies. Of significance for this discussion was the finding in San Jose, for example, that where the council of social agencies incorporated the proposed coördinating council into a fifth section of the Council of Agencies, designating it the "youth guidance" section, no public funds were forthcoming to help implement the work. On the other hand, in San Diego the Council of Social Agencies encouraged the setting up of an independent coördinating council with which it coöperates closely and for which the probation department provides a secretary. San Francisco's coördinating council exists alongside and in close working relationship with the various councils supported by the community chest. The duty of the council, as stated in the city ordinance which created it, is "to work toward a more efficient coördination and coöperation among the public departments and between the public departments and social agencies in establishing and carrying out an effective program for the youth of San Francisco."<sup>5</sup> An annual maximum appropriation of \$7,500 is provided and includes the salary of a secretary. Nine district councils with the same general pattern of organization are now functioning in San Francisco under the guidance of the coördinating council.

The California experience seems to me to illustrate: (1) the response of the ordinary citizen to a coördinating program that is focused on a limited problem, viz., youth; (2) the interest of governmental agencies in such a program outside the council of social agencies. Both of these groups, perhaps, are more interested in problems than in agencies or procedures, but both are learning that professional leadership is indispensable. (3) A coördinating or community council answers the needs of rural communities because it provides for the participation of citizen groups which are much more numerous than social agencies in such areas.

Other examples besides California that illustrate the trend toward experimentation in decentralized organization for social

<sup>5</sup> Ordinance No. 19,101, adopted December 27, 1938. (Conveniently cited in *Community Coördination*, VII, No. 1 [January-February, 1939], 5.)

planning might be briefly mentioned. State legislation in Washington and Illinois encourage the appointment of citizen committees to study local problems. Many other recent statutes provide for appointment of advisory committees of citizens for aid in the development of functional programs. The Rockefeller Foundation is financing two significant experiments. One project is the Northwest Planning Council whose purpose is the coordination of research, planning, and administration in relation to human as well as natural resources—an example of the community inventory type of organization I mentioned earlier.

Can it be that these examples of neighborhood and community councils are straws in the wind to indicate a new component in community organization? It seems possible that we are entering upon a new era, one in which new forces are at work, their formulation hastened by the depression and world chaos.

While our material culture drives our institutions, political, social, and economic, toward centralization, the traditions of democracy are a centrifugal force that encourages decentralization. These changes have great meaning for us as social workers. Participation of citizens in social planning and their awareness of the implications of research findings for the improvement of social conditions are vital to the preservation of democracy. The menace of a material culture that outstrips reorientation to the meaning of new trends is terrifyingly exemplified by Germany today. It has been well said that "The immense structure of human culture exists to service human needs and values not always readily measurable, to promote and expand human happiness, to enable men to live more richly and abundantly. It is a means, not an end in itself."<sup>6</sup> A new form of council is needed for community planning, one that will give expression to governmental agencies, to rank-and-file citizen groups, to persons in rural communities; and a new technique to help these councils to function is needed by social workers. If we can make real what we see dimly, our accomplishments in the next decade may be as noteworthy as were those of the community chest movement in the decade preceding.

<sup>6</sup> *Recent Social Trends*, p. lxxv.



## QUANTITATIVE MEASUREMENT OF THE COMMUNITY'S NEEDS AND SERVICES

*Kenneth L. M. Pray*

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THE MEASUREMENT and evaluation of social work needs and services, which has always been one of the most fascinating and most perplexing of the problems that beset social work practitioners, has lately become even more pressing and harassing. The extreme difficulty of finding a satisfactory basis for objective measurement of the intangible factors and the subtle movements that characterize the human situations with which social workers are concerned has not halted a steadily growing insistence that we shall come to grips with these delicate issues.

We must recognize, first of all, that quantitative measurements are not automatically dissociated from qualitative judgments. In the very act of defining the factors that are to be recorded and counted, the units of measurement that are to be applied, the tabulations to which they are to be subjected, we are inevitably entangled in the selection of certain objectives, upon which our attention will be primarily centered. We are thereby expressing a concept of the relative value of objectives that may go to the very heart of social work function and philosophy and quality. Then, if we leap too nimbly from the collection of figures to the application of findings in the organization and daily operation of social agencies, the nature of these underlying concepts that govern the measurement process becomes much more than a matter of merely academic concern to us, to our clients, and to our communities, for they will determine, at least for a time, the direction our effort shall take and its impact upon the lives of those we serve.

If we set out, for instance, to measure the quantitative need of a community for social case work service, it is obvious that we must have accepted in advance, consciously or unconsciously, some



specific basis of judgment as to the kinds of service which social case work has to offer, the kinds of human needs that can be fulfilled by its processes, and the prerequisite conditions that govern this fulfillment. Without such a frame of reference, this quantity which we term "need of service" and which we profess to measure has no stable meaning at all. But when we do set up such a framework of definitions for the measurement process, and when we organize our operations on the basis of facts related to these definitions, we have then determined much more than the quantity of service required; we have helped to establish, at least for that time and place, the kind and the quality of that service.

The second consideration is closely related to the first. In setting up these quantitative criteria of need for service, to be used not only in guidance of the service we render to those whose need has been expressed and can be identified, person by person, but also, and chiefly, with reference to a whole community's hypothetical need for service, we are then doing much more than influencing our own professional functions and objectives. We are also helping the community to define its own social objectives and the scope of its wants, not merely with respect to social work standards, but in relation to policies and institutions that reach far beyond those limits. For the criteria of need for help, or of social fitness and adequacy, which we accept and act upon, will be a very significant factor in determining the level of the community's own standards of a tolerable and acceptable minimum of life for its people—economic, social, and cultural.

It is a matter of supreme importance, therefore, that we shall scrutinize with the utmost freedom and earnestness every effort, however sincere and constructive its purpose, which is directed to the measurement of social need and of the social services designed to meet that need.

I propose to examine, from this point of view, one of the most ambitious and most suggestive efforts that has recently been made to measure a community's need for social work services, including, primarily, its social case work services. This is a conscientious, high-minded effort to face the realities of the social scene and to bring social work operations into constructive harmony with its

community setting and with the general social institutions that are an important part of that setting. Space prevents the elaboration of the obvious positive values that inhere in the project, which one must gratefully acknowledge at the outset: its stimulus to coöperative and coördinated agency effort and to the clarification of agency function, for instance, and its potent contribution to the promotion of constructive self-criticism and mutual criticism. Without forgetting, though I do not reiterate, these and other genuine values, I propose to turn attention to a few aspects of the plan which seem to me to illustrate some of the problems and dangers which have already been mentioned.

The project is reported at length in a recent bulletin entitled *Social Breakdown: A Plan for Measurement and Control*. It grew out of an admirable survey of the social work organization of a small Eastern city, following others of the same sort. I shall summarize its main outlines briefly.

A procedure is set up for measuring what is called "social breakdown," by reference to certain official records of social behavior and maladjustment in which governmental action has been taken. A series of specific categories of such maladjustment is formulated, and within each category, as well as in all together, an "annual rate" of "social breakdown" is computed; this is found by dividing the number of families appearing in these official categorical records into the total number of families in the community. By comparison of these rates from year to year, a measure of the relative increase or decrease of social breakdown is afforded, and by the same token, this rate also is regarded as a measure of the relative efficiency and sufficiency of the social services directed presumably to the prevention or amelioration of this social breakdown. This point is important. The report expressly declares that one conspicuous aim of the plan is to afford to "taxpayers and contributors" a "simple method of determining the relationship of social agency services to the prevention and control of social breakdown."

A significant aspect of the plan is a mechanism for making immediate use of the material derived from the recording and measuring process. There is to be no lost time or lost motion in focus-

ing all the social work resources of the community, through a central "case committee," upon the families who find their way into the records, especially those who reappear there. Primary responsibility for helping the family is to be assigned to that agency which, in the judgment of the committee, is best able to meet the basic need of the family; specialized services of other agencies are to be rendered to the family thereafter only with the approval of the agency primarily responsible. From time to time the central committee may transfer families from the primary supervision of one agency to that of another, in accordance with the change of the problems or circumstances that seem to the committee decisive in the attainment of its main objective.

While we are here concerned specifically with the problem of measurement rather than treatment, it is easy to discern in this plan an interesting illustration of the principle already suggested, that the method and the criteria of measurement cannot easily be dissociated from the viewpoint that dominates the use to be made of the results and a judgment of their meaning. This is peculiarly true, of course, in a proposal such as this, in which the results of a measurement of presumed need are to form the basis, directly and simultaneously, of an appraisal of the adequacy of service. For, if the adequacy of social work agencies is to be appraised, even in part, on the basis of their success in lowering the total need for such service in the community, we must assume that the philosophy and methods of the agencies are applicable to the need being measured, and that they are not being held accountable for results of operations that are not in accordance with their own practice.

Viewed in this light, it is not reassuring to observe the somewhat cavalier fashion in which the interests of clients are to be entrusted to one agency or another, without too serious regard for the initiative or the preference of the families affected, for their own sense of need, or for their own desire and capacity to coöperate responsibly in meeting and mastering their own problems. Quite apart from any philosophical doubt one may properly harbor in these days as to the soundness in a democratic society of a relationship between a community and its members such as is

expressed in this rather one-sided and authoritarian pursuit of the community's ends, we face the fact that most of our modern social case work agencies have come to regard a totally different basis of relationship with a family as a prerequisite for the achievement of really significant results in case work. If the community's intervention in a family's affairs is not to rest upon the family's responsible acceptance of its own problem, nor upon its freedom to choose alternatives, including the alternative of complete independence, it is clear that the results of such intervention do not reflect or measure the adequacy of social case work or of social case work agencies. They measure something else that may be masquerading under that name, for social case work under these circumstances has not been allowed to operate, as such, at all. Perhaps, under these conditions, the changing index of need or of social breakdown may be related to the efficacy of the police system or of some other agency of external influence or control, but not of social case work.

The problem presented here finds its roots, perhaps, in the very definition of social breakdown with which the whole process of measurement begins. At the beginning of the report, one definition is suggested in the statement that social breakdown occurs "when people are unable to make for themselves the adjustments essential for self-sufficiency." In this statement there is room for an interpretation of need on the basis of the family's own judgment of its own self-sufficiency. The particular problem of social breakdown would appear and be counted when the family felt it and sought help in doing something about it. In that case there would be a direct relation between the measurement of need and the measurement of service, for the definition of need would embody the essential condition of service. But at a later point in the report another definition, with a different emphasis, is suggested when it is intimated that social breakdown is somehow identified with "behavior that does not conform to currently accepted concepts of satisfactory social adjustment." Now, "currently accepted concepts of satisfactory social adjustments" lie outside the family. Under such a definition, the problem of social breakdown would appear in the statistical tabulation

when the community wanted to do something about it, whether or not the conditions were present that made the problem manageable or corrigible through individual or family case work treatment. In that case, the counting of such need may have no relation to the measurement of social work service, for private social work, at least, is not generally geared to the fulfillment of need so discovered and so defined.

It may be worth while to point out here another implication of this plan to measure social work service in terms of its presumed effect upon social breakdown measured and defined without regard to its relation to actual social work methods and operations. There is only fleeting reference in the report to the fact that real social adjustment is more than a one-way process, that it involves the interaction of individual and environment, and that the incidence of social breakdown, in a true sense, is an index of the effectiveness of the community's basic social, economic, and political institutions, as well as of an individual family's self-sufficiency. It is important to remember, however, that to the extent that social case work agencies allow themselves to be measured by the changing rate of social breakdown in the total community—without equally precise measuring of the operation of other dynamic forces affecting that breakdown—they are allowing themselves to be held accountable for community inaction in other directions. They may be contributing, either deliberately or unwittingly, to an intolerable public lethargy with respect to needed changes of fundamental social conditions.

The validity of this proposal for the quantitative measurement of the community's needs and its social case work services depends, by the same yardstick, as largely upon the specific terms of the plan as upon its apparent philosophic base or its application in treatment. The first concerns the nature of the categories that in the last analysis define social breakdown. The second is in the nature of the records upon which the rates of social breakdown are based. Some degree of valid doubt on both these scores is candidly acknowledged in the report. The selection of the particular categories, for instance, is declared to be tentative and experimental, subject to variation in different communities. It is



fair, however, to infer that the categories selected for this particular experiment adequately illustrate the basic principles involved in the plan, and that potential dangers exemplified in these categories should at least be considered in any further experimentation. The categories described in this project are seven in number—crime, juvenile delinquency, mental disease, mental deficiency, parental neglect, divorce (including desertion and non-support), and unemployability.

The crux of the plan lies in the assumption that the extent of these extreme manifestations of social maladjustment is a dependable index to the volume of the more widespread, though perhaps less acute, social tensions and disorders—"the whole range of social difficulties"—which represent the community's total need for social services and which represent the great bulk of the problems with which its social agencies deal. The report draws an interesting analogy between these evidences of the terminal outcomes of social maladies and the death rates in physical disease; both can be regarded as suitable indices of the extent of ill health in the community as a whole. And, as the changing statistical death rates in the field of physical health register in considerable measure the effectiveness of counteractive medical efforts, so the changing statistical rates of social breakdown in these categories may be presumed to register the effectiveness of the counteractive efforts of social agencies.

This assumption warrants further analysis, on the basis of one or two illustrations. Obviously, if this analogy holds, it must be based on the fact that each of these categories of extreme trouble is related to the existence of underlying maladies of the same general nature. As the report states, "An increase in deaths due to heart disease . . . is an indication that heart disease is on the increase." Presumably, then, an increase of divorce, or of court action for desertion or nonsupport, is an indication that marital difficulties in families are increasing in the community. But how about that assumption? Is it possible, on the basis of our own experience, or of any other evidence available to us, to accept offhand this assumption that the divorce rate accurately reflects the prevalence of those various difficulties of marital adjustment,



great and small, with which social agencies are so frequently concerned? Is this formal act of separation so usual and characteristic an outcome of these difficulties as to permit a count of divorces to be an accurate index to the need for social case work service in torn and divided families? The least one can say is that further statistical exploration is required to prove any such correlation and that to act immediately upon present data is to run grave risk of jumping to unreliable conclusions.

Even more important, from the standpoint of the measurement of social services by any such formula, is the further question: Does the lowering of the divorce rate or the prevention of the temporary or final separation of man and wife represent so definite or so dominant an objective in our treatment program that its attainment expresses in substantial measure the success of our efforts? Do we regard such separation always, indeed, as a sign of social breakdown, in the sense of a lack of self-sufficiency or of social fitness? May it not sometimes be an evidence, on the contrary, of positive growth in the capacity of people to face the realities that surround them and to work out for themselves a solution that represents for them, and probably for the community, a higher social value than the perpetuation of a destructive internal conflict within the family unit?

Or consider the number of criminal convictions in the community as an index of the extent of the underlying social frictions and frustrations and lacks of discipline to which the services of social agencies are customarily addressed. To what extent are we prepared to say that these extreme manifestations of social revolt accurately gauge the total problem of irresponsible feeling and impulsive action in the community as a whole? Are we, as social workers, again, willing to accept the reduction in the rate of overt criminality—even among our clients, much less in the community as a whole—as an objective of our effort, so dominant in its importance that its attainment spells the relative adequacy of our services?

The fact is that these extreme forms of behavior constitute relatively so small a part of the total mass of social maladjustment with which we are continually concerned, they are so slightly and

unevenly characteristic of the reactions of most people to like circumstances in their lives, that they compose what amounts to a separate problem. A rate of social breakdown defined by such categories as these is doubtless useful in measuring and guiding the community's action with respect to these particular problems, but to apply these same rates to the far larger area of less extreme needs, related to these problems only by theoretical analogy, is quite a different matter. At least, a flag of caution should be raised at this point until far more thorough correlations are disclosed by experience.

The character and quality of the records upon which the plan relies raise a further important question. These are public records only. That is a primary element in the plan. The report itself calls attention to certain so-called "qualifying factors" that lessen the dependability of these records, even as an index of the specific problems that they directly register. At the head of the list, of course, stands the state of the law and of public policy, which govern what cases, and how many, shall be recorded in the categories. This includes such factors, for instance, as the extent of hospital facilities for mental disease and deficiency, which obviously determine the number of official commitments that are made and even the number of applicants on the waiting list; the attitude and practice of the juvenile court, affecting the kinds and degrees of juvenile delinquency that will command its attention; or the policy and practice of the police in making arrests for different types of offenses. To such qualifying factors as these one must certainly add the further consideration of the character and quality of the administrative organization to which and by which the records are made.

In view of such facts as these, the bulletin concedes that the records must be subjected to "critical common sense interpretations in the light of known facts about the community." But I find it difficult to share the optimism of the authors of the report that the community will readily find the capacity and the courage really to know or to face all these facts about itself and its public authorities, or to apply such knowledge as it has, without shadow of prejudice, to the interpretation of statistical data gathered

routinely from year to year. It is not easy to see how this "common sense interpretation" of statistical data from year to year, in the light of changing public law and policy, can be placed on any basis that is sufficiently stable and uniform to make the corrected statistics dependable in any true sense.

Much the same doubt arises, though not in quite so vivid a form, with respect to other qualifying factors mentioned in the report, such as the occurrence of basic economic changes or of long-term trends in cultural standards and social attitudes, which clearly affect the capacity of individuals in any locality to make the "social adjustments essential for self-sufficiency" as well as the standards of social fitness to which they are expected to adjust. These are not quite so elusive of measurement as shifting local policies of administration, for there are some statistical measures of some of these long-term trends on a national scale. But are these measures so clear and so unquestionable that they can be applied confidently to the correction of local statistical data which are to be used to measure not only the total need, but the adequacy of service from year to year? I personally have grave doubts. And I cannot forget that we are concerned not with measurement of abstract concepts, but of situations in which human beings find needs of service; we are applying these figures not to dreams and hopes, but to the daily services of operating agencies. If we are going to rely upon statistical devices at all, I want to be sure that all our statistics and our formulas are consistently sound and applicable to the material to which they are applied.

Despite all these questions and doubts—and others that seem less urgent at the moment and so have not been mentioned—it remains true, as we said at the beginning, that this project is an interesting illustration of highly valuable current efforts to face the old and troublous problem of quantitative measurement and evaluation in a creative and inventive spirit that commands respect and deserves emulation. It is devoutly to be hoped that it may be only one of a steadily lengthening procession of such enterprises, in which professional workers, thoughtfully coöperating with their communities, may seek new ways to create sound

objective tests of the need for social services and of the role that social agencies play in a community's total program for the protection and promotion of the well-being of its citizens. And may these enterprises, at the same time, be used to arrive at agreements among ourselves and with our communities as to the aims, the philosophies, and the standards of quality that must go into all phases of these programs, if service is to match need.

In this somewhat critical comment on this one project, I have endeavored only to emphasize three conditions that to me seem indispensable for sound progress in this direction: first, that we, as professional collaborators in these community studies, shall discharge our full responsibility to be alertly aware ourselves, and to help our communities to become aware, of the inescapable relationships between the factors we select for measurement and the bases on which we and the community shall be encouraged to rest our judgment of the substance and quality of the job we are measuring; second, that we shall be guided by this responsibility to define with the utmost clarity the needs we set out to appraise, in relation to the functions of the agencies that are engaged in meeting and preventing these needs; and third, that the data on which we rely shall be truly and demonstrably representative of the needs and the services to be appraised.

With these essential conditions clearly sustained in the process, we can hope for continual advance toward a more sensitive and appreciative understanding in ourselves of the community's problem in meeting the defects and inadequacies of our common life, and a more refined appreciation by the community of the technical demands and prerequisite conditions of effective social work as an instrument to that end. Only by this movement toward the integration of professional and citizen responsibility can we possibly attain our own highest professional aims, which, let us never forget, are inseparably linked with the highest interests of the community and all its members.

## NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

*Kathryn Farra*

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THIS CONSIDERATION OF THE ADVANTAGES and limitations of neighborhood councils will be confined to councils operating in cities with populations of over 300,000. You will note that I did not use the term "councils of social agencies" or define the word "neighborhood." May I assume that social workers are interested in some form of local, that is, less than city-wide, planning and coördinating association devoted to social welfare, using the term "social welfare" in its widest sense? That should give us a sufficiently broad base for our discussion.

I should like to speak first of the underlying principles of the types of organization, examine the factors that impede and facilitate their development, and finally review their advantages and results. It goes without saying that any city of 300,000 is composed of many communities. Communities differ widely. Their differences have a significance for social programs. Every community is entitled to a degree of self-determination as to the content and quality of its services. That the kind of planning and coördination inherent in organization by geographical units is sound in principle may be seen from the nature of coördination itself.

The functioning of a coördinating body in the social welfare field is to provide the mechanism and the motive power by which those who are interested—agencies, institutions, and individuals—are enabled and assisted to come together for a discussion of welfare needs, for an examination of resources for meeting those needs, for joint planning as to how resources can most effectively be mobilized, and, ultimately, for combined action in seeking to strengthen existing resources and for developing new ones.

The first step is to delimit the total area to be covered and to

effect an organization that can produce measurable coördination within that area. For a territory as large as that occupied by any of our major metropolises, no central planning is sufficient. This is recognized in the field of physical planning. The Regional Plan of New York envisaged a broad and general plan for the entire city and its environs, supplemented by designs for smaller districts, the latter, in part at least, to be a local responsibility worked out by agencies and individuals familiar with the smaller areas, but to be strictly in harmony with the larger design for the whole. This principle is being followed by city health departments both in Boston and in New York City, where a system of local health centers has been established through which the department carries out many of its major functions keying local programs to the peculiar needs of each district as defined by local committees.

Any person acquainted with any one of our largest cities recognizes the diversity of its parts. There are differences not only in the character and density of the population, and in economic, social, and health conditions, but in the number and types of agencies, in community consciousness, and in attitudes toward social welfare. All of these have a direct bearing on the improvement of conditions and the part that a local coördinating agency can take in bringing about improvement. So much for underlying principles.

I turn now to some aspects of urban life that affect neighborhood organization adversely. Some city neighborhoods are more or less defined, by topography, by character of population, by type of industrial development, even by historical associations, such as those of incorporated villages which were absorbed as the city expanded. But in many parts of our metropolises there are no clearly distinguishable neighborhoods. This is true even of sections where village names still obtain. Except for street signs or familiar public buildings, sections of Greenwich Village look like and, despite nationwide notoriety, are like sections of unknown Chelsea to the north, and the boundary between them is artificial. This accounts in part for the absence of a sense of neighborhood, of belonging in or to the community.



There are other more significant reasons for lack of identity with the neighborhood. The average urbanite builds many of his associations through organizations that may have no local significance, such as a trade or profession, a nationality group, or a special interest like music or a reducing class. Density in the city like distance in the country keeps people apart. A friend of mine told me of the ease with which she introduced herself in a small town in Spain to a neighbor whom she had seen daily for ten years in Manhattan, where they had exchanged, after about five years, a gingerly nod that never got beyond that.

Many city dwellers don't stay long in one place. As economic conditions change, as transportation routes are extended, they move. The Real Property Inventory of New York City made in 1934 showed that in Manhattan more than a third of its half-million families (37 percent) were living in quarters they had occupied for less than a year, and more than half (53 percent) had resided in the same place for less than two years. There is a feeling of impermanence that may be more real than impermanence itself. Some people don't want to grow roots, particularly in an environment that offers poor soil for the more abundant life. Home ownership, once such a powerful factor in sustaining interest in the neighborhood, is no longer the desideratum it once was, even for city dwellers who can afford it.

Many other mores of city life run contrary to the development of interest in the neighborhood. We become used to vicarious living. We play passive roles, and I am not speaking psychiatrically. We are lookers-on, listeners-in, watchers of flickering films, rather than participants. Even the fashion world reflects this in the profitable "spectator" sports clothes market. Only the boldest stick their own necks out.

Lack in most city districts of any medium through which to express civic concern has made it difficult for most of us to cultivate interest in the neighborhood. Despite these barriers, neighborhood organizations have originated spontaneously in many of our large cities, and that is an evidence of their need. There are, on the other hand, factors which contribute to neighborhood organization: the natural desire to have some form of association

with those living and working in the same district; the American ideal of making it possible for everyone to make a contribution to vital matters that affect his daily life; and the town meeting tradition.

There is among social and health agencies a growing recognition that their programs cannot operate to the best advantage unless they are well understood by and properly related to schools, churches, courts, libraries, civic bodies, and similar institutions and associations, and this recognition is shared by the other types of organizations mentioned. Likewise there is renewed understanding of the vital necessity of citizen participation, not only in shaping these programs, but in effecting their coördination and in furthering their interpretation.

Public departments, which have expanded so rapidly in the last ten years, necessitating in many instances the organization of their work by geographical districts, are greatly in need of being better understood. Some public agencies are eager for the kind of help a neighborhood organization can furnish, not only in this regard, but in other ways. The New York City Planning Commission not only has aggressively sought the advice of neighborhood organizations regarding the areas the Commission has designated as suitable for clearance, replanning, and low-rent housing, but also has invited suggestions regarding other areas and other matters. A few public departments have become so enthusiastic about the possibilities of neighborhood organization that they have made, in my opinion, far too extravagant claims for it, such as its effect on juvenile delinquency.

There are at least five limitations of neighborhood councils. Limitations, like assets, imply obligations—at least the obligation of taking the limitation into account—so I shall also mention what seem to me to be the obligations suggested if not implied in each limitation. There are: (1) limitations inherent in being a part; (2) limitations of authority; and (3) consequently of method; (4) limitations in being a jack-of-all-trades; and (5) limitations of leadership.

1. Obviously, a city neighborhood is only a part of the city, and no neighborhood organization can afford to overlook this.

The boundaries of a local council may not coincide with political units or official districts created by the city or its several departments. The council has no official status, and it may not have an entity that is recognized by the city government or by city-wide bodies. Therefore it must see itself and get itself into proper relation with both. It can do this, it seems to me, by concentrating its attention on its neighborhood, by becoming authoritative as to its needs, and by establishing channels of communication for a flow of information, and a medium of consultation, to and from central sources—city hall, public departments, city-wide bodies of various kinds. Adherence to local matters need not be restrictive. A neighborhood council can always report on the needs of its residents, such as clinic services, or athletic fields for its boys, and thus be an eternal witness of needs, some of which may not be met locally.

2. A neighborhood association derives its authority from its members. It has no entity apart from them. This puts a limitation on what it can do. It can only consider questions which they think appropriate. In fact, the association by control of its make-up can exclude from participation important elements in the community.

3. This brings me to the third limitation, and that is in the methods that a neighborhood association must follow. Action in the name of the association implies both a canvass of members and a consensus of opinion. This may be laborious and time-consuming. Action may be slowed down to a point that weakens its force. There is not only the question of what action, but how to take it. Getting agreement on the general objectives of a neighborhood association is relatively simple compared to securing agreement on how they shall be pursued. It is not persuasion versus pressure, everything or nothing, but rather which is appropriate when. At long last, when an association does speak, it must know whereof it speaks, be sure of its facts, and present them in as persuasively convincing a manner as possible.

4. You all know the rest of the phrase "jack of all trades *and* . . ." A neighborhood organization must know various fields of social service—the day care of children, family service and relief,

health, housing, recreation. It must concern itself with education, with library and art services, sanitation, city planning. It must know how to assemble facts, interpret them, take account of attitudes.

This is an incomplete yet formidable list. Even though a local council's membership may include one or more specialists in each of these fields, the chances appear to be slim that the council would acquire in a year enough knowledge of all these subjects as they apply to its district to enable it to make any significant contribution. As Mr. Ordway Tead points out, "Wisdom does not speak where there is no wisdom in the component voices." Obviously, a local association must make careful selection of the problems to tackle, or it will fall into a position where it tries to include everything and consequently covers nothing. And it must remember that its mills grind slowly! A local council is a jack-of-all-trades not only in the subjects with which it deals, but in the techniques it must employ—group work and community organization, the conduct of small studies, the art of public relations and interpretation.

5. The last limitation has to do with the dependence of a local council upon local leaders. Every movement, every organization is a reflection of its leaders. The kind of organization we are considering requires selfless, non-agency-minded leaders who can build loyalty to ideas, who have confidence in what the pursuit of ideas for their community may accomplish, and who are enthusiastic, even zealous. They must be skilled in leadership, able to use talents, great and small, of all manner of men. They must be willing to relinquish their leadership to make way for others. I need not labor these points. That there are such potential leaders in every community we all know. But finding them and helping to develop them is one of the great challenges to any neighborhood organization. Before I leave this subject, I should like to mention a neglected opportunity, namely, that of enlisting young people and nationality leaders.

If I seem to have dwelt unduly upon limitations, it is only because I believe a recognition of them, and deliberate sustained effort to offset them, may not only save us from discouragement,

but also point the way to those things which a neighborhood organization can do well in spite of, indeed, because of them.

Let us now consider the advantages and results of neighborhood organization. I shall review them under six headings.

1. In the first place, its underlying philosophy is democratic, its usual form representative; it is nonsectarian, nonpolitical. It brings face to face professionals in all fields, staff members as well as executives, persons who are in touch daily with the people of the district, local residents, teachers, ministers, librarians, heads of parent associations, civic bodies, and a miscellany of other organizations, some temporary in character, others of long standing. Obviously, a face-to-face organization of this nature is impossible on a city-wide basis.

2. By promoting friendly relations and understanding among agencies performing different functions and therefore supplementing and complementing each other, a local council affects the degree and quality of coöperation. This is quickly reflected in improved service to clients. A council helps professional workers to think of families as a whole and not in terms of the peculiar needs that any member may present.

3. A local council offers an easy way of pooling knowledge and experience and a ready medium of exchange of information, ideas, ideals, and plans. This exchange goes on not only among its own members, but between the association and other local associations and city-wide organizations. Many city governments now recognize that however efficient their central services may be, they cannot be well administered without an intimate knowledge of the people and the areas to be served. It is natural that they should turn to local councils as a ready source of information. Likewise, public departments and city-wide agencies are glad to make available through a single agency, like a council, information which the council can disseminate to its members and to the people of its district.

You will pardon an illustration from my own organization. The Welfare Council of New York City made a study of chronic illness, and its findings were given considerable space in the metropolitan press when the study was released. But the subject



got little or no attention in local papers, that is, borough and neighborhood papers, until local councils arranged meetings on the subject and exhibited dioramas built by the WPA Federal Art Project under direction of the Welfare Council's Committee on Chronic Illness. These dioramas were shown in thirteen locations and viewed by approximately sixty-three thousand persons.

I should like to refer to the complementary roles of city-wide functional groupings and neighborhood units covering various fields and to make special mention of the advantage of pooling their interests through a central organization such as a council of social agencies. Again I beg your indulgence in drawing from the experience of the Welfare Council. Its founders realized the necessity of a two-way approach to coördination and planning—functional and geographical. Both were provided for, and city-wide organization by functions—family welfare, health, recreation, etc.—was first undertaken. At present there are fourteen such groupings, known as sections. A review of section programs showed that after more than ten years of continuous operation not one of them had included any consideration of the services and needs of a single neighborhood. This is no reflection. It emphasizes strikingly, I think, that both functional and neighborhood organization are essential for a well-rounded program of coördination and planning. In fact, there were in existence in 1925, when the Welfare Council was established, five neighborhood or borough councils and a number have developed since then with no stimulation from a central source. At present thirteen are affiliated with the Welfare Council, six of which are staffed jointly by the central body and the local associations.

Let me cite a single instance of the way they work together. The section on housing for women, upon finding that many middle-aged women living alone in single rooms had no recreational facilities especially designed for them, decided to promote the establishment of accessible club rooms restricted to their use. It was fortunate in finding a group of women ready to assume responsibility for organizing and financing the scheme. The research bureau of the Welfare Council analyzed census data to show districts of the city where large numbers of single women live. A



local council in one of these districts was asked to advise. Through its efforts several suitable locations were suggested, one was finally chosen, the club was opened, and its facilities were publicized. The local council's advisory committee withdrew when the club was well established.

4. This brings me to the fourth advantage of a neighborhood council, namely, as a means of bringing coördination and planning down to an area sufficiently small so that local agencies and residents can identify themselves with it and contribute to it from first-hand knowledge and experience. A neighborhood organization can and should be an integral part of creative planning and coördination and not merely a special pleader. Results of special pleading are lessened as the number of neighborhood organizations enlarges, as documentation is required, as central bodies weigh relative needs, and, I might add, so long as taxpayers' associations flourish.

5. A local council offers a unified approach to the neighborhood, an opportunity to see it whole and not solely from the standpoint of any one interest or concern. The council can be an offset to specialization while utilizing the specialist's expertness—a collective insight, a reconciling unity, a catalyzer, if you will.

6. Many instances can be cited of the effectiveness of a neighborhood organization in improving the quality of services and getting extension of services to its area. A local council has the opportunity to help preserve the desirable diversities of our cities and get adaptations of programs so that they are really suited to the people in each particular area.

Let me conclude with a quotation from Lewis Mumford. He pointed out that "Statesmen who did not hesitate to weld together a diversity of regional interests into national states—or wove together an empire that girdled the planet, failed to produce even a rough draft of a decent neighborhood." Let us address ourselves to that task.

## REPORT OF GROUPS STUDYING THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

*Robert P. Lane*

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THIS PAPER IS THE SECOND GROUP REPORT submitted to Section III of the National Conference of Social Work in the course of an inquiry into the nature and characteristics of the process known to social workers as community organization. The first report was presented at the closing session of Section III in Buffalo last year. The general procedure resulting in the preparation of these two reports was the same. In the fall of 1938, and again last fall, discussion groups were formed in a number of cities for the purpose of carrying on simultaneous and independent studies of what community organization is. In 1938 the New York City discussion group acted as a steering committee for the enterprise. This year the steering committee consisted of the chairmen of the several groups and the chairman of last year's drafting committee. Each discussion group was asked by the steering committee to prepare a written statement of its conclusions, copies of which were circulated to members of the other groups in advance of the National Conference. On the opening Sunday of the Conference, representatives of the groups came together in the Conference city for a clearance of their findings. At this meeting a drafting committee was named, and the report submitted at the final session of Section III represents the drafting committee's condensation of the more important material in the written memoranda, as discussed and agreed upon during the clearance meeting. These two reports, therefore, are the fruits of a widespread and vigorous coöperative endeavor to examine the methods and objectives of community organization, to the end that professional thought and performance in this general area may be clarified and improved.

The report submitted at Buffalo closed with a recommendation that seven aspects of the community organization process receive further critical examination. These aspects were: (1) the objectives, (2) the activities, (3) the methods, and (4) the principles of community organization; (5) ways in which the foregoing can be evaluated; (6) the qualifications looked for in persons engaged in community organization; and (7) the keeping of adequate records of the community organization process. The experience of the discussion groups since last fall in endeavoring to carry out this assignment has persuaded their members that the procedure followed during the last two years has produced its maximum results, and that hereafter a different procedure is called for. The purpose of this report, therefore, is threefold: first, to outline a new procedure and to give our reasons for thinking it necessary; second, to suggest what seems to us a desirable method of approach to be followed, at least in the immediate future; and third, by carrying as much further as we can the analysis begun in 1938, to make some contribution to the continuing study of community organization that we hope will be carried on for some time to come.

#### WHY A NEW PROCEDURE IS CALLED FOR

In twenty pages the group report submitted at Buffalo set forth five points on which members of the discussion groups were in agreement; presented three suggested definitions of the term; offered tentative observations on the general aim, on six secondary objectives, and on a number of selected methods and activities of the process; experimentally delimited what was conceived to be the field in which the process is carried on; considered alternative names for the process; referred to the importance of studying personnel requirements and methods of training for professional activity in community organization; and concluded with the recommendation for further study referred to above.

So far as we can tell, this report staked out the field of inquiry more thoroughly than had ever been done before. Widespread interest in the enterprise was apparent, and there was evident advantage in the fact that many groups of people, in different

parts of the country, were contributing their varied experience and points of view to a common task. So much enthusiasm has been generated, and the usefulness of the summary reports has been so clearly indicated, that the process of decentralized discussion and analysis seems certain to be carried on for a long time.

However, most of the participants this year have been conscious of at least one handicap under which they have been laboring. That handicap is the menace of a dead line. Members of the discussion groups have all been busy people. A number of the groups have been able to hold relatively few meetings. Had they been wholly free agents, they would have put off submission of their reports a few more weeks or a few more months, until more meetings had been held, moot points analyzed somewhat further, more nearly complete agreement reached. The conference dead line has operated to prevent this. They have felt hurried into putting down such agreements as they had come to, in some cases despite their private conviction that the memoranda submitted were not the best they were capable of preparing.

We are persuaded, therefore, that it is important to devise a procedure that will retain all the advantages of widespread participation in the marshaling of material and the testing of conclusions, and add to these the advantages of intensive and continuous application over a considerable period of time. We are faced with responsibility for studying intensively each phase of the community organization process that our work to date has isolated and revealed. Difficult analytic and synthetic operations are involved. If reasonably scientific reports are to be forthcoming, we must work with care and must not force the pace. A glance at the procedure of groups that have undertaken a similar exploration of the processes of social case work and social group work, we believe, will illustrate what we have in mind.

The Milford Conference consisted of thirty-nine persons, and its final report was the product of formal and informal gatherings spread over more than seven years. At the end of the first four and a half years a committee of five was appointed to study four specific points. For a year this committee made practically

no progress. At the end of another year it presented a report on the first of the four assigned points. The remaining three points were covered in the following year. The committee held twenty meetings, totaling thirty days. In addition, each member devoted a considerable amount of time between meetings to the preparation of material and interviews with persons outside the committee membership. "Social Case Work, Generic and Specific," like the most famous of Grecian urns, was a foster child of science and slow time.

Group workers, after a period of informal attempts at clarification of objectives and method, brought their efforts to a focus in 1936 when four local study groups submitted reports at a meeting of the National Conference which pointed to the desirability of continuing the study over a prolonged period. The National (later American) Association for the Study of Group Work was formed during the Conference as a result of this sentiment. During the first year a number of commissions and committees were appointed, whose reports were included, together with papers and other material, in the 1938 and 1939 *Proceedings* of the Association. A periodical publication, *The Group*, was launched in February, 1939.

We suggest that today the study of community organization stands approximately where the study of case work stood in 1923 and the study of group work stood in 1935. We have analogous, though not wholly similar, processes of exploration under way. With those processes continuing, we favor the creation of a fairly small group of persons of recognized competence, on a nationwide basis, to assume responsibility, not for directing, but for focusing the continued study of the concept and practice of community organization.

We think such a group should be independent of any institutional connection. If it owes responsibility to nothing except the professional integrity of its own members, if it has no administrative duties, if it recognizes no obligation to speak or report or publish except when in its own judgment it has something to say, it will be free of that pressure to produce that is hostile to the spirit of scientific inquiry. It will be able to avail itself of many

forms of assistance, as will presently appear, but it will be answerable for its methods and its output only to itself. In our present state of half-knowledge but intense concern with the nature and characteristics of community organization, an arrangement of this sort seems to us the surest guarantee of valuable results.

With this much agreed on, there arose, of course, the question of how the proposed committee should be brought into being. We considered alternative methods, but finally decided to ask the steering committee in charge of this year's discussion groups to make initial selection of the persons to serve and to extend the first invitations. The steering committee, in turn, after some discussion of the general composition of the committee, delegated final responsibility to three of its members—Arthur Dunham, chairman of this year's steering committee; Russell H. Kurtz, chairman of last year's steering committee; and Robert P. Lane, chairman of last year's and this year's drafting committees and chairman for next year of Section III of the National Conference. We hope to have selections made, invitations issued, responses received, and membership of the committee announced before the summer is over. When the committee is once formed, it will, of course, have complete freedom to enlarge its membership as it may desire.

Reference was made above to the forms of assistance of which the national committee will be able to avail itself. One of these is the continued work of local study groups. We know that several of this year's groups will go on with their meetings and discussions. If similar groups are formed in still other cities, and if the names of the chairmen of all such groups are registered with the appropriate officer of the national committee, a constituency will be established and channels of communication opened that will make possible the free circulation of ideas and reports. In addition to such group associates, individuals who are interested, but who may not have colleagues close by with whom they can meet, will also be able to communicate with the national committee, and as material is issued by the committee it can be sent to all persons who file their names as wishing to receive it.

With a mailing list thus made up, with organized groups in



different parts of the country pursuing the task on which we have been engaged for two years, and with a responsible national committee serving as a general clearinghouse, some kind of periodical output of ideas is sure to result. We doubt the wisdom of considering at this time establishment of a regular journal. It seems to us preferable to assume that the national committee will circulate material as and when it thinks it helpful to do so. The costs of such circulation will not be great. Mimeographing or some other form of reproduction can almost certainly be taken care of in the offices of members of the national committee, and mailing costs can be defrayed by asking for a nominal fee from those who wish to receive whatever is issued.

Material to be circulated can be forthcoming in a number of ways. From persons interested in the enterprise, the national committee can solicit discussions of aspects of community organization. The committee itself can hold conferences, either independently, as the Milford Conference did, or in connection with other meetings which many of its members will naturally attend. It can organize experiments—in the keeping of records, for example—and make reports on their progress. Moreover, material for which it is not directly responsible will undoubtedly be available to it. During the last two years the program of Section III of the National Conference has been undergoing a pronounced change—from a program consisting chiefly of papers in which specific examples of community organization were described, community by community, largely for the purpose of enabling members of the audience to profit in their own work from successes achieved elsewhere, to a program in which analysis of the process itself predominates. We hope this change of direction will be maintained. If it is, and if state and regional conferences, and other national associations as well, should accent their programs in the same way, a great many articles will be produced that may not be adapted to professional journals of general scope, but that would be of substantial value to persons primarily concerned with community organization. The national committee can accept responsibility for keeping track of such material, for assembling and analyzing it—all with a view to presenting cur-

rently the most suggestive parts of it, and to issuing on its own responsibility, in due and unhurried course, such findings as it deems advisable.

#### SUGGESTED METHOD OF APPROACH

The proposed national committee, when established, will presumably have to reach some general decisions as to how it will approach the job of exploring further the nature of the community organization process. In the hope that they may be of some assistance, both to the national committee and to others interested in the task, we offer the following suggestions on this point.

The group report submitted in Buffalo, and the work of the several discussion groups this year, have one thing in common, namely, that their approach was uniformly deductive. No activities of social workers or programs of social agencies were cited and described for the purpose of defining them and classifying them by their distinguishing characteristics or by results achieved or sought. Certain generalizations about aspects of the community organization process were presented, but there was no indication that before arriving at these generalizations any large amount of evidence had been assembled and analyzed regarding the details entering into the generalizations.

We think this form of approach has been abundantly justified. Experience in the actual practice of community organization has been gained over many years, and it is inevitable that this experience, even without intensive analysis, should lend itself to the formulation of fruitful hypotheses. Until the hypotheses of the 1939 report are criticized and invalidated, we think they may well stand as bases of discussion and points of departure. We suggest, however, that progress from now on will be most effectively made not by continuing with the deductive method, but by adopting the method of induction instead.

The great majority of the activities with which we are concerned are carried on by staff members of social agencies. This is not to be interpreted as meaning that no community organization activities are carried on by lay people or by people not employed

by or on the boards of social agencies. Activities of the latter sort will have to be examined before analysis of the community organization process is complete. At present, however, we suggest that furtherance of the analytic process will be most productive if attention is focused on the activities of staff members of recognized social agencies. These activities can be segregated. They are so familiar that they can easily be described. Once described, it should not be difficult to state their purpose. When all this has been done, it should be possible to assign these activities to recognized categories. If this process can be applied to a large share of the activities of social workers employed by social agencies, the greater portion of the inductive task will be covered. Other activities known or believed to call for similar treatment can follow. In this way, perhaps, all activities entering into the community organization process can be examined, step by step. Thus the hypotheses of the 1939 report can be tested, corrected, revised, narrowed, or enlarged.

We suggest that the most convenient way to begin this process is to select types of social agencies and subject the activities of their staff members to description, analysis, and classification. This may lead to what would seem to be a logical next step. It is common practice to refer to given agencies as, for example, "case work agencies," "group work agencies," or "community organization agencies." All that is usually meant by such expressions is that in most of the activities of the staff members of these agencies the case work, or the group work, or the community organization process is employed. The program and nature of an organization are largely determined by what its staff members do. It should therefore be possible, after the activities of these staff members have been analyzed, to determine what agencies may be said to have community organization as their function, or at least one of their functions. Since this carries us into the area of institutional study, we shall doubtless need the assistance of sociologists before we proceed very far in the analysis and classification of social agencies.

The advantage of such an approach lies in the fact that it will spread on the record a large amount of objective material

that is relatively undebatable; that it will make possible examination and discussion of types of social work activities in the light of such objective material; that it will provide the body of agreement required for testing the hypotheses of the 1939 report; and that it will defer broad generalizations and the drafting of final definitions until detailed evidence has been presented and accepted.

#### SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

So far this report has not addressed itself directly to the immediate assignment given to this year's discussion groups, namely, to try to answer the questions listed at the end of the report submitted at Buffalo. It is fair to say that little headway was made with some of the questions, and this fact explains our conviction that from now on a different procedure is desirable. We have nothing to say at present, for example, on the following specific questions posed in Buffalo for further study:

1. What are the objectives of community organization? How should they be formulated? How can they be more widely understood, approved, and supported?
2. What activities are carried on as part of this process? In what kind of communities or geographical areas—or in what circumstances—are such activities most successful?
3. By what methods are these activities carried on? How can these methods be made more effective?
4. How can we evaluate the objectives, the activities, the methods, and the principles of community organization?

We have certain observations to make, however, on three questions asked at Buffalo—those that bear on the qualifications of community organization workers, on the keeping of records, and on the principles that may be said to underlie the theory and practice of the community organization process. These observations we are preceding with comments on the nature of the process itself; on the question as to whether community organization is only a process, or whether it is both process and field; and on the relation of this process to other processes that are practiced by social workers.

*Concepts of community organization.*—The discussions of the past year have shown less preoccupation with formal definitions than those of the preceding year. It has been pointed out, however, and it seems worth while to note, that in the literature of community organization and in our discussions at least four different concepts of the process of community organization have been expressed.

The first of these is the concept of community organization as group development. This was expressed as early as 1925 by Walter W. Pettit, who suggested that the essence of community organization was in assisting a group of people to recognize their common needs and helping them to meet those needs.

A generally similar conception is expressed by Arlien Johnson as follows: "Community organization is the art and process of developing potential resources and talents of groups of people and of the individuals in those groups."

A second concept of "community organization work" as inter-group relationships has been thus expressed by Wilber I. Newstetter:

Community organization work is a deliberate educational process which aims (1) at mutually satisfactory relationships between groups through formal or informal contacts; and (2) at the use of these contacts to further selected social goals—i.e., adequate child care for the community, adequate relief, proper sanitation, hospitalization, housing, recreation, education, etc., etc. Both case work and group work are aimed at particular individuals as well as at societal aims. Community organization work is aimed primarily at individuals in general or certain groups of individuals.

A third concept would identify community organization with integration or coördination. This appears to be essentially the conception of Jesse F. Steiner who, in his book, *Community Organization*, indicates that community organization is concerned with interrelationships of groups within communities, their integration and coördination in the interest of efficiency and unity of action.

The fourth concept is that set forth in the 1939 National Conference report: the concept of the adjustment of needs to re-



sources. Arthur Dunham has expressed this concept fully and effectively in a statement based on the general aim and secondary objectives set forth in the 1939 report:

Community organization for social work is the art or process of bringing about and maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs. Social welfare organization consists of activities in the field of social welfare which are concerned with fact-finding; raising standards; promoting teamwork and improving and facilitating intergroup relationships; increasing public understanding; enlisting public support and participation; and initiating, developing, and modifying welfare programs. Community organization may be carried on in any geographical area. It is concerned with the discovery and definition of needs; the elimination and prevention as well as the treatment of social needs and disabilities; the articulation of resources and needs; and the constant readjustment of resources in order better to meet changing needs.

These four concepts are neither identical nor irreconcilable. It seems obvious that each expresses an important truth about community organization. Group development, intergroup relationships, integration, and adjustment between resources and needs—all have much in common. It is entirely possible, indeed, that each person undertaking to define community organization has done so in the light of his chief prior interest or experience, tending to emphasize, and perhaps to exaggerate, that aspect of the total process which he deems most important—much as each blind man in the fable described the elephant in terms of that portion of the elephant's body with which he was in immediate contact.

Beyond this, it seems unnecessary for us to go at present. No attempt to find an artificial formula of agreement for honest differences of opinion is called for. We shall do better to recognize that at the present stage of our thinking about community organization, these four concepts exist; and we may take these different but related ideas as a basis for further thinking and exploration.

*Is community organization process, or field, or both?*—In our 1939 report we put on record an initial agreement of all discussion groups that “the term community organization is used to refer to a process, and, as is often the case in other professions, to refer also to a field.” The propriety, indeed the accuracy, of this



double usage was seriously challenged by some members of our groups this year. The argument ran as follows: Social work, though perhaps not clearly defined as yet, is the broad, general field within which we all work. Within that field different processes are used. Case work is one such process; group work is another; and community organization is still a third. Any given social worker, whatever the agency with which he is connected, is apt to use each of the processes in the course of his assigned duties. It will promote clear thinking, therefore, if we confine the term "field" to the total area of social work, instead of trying to split the total area up into subfields; and if we conceive of social workers as using different processes at different times, one of the processes being that of community organization.

Our groups as a whole came to no general agreement on this point, and the drafting committee therefore merely notes the argument for the record, passing it on to our successors for further study.

*Relation of community organization process to other processes of social work.*—With three social work processes accepted as distinct, namely, case work, group work, and community organization, some of our groups endeavored to decide whether community organization is separate from, or whether it embraces, certain other activities that are usually spoken of as though they constitute complete processes in themselves. Four of these other activities are "social work administration," "social research," "social work interpretation," and "social action." Many members took the position that research, interpretation, and social action are only methods or tools that are used as part of the community organization process, but that administration is a distinct and separable process. There was no agreement on these points within our own groups, and we are aware that strong dissent from this position would undoubtedly be registered by persons primarily interested in one or other of these four activities. The drafting committee, therefore, presents no general, even tentative, conclusion.

*Qualifications for the community organization worker.*—There was rather general agreement among the discussion groups that

a community organization worker should acquire basic professional training through graduate work at a recognized school of social work. This training should be broad and generalized rather than highly specialized. As he is to deal with individuals and with groups, he should have an understanding of the dynamics of behavior and how one influences behavior, and of group processes and how one influences them. This means courses and field work in case work and group work. Research, public welfare, and administration of social agencies will be other subjects in his program of study.

One of the study groups expressed the opinion that before entering on a career in community organization, a worker should have at least one year of experience as a staff member of a "client service agency." Others believed that the value of such an experience would be to broaden and deepen the worker's understanding and that this broadened understanding might be acquired in a variety of ways. It was agreed, however, that the community is handicapped whose chest or council executive does not have a sound understanding of social work in all its branches.

There was agreement that the student preparing for community organization should have some advanced special courses and seminars in community organization. More good teaching material is needed for such courses than is now available. The student should also have field experience in a recognized agency engaged in community organization as a primary function. Here, under competent supervision, he should have some part in such activities as chest budgeting, committee leadership, community studies, and similar tasks that are as real and important in community organization as interviewing is in the field work of the case work student.

As for personality, it is important that the community organization worker have those qualities that will help him to get along easily with people and to command and hold their respect and confidence. He should like people and have respect for ideas that differ from his own.

If a worker is to practice some other specialized process of social work, his qualifications for community organization will be secondary in importance to those required for his specialized prac-

tice. It is suggested, however, that every social work student have some training in community organization. This might consist of at least one community organization course and some emphasis on community organization in his field work.

Perhaps experience in business or in some other profession can give the community organization worker some useful techniques. It is possible that his total training can be acquired from a variety of sources. The important thing is that it shall result in dynamic growth and give him those qualifications that are required for any profession, namely, a substantial body of tested knowledge, a balance, a discipline, and above all a coherent social philosophy.

*Community organization records.*—The development of records of community organization seems to us important, just as the development of the case record has been important in the evolution of case work.

In social work the record may be said to have three purposes: (1) to further the progress of a particular undertaking; (2) to furnish the materials through which processes may be understood and evaluated; and (3) to furnish materials to be used in teaching beginners. Only those facts, circumstances, and opinions that are useful or are likely to become useful for these purposes should be recorded.

If the analogy between the process of case work and the process of community organization is sound, it is probable that there are seldom to be found in community organization any "case records," that is, anything that can be referred to as "the record," a collection of records and reports about the attack on one problem, filed in one place or in one folder. It is nevertheless true that such a record may be compiled from written evidence, filed in one place or another, by anyone with sufficient time and interest to put it together.

During the last few months there have been experimentally put together in the office of the Welfare Council of New York City two records dealing with two projects of different units of the Council, one project fairly small and one fairly large. The record of the smaller project reproduces in full, and in chronological order, all the pertinent letters, memoranda, minutes of meetings,

et cetera, that bear on the project. The larger one is a summary of similar base records. Though the larger one is still confidential, as it has not been approved for release by the units of the Welfare Council whose work it deals with, it is selected for comment here because of its greater complexity and intrinsic interest. The following observations on it have been made:

1. It illustrates the various kinds of records and reports that are available for the study of community organization in a council of social agencies.

2. It shows how a problem at first entrusted to a small committee of the permanent structure for the purpose of long-time analysis may develop emergency and wider community aspects that require a form of organization representing wider interests and that can be mobilized for quick action.

3. It shows how the interests of public and voluntary agencies are intertwined.

4. It shows how a local community problem may involve community organization on a state-wide basis.

5. It shows how misunderstandings with a single agency may arise in an effort to develop a concerted plan and how that danger can be avoided.

6. It shows some attempt at evaluation of processes and consequent revision of structure and procedure.

This record comprises 139 different items in the form of letters, memoranda, telegrams, minutes, documents, and reports. It shows how thirty-one different persons or positions were involved, besides twenty organizations or units of organizations, three committees of the Welfare Council, and an informal group called together once for emergency action. While all these separate records, at some time, find their way to a central file, there is no assurance that at any point the whole record can be put together quickly. Moreover, even after the events are well in the past, the ordinary methods of filing do not produce the record.

Is it worth while for council staff members, with their special skills in the human relationships of community organization, to take the time required to put together, or even to summarize, the basic records on even a few of the projects they help to further? Will their work be improved or impeded by such a requirement? Certainly the reading of the record would be helpful to

them. The question is, how can the record be produced without the expenditure of too much time and energy on the part of the professional staff?

It is suggested that councils of social agencies might develop the function of record librarian, the duties of which would be somewhat similar to those performed under the same title in hospitals. The person discharging the duties of social record librarian could be attached to the council's filing department or the research department. She should have had some experience in a social agency, though not necessarily of a professional nature, and she should have some aptitude for research. She should be able to select the significant items from the routine records of the office to make up a series of records covering the work, or important parts of the work, of the council. These records would be useful for the analysis and evaluation of methods, and on the score of increased efficiency might be worth the financial cost.

While trying to promote the preparation of records covering months and even years of work in community organization, attention should also be given to the values to be derived from the careful recording of isolated material bearing on the several techniques in community organization. Records of good and bad timing, methods of selecting projects, of postponing and precipitating action, of holding to standards, of carrying on negotiation, effecting compromise, and training leaders—all these would be of great value in helping those who practice community organization to become conscious of and to improve their methods, as well as in providing material for teachers of community organization who are now handicapped by lack of such material.

The first step in the development of the record in community organization is obviously for those engaged in this process to make some records, of unsuccessful as well as of successful projects, and then to permit their records to be scrutinized, analyzed, and evaluated in the interest of future progress. Some staff members of councils have already indicated their intention to develop experimental records during the coming year.

*Principles of community organization.*—One of the questions posed in the 1939 report was as follows: "What principles under-



lying the theory and practice of community organization can be—or should be—agreed on?”

When we attempt to set forth principles we are making qualitative judgments as to what is and what is not sound professional practice. This question was touched upon this year in three of the reports. The fullest discussion was contained in a thoughtful and stimulating memorandum appended to the Michigan report. This memorandum sets forth eighteen suggested principles. The spirit of the memorandum, and something of its general approach, may best be conveyed by quoting the introductory paragraph and the first two proposed principles, which were as follows:

In our discussion we used the word “principle” not only in the sense of a “general truth or proposition” but also in the sense of a standard of action and procedure, a standard reached not by advance affirmations of what ought to be, but by inductive study and appraisal of successful experience. We agreed to accept the dictionary definition of the word in its derived meaning as “a settled law or rule of action, especially of right action, consciously and resolutely adopted.” (Funk and Wagnalls, *New Standard Dictionary*, 1922.)

The following propositions seem to us to be sufficiently valid and “settled” to be classed as principles of community organization.

### I. *Community Organization, a Means Not an End*

Community organization is always a means to an end. In community organization as in case work and group work fullness of life for the individual is the end. Organizations, programs, and projects are always means to an end, “agencies to help achieve what people want. It is the human beings themselves who are the ends.” (Tead—*The Art of Leadership*.)

### II. *Social Need as a Basis for Organization*

Social need should be the determining factor in initiating, continuing, modifying, or terminating an organization. This general proposition covers three related principles:

1. No agency or federation should be organized save on the basis of felt need. This statement is understood to mean that the need should be felt by a considerable nucleus group in the community and that need should include present actual need and anticipated need. In other words, no organization should be superimposed upon the community.



2. No organization should be perpetuated after need for it has passed.
3. An agency's objectives should be sufficiently broad and its program sufficiently flexible to allow for constant adjustments to changing needs.

#### CONCLUSION

The discussions summarized in this report were started last fall, and so have been carried on during a period when social and political institutions have been put to the severest test that has been witnessed in modern times. This particular report has been written within earshot of speakers who have been stressing, morning and afternoon and night, the relation between sound domestic social programs and national defense. We hope the subjects on which we have been working do not seem trivial to you in comparison with the momentous issues that have engaged your attention in other sessions of the Conference. They do not seem trivial to us. We are profoundly convinced that many and diversified social services, well conceived and well administered, are today essential not only for national well-being but for national survival. We know the tempo of social change is quickening year by year, almost month by month; and we believe that programs of social service must be ready and willing to change with changing circumstances if they are to perform their function and are in turn to survive. We think this capacity for rapid mobilization on new fronts is dependent on sound coördination, on sound community organization. To this end intelligent understanding of our processes is essential. If our discussion groups have in any measure contributed to such intelligent understanding, if they have made or will make our community processes more flexible and more effective, they will have played their part in the giant movements of our day.

## REGIONAL AND STATE-WIDE EXCHANGES

*Ruth O. Blakeslee*

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GOVERNMENT," ACCORDING TO MR. MILLSPAUGH, "was from the beginning of civilization necessary and inevitable; and it has become in late years an intimately personal and consciously difficult social adventure."<sup>1</sup> Pressing needs and limited resources to meet those needs have given rise to a wide variety of new social services under public auspices. We believe that those services have been necessary and desirable. But there can be no question that the scope and variety of services that have been rapidly developed under public auspices have created some new problems for public and voluntary organizations; for taxpayers and for those who seek to make use of social services. The need for coördination of social services has been universally recognized, but most poignantly perhaps by the agencies, public and voluntary, that were attempting to carry out these services in a confused and shifting order.

It was natural that these agencies should turn to the tested device of the confidential exchange as one method of facilitating coördination of social services. The confidential exchange has for many years served as a clearinghouse for social agencies. In the course of the past few years there has been considerable experimentation in the use of the exchange. A brief review of some of this experience may be of interest to communities now exploring the possibilities for the installation or extension of exchange service.

The confidential exchange, for purpose of this discussion, is limited to that clearance service that maintains card indexes of the names, addresses, and pertinent identifying information on case

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Chester Millspaugh, *Public Welfare Organization* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935), p. 3.

records of individuals or families who have applied for service from the social agencies in the community. The files of the exchange contain no detailed information as to the needs or histories of families registered, and no information on the services rendered by an agency in a particular situation. The exchange limits its services to reporting to an agency inquiring about a family, the names of agencies that have previously registered an interest in that family, and the dates of registration. The registering agencies then consult and plan for next steps and such coöperative services as they may agree to render.

The confidential exchange may advise with agencies as to the content and methods of reporting between agencies, but it is vested with no authority and charged with no responsibility for interagency relationships, or the action of any registering agency in a particular situation. The agencies admitted to participation in the exchange are limited to those operating to serve the social needs of individuals and families in the community. The exchange service enables these agencies to share their knowledge about a particular family, and to coöperate voluntarily in rendering better service to that family. The results to the agency are: (1) increased efficiency through quick focusing of plans for necessary investigation or action; (2) economy through a saving of time, energy, and money in the elimination of unnecessary investigation and inadvertent duplicate service; and (3) increased effectiveness through planned and selective use of specialized services. The results to the applicant for social services are: (1) easier and speedier access to appropriate service; (2) protection from being shunted back and forth between agencies in search of help; and (3) reduction of the emotional strain of frequent repetition of his problem and his story.

The true clearance function paves the way to improved performance by expediting positive action on the part of agencies that have been established to provide services to people who are in trouble. The exchange, to meet this responsibility, sets as its objective the submission of prompt and accurate reports to inquiring agencies at little cost, and must limit its function to that objective. Experiments have been made in the last few years in using the

exchange organization for purposes other than clearance. The exchange, in various communities, has been used as a central statistical bureau, as an automatic check on duplicate services, and to report to inquiring agencies on kinds of service or amounts of assistance. It has been generally found, however, that the assumption by the exchange of any authority or administrative control over participating agencies, or the performance by the exchange of any duties that intercepted consultation between agencies or substituted for case work service, detracts from the greater usefulness of clearance service and tends to make the exchange a restrictive and repressive device rather than a facilitating service.

A clear statement of function is a necessary precursor to the organization of an exchange. Function not only is determined by purpose and philosophy, however, but grows logically and naturally out of the structure of the exchange or what it is equipped to do, and usage or methods of using its service by participating agencies. Before proceeding to set up an exchange, careful study of the territory to be served should be undertaken by the planning body. Some eight states have experimented with the operation of clearance services on a state-wide basis. Several of these states that are small in area, and whose agencies operate to all intents and purposes on a state-wide basis, have found it practical to have a single exchange office providing clearance service for the entire state. Others have found it more practical to have a state clearance agency coöperating with local clearance agencies in small cities or towns. Several states have experimented with county clearance services operating under state direction, but none of these latter experiments, so far as I know, have survived. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that the units of operation of clearance service should be determined by the natural areas of population to provide for regional clearance service coördinated with a master exchange operating in the largest city of the region or state.

The particular kind of coördination that results from exchange service would indicate that physical proximity of the confidential exchange to the community it serves is important, because it promotes between agencies smoother working relationship and fuller

understanding of problems of common concern. Distance is no barrier to discussion of major issues, but it is the trivia of unimportant detail that make or break the team play of a coöperative enterprise. The personnel of an exchange must be interested in office management and will derive satisfaction from the routine of an orderly and efficient job. The successful operation of an exchange, however, is also a community organization job demanding a high degree of professional skill and a professional identification with the total social work program of the community. The executive of the exchange needs the stimulation of constant association with the personnel of the participating agencies to vitalize and make effective the clearance service and to maintain the understanding and mutual respect that contribute directly to the quality of the total program. The confidential exchange that serves a particular community need not be *in* that community, but it needs to be *of* the root, branch, and stem of that community to the extent of being readily available and in continuous contact with social planning and organized action.

Before leaving the subject of geographical area I would like to mention two variations of the state-wide exchange. There are, first, the leagues of local exchanges in some sections of the country to provide intercity clearance between urban areas without attempting to effect state-wide coverage. The expansion of coverage of these exchanges might effectively provide state-wide coverage with little effort or expense if state-wide coverage is desirable. Second, several states have experimented with registration of state-wide services under public or voluntary auspices in the exchange of the largest city of the state.

There is obviously no one pattern to be recommended for the geographical area of coverage within a state-wide clearance system. The Social Security Board would recommend that a new exchange be organized only after careful study and coöperative planning by all the agencies concerned. Steps to organize a confidential exchange should be taken only after it has been determined that: (1) There is no established exchange appropriate or adaptable to the needs of the community; (2) there are a sufficient number of agencies in the community that maintain acceptable standards of

practice, appropriate records, and adequate safeguards for confidential information to justify the operation of an exchange; (3) these agencies are willing to use the exchange and to participate in financing and administering its services; and (4) the area of coverage is appropriate to make possible prompt reporting of information pertinent to the services of participating agencies.

When the geographical area of coverage has been decided upon, a planning body representative of agencies within that area is needed to plan the structure of the exchange in which they are to participate. Because of the widespread interest in the subject of clearance service the Social Security Board, with the coöperation of other Federal departments, and the Social Service Exchange Committee of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. has formulated a "Statement of Principles of Organization and Administration of the Confidential Exchange." The principles of organization and administration cover eight aspects of administration: (1) auspices; (2) the advisory board; (3) personnel; (4) standards for participating agencies; (5) equipment and management; (6) coverage; (7) finance; and (8) the confidential nature of records.

1. *Auspices*.—The auspices under which the confidential exchange is developed may be a federation of agencies, a public department, or a voluntary agency and should be such as to: serve and protect the function of the exchange; assure participation of all interested agencies in planning and finance without domination by any one agency; promote efficient, accurate, continuous, and economical service.

It is clearly embodied in the principles that the use of exchange service administered by public bodies or dominated by the public assistance agency should encourage the use of established exchanges maintaining acceptable standards of practice or the development of new exchanges where needed to serve the needs of the total community.

2. *Advisory board*.—The planning and administration of a confidential exchange should be guided by an advisory board appointed by a responsible authority such as the agency under whose auspices the confidential exchange is organized. The size of the board will vary with the number of agencies to be served and the geographical coverage. The board should be representative of the participating agencies, public and voluntary, and the lay public. The board members should



serve for stated periods, for overlapping terms, and for a limited number of terms to assure continuity of service and gradual infiltration of new members. The board should serve without compensation except for expenses incurred in attendance at meetings.

The advisory board should be consulted on the appointment of the executive; establish standards of personnel and approve appointment of subordinate staff of the exchange; approve policy recommended by the executive; establish and maintain standards for admission of participating agencies; approve methods of finance and formulate methods of apportioning cost among participating agencies for ratification by those agencies; publish an annual report and interpret the work of the exchange to the community.

A few comments on the responsibilities for interpretation of the advisory board may be of special interest here. About a year ago a prominent newspaper carried an article on the installation of a confidential exchange. This article included the following statements:

All the case worker has to do is to consult the index, find out what relief the family is receiving and what the status of each member of the family is and then call. From the visit and the information at his disposal he can make his decision on the case.

During the first month of its installation. . . . Removal of families receiving duplicate benefits saved enough money to pay for the complete installation.

Those setting up the system found it difficult to get coöperation from all the agencies throughout the State because of animosities and jealousies.<sup>2</sup>

An advisory board working with the exchange, interpreting the function and methods of participating agencies and reviewing statements for publication, might have performed a distinct service to the exchange. The errors in fact are apparent, but even erroneous statements that reflect on the recipients of public assistance and on agencies administering services to them undermine the self-respect of recipients of public assistance and their confidence in the public agency and jeopardize the support of the public agency as well as of the exchange. No public service can enhance its prestige by reflecting discredit on the agencies or individuals it is established to serve. An advisory board representative of par-

<sup>2</sup> New York *Herald Tribune*, July 23, 1939.

ticipating agencies might have corrected misunderstanding and assisted in preparing for release information that would have served more constructive purposes.

3. *Personnel*.—[The minimum staff of the exchange should consist of at least two people:]

1. An executive whose qualifications conform with the standards set up by the Social Service Exchange Committee of Community Chests and Councils.<sup>3</sup> The executive should have: a community organization point of view with understanding and well balanced interest in all fields represented in participating agencies; executive ability and competence in office management; qualities of leadership and demonstrated experience in public education.

2. A subordinate staff of the requisite number of clerical personnel who will be available to give immediate reports on inquiries at all times throughout the working day. In addition to clerical training, it is extremely important that this person have full knowledge and acceptance of responsibilities for safeguarding the confidential nature of information in the exchange files.

4. *Standards for participating agencies*.—The advisory board of the confidential exchange should formulate objective standards to be applied in admitting agencies to participate in the exchange; approve applications for admission; and take necessary steps to assure continued compliance with regulations of the exchange. The standards for participating agencies in a particular community should be designed to serve the needs of that community by including agencies whose personnel and practice are adequate to insure the use of clearance service in the interest of families and individuals whose names are registered in the exchange and to insure the protection of information obtained after clearance from other agencies. The general public, credit departments, attorneys, etc., should not be permitted to use the services and records of the exchange.

5. *Equipment and management*.<sup>4</sup>—The office of the exchange should be easily accessible during working hours. The exchange should be equipped to render service within 24 hours by telephone, telegraph, or mail, or at least return mail service.

The confidential exchange should have the use of a reception room and a separate office in which to set up the files. The file room should

<sup>3</sup> Luella Harlin, *Organizing a Social Service Exchange* (New York: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1935).

<sup>4</sup> *The Social Service Exchange: A Handbook Describing Procedures, Forms, and Equipment Essential to the Operation of a Social Service Exchange* (New York: The Social Service Exchange Committee of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.).

be used for no other purpose and should not be open to the general public.

The office equipment should include appropriate office furniture, typewriters,<sup>5</sup> and proper filing cabinets—for name cards and for address cards.

Forms appropriate for the operation of a confidential exchange including name card, address card, inquiry blank, notification form, etc., have been designed by the Social Service Exchange Committee of Community Chests and Councils. Standard forms may be purchased or forms designed by the operating agency containing only the information necessary to effective operation of the clearance service may be used.

Methods and procedures with respect to indexing, filing, and searching developed on the basis of the experience of established exchanges, should be adopted for use by the exchange.

The standard procedures used by established exchanges have been developed out of seventy years of experience. They have been tested and found suitable for clearance purposes. The use of the standard procedures is considered an essential principle of administration for two primary reasons.

First, because they are not only adequate for clearance purposes, but they are designed to safeguard the limitation of function that is necessary to efficient operation. Registration in the exchange from a carbon copy of a form used for other purposes, such as the application for public assistance or the authorization of public assistance payment, has resulted in a high percentage of error in registration and has placed in the hands of the exchange information which is not pertinent to the clearance function but which the exchange may be tempted to use. Data relating to amount of payment or change of status cannot be kept current by the exchange; they are usually misleading when taken out of context, and the handling of data not essential to the function of the exchange adds to the expense and complexity of the job. The report on such data by the exchange may result in precipitate and unwarranted action by agencies receiving it and may forestall rather than promote interagency conference, to the detriment of the persons who have applied for services of participating agencies. Func-

<sup>5</sup> Typewriters with elite type have been found appropriate to use with standard forms.

tion, as I have indicated, is conditioned by structure and usage, and any form item that is unnecessary for clearance purposes obscures the primary function of prompt and accurate reporting at little cost and presents dangers to efficient and proper administration.

Second, the use of standardized method and terminology is exceedingly important in any activity that involves interagency relationships in order that there will be a complete understanding between the agencies involved. Smooth working relationships are possible only when there is agreement on matters of common concern. Comparison of method or results between exchanges is useful only in terms of similar function and common practice. Interpretation to the public is easier and more effective through terminology in common usage.

6. *Coverage.*—Coverage may be considered from three points of view: by geographical distribution, by agencies within a geographical unit, and by selection of cases to be registered.

A confidential exchange may operate to serve a state, a region within a state, or a local community. It is generally accepted that it is desirable to have clearance service covering natural areas of population which do not always conform with the boundaries of the political subdivisions. In general the study preliminary to establishing an exchange would determine the logical and practical geographical coverage to assure appropriate registrations and prompt service.

Participating agencies should include all social agencies maintaining standards of work compatible with those established as a basis for admission; whose records contain data of significance to other social agencies.

All records of participating agencies which contain data that may be useful to other participating agencies should be registered in the exchange. These records should include records of families or individuals applying for financial assistance or other services where such records contain significant information that can be made available to participating agencies.

The Social Security Board is interested in encouraging the use or administration of well-run confidential exchanges by agencies whose services are based on social investigation. The Board, however, does not recommend routine registration in the confidential exchange of individuals known to employment security agencies.

Neither unemployment compensation agencies nor employment services require information such as that obtainable from case records to establish eligibility for their services. Furthermore, recipients of benefits from those agencies have in their possession the information needed by assistance agencies to establish eligibility for relief or assistance.

7. *Finance*.—A plan for financing the confidential exchange should be carefully made before it is established. This plan may provide for different bases of apportioning costs of (a) installation and (b) operation. The plan for financing the exchange should be based on an annual budget and should provide for periodic payment by all participating agencies of a portion of the cost based on the recommendation of the advisory board and accepted by the agencies. The method of finance should assure adequate and continuous services and freedom from domination by any one of the participating agencies.

The confidential exchange should be equipped with appropriate service to maintain a sound cost accounting system.

To repeat points that have been previously made on the subject of finance: It is believed that an adequate financial plan to assure continuity of service and to protect the functions of the exchange must be prepared by the advisory board of each exchange and ratified by the participating agencies. It is obvious that the cost of installation of an exchange may be borne to a large extent by the public agencies in the community, but it seems axiomatic that any agency participating in the exchange should be willing to bear a reasonable portion of the cost of operation. Experimental ventures in state-wide clearance indicate that unsound methods of finance that permitted domination of the exchange by one participating agency or failed to provide for adequate and continuous service have contributed substantially to the problems of efficient operation and, eventually, to the closing of the exchange before its value had had a fair test. An annual budget, providing for regular payments by each participating agency of amounts agreed upon as representing a reasonable charge for the volume of service rendered the agency over the budget period, has been found satisfactory to exchanges and participating agencies. A plan for financing the exchange must be established in advance if the exchange is to be staffed and equipped to meet requests for service.

8. *Confidential nature of records.*—The organization, methods of operation, and practices of the confidential exchange must all be designed and managed to protect the principles of the confidential nature of the relationship between an applicant for social services and the agency to which he applies. To this end the confidential exchange has a special obligation to maintain a high standard of ethical and efficient performance of its staff, to include in membership only agencies respecting this principle, to maintain in its files only such information as is necessary to perform the clearance function, and to disclose that information only to participating agencies that are committed to use the information for social services, to those applying or referred for such services.



## THE NATURE OF SOCIAL ACTION

*John A. Fitch*

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THE IDEA OF SOCIAL ACTION as a functional area in social work is new, and its progress toward recognition has been gradual and intermittent. It is true that social work today is concerned as never before with group effort to meet and deal with problems that are essentially social in their origin. Indeed, there is scarcely any field of social work activity which does not recognize that our basic problems are social in character, and that the attack upon them must be a joint attack.

It has not always been so. In 1896 this Conference was meeting in Grand Rapids. At that time the Conference president gave an address entitled "The New Philanthropy," in which he said:

Outdoor relief does not change the conditions of the pauper. It does not build up his character; it neither prevents nor cures pauperism. It is therefore contrary to the principle of the new philanthropy, which would meet the same case by a system of friendly visiting and employment bureaus, and, where these failed to cure pauperism would place adult paupers in institutions where they could not propagate their parasitical blood or teach their accompanying vices.

Ten years later, Conference President Edward T. Devine was declaring, "This be the glory of our [age], that the social causes of dependency shall be destroyed."

Here was the beginning of a new trend. Three years later Jane Addams was calling for a social approach in her presidential address, "Charity and Social Justice." A similar note was sounded in 1911 by Homer Folks, and in 1912 by Judge Mack.

The first committee set up by the Conference to deal with economic problems and to have a place on the program was the one on occupational standards appointed in 1909. This committee, launched under Paul Kellogg's chairmanship, brought in a report

of historic importance in 1912. Under its new name, the committee on "Standards of Living and Labor," it put forth a series of recommendations that came to be referred to as a program of "social and economic justice," which members of the Conference in their capacity as individual social workers, and not as Conference members, voted unanimously to accept.<sup>1</sup>

Father John A. Ryan, who succeeded Paul Kellogg as committee chairman, reported in 1913 that the task was now to "busy ourselves with the eminently practical problem of methods." The committee, he said, will "continue to coöperate with those agencies that have taken one or another of these subjects for their particular province," naming especially the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumers League, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

In 1914 Owen Lovejoy, reporting for the committee, announced that it had now ended its work. The committee having "laid down certain fundamental principles which constitute the basement floor of our industrial organization," it now became the duty of social workers "to put these principles into effect. . . . We urge you . . . to see to it that these standards are maintained."

After 1914, for a time, there was no standing committee on economic problems, but in 1917 a permanent Committee on Industrial and Economic Problems was created, which became Division V of the Conference. It arranged a program of papers for 1918 and continued to do so each year until the reorganization of the Conference in 1934. But it did not at any time present to the Conference a program of action, nor has any other committee done so since the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor ceased to function in 1914.

One of the questions now before us is whether the Conference in the 1934 reorganization intended to begin a new chapter in the field of social action. It is not unreasonable to assume such an intention since in place of the subject divisions, grown to twelve in number by 1934, the Conference set up four sections on what seemed to be a functional basis. That was undoubtedly true of the

<sup>1</sup> See Paul Kellogg, "Buffalo and Points West" (presidential address), *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1939), p. 3.

first three—Social Case Work, Social Group Work, and Community Organization—and the fourth, Social Action, was defined in functional terms, viz., “This should generally be defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.”

There were reasons, then, for believing in 1934 that social action was now to be recognized as a functional area in social work. But if that was the intention, we have failed so far as a conference to act upon it. The programs of this section have been very much like those of Division V on industrial and economic problems. We have discussed problems in factual terms just as before. Of the sixty-odd papers that have been presented on these programs in the period 1935 to 1939, six of them have, to some degree, dealt with method and technique in social action. Excellent as have been the discussions of social problems, we have done little to define or outline the field, we have provided few guideposts for those who would practice in this area of social work, we have presented no comprehensive program of action.

This is not said in a spirit of complaint or faultfinding. The idea that social action is a functional area in social work is so new that we have not yet found ourselves. There is confusion among social workers generally, and even among ourselves of this section, about meanings of terms, lines of demarcation, areas of activity, competence, and, above all, technique. We have had no Milford Conferences in Social Action.

The result is that while it is a reasonable supposition that social action was conceived of by the 1934 Conference as a functional area, little progress has been made within the Conference in providing a rational basis in theory or in method for that idea. It is the purpose of this paper to open up a tentative discussion of this question in the hope that it may be participated in by others and continued until some general conclusions are reached that will be acceptable to the great body of social workers.

To begin with, then, what do social workers mean by “social action”? Such definitions as are to be found within the literature of social work seem to boil down to the idea that the term implies

group effort toward socially desirable ends.<sup>2</sup> The following statement is an attempt to enlarge upon this definition and to add some necessary qualifying clauses: Social action is legally permissible action by a group (or by an individual trying to promote group action) for the purpose of furthering objectives that are both legal and socially desirable.

If we were to use words in their strictest dictionary sense, we should have to agree that the qualifications suggested are unnecessary. We should have to say that social action is action by a group, and stop there. Even if the action or its objectives were contrary to law, and even if we considered the objectives socially undesirable, we should have to consider the procedure one of social action because it is engaged in by a group. But we do not use words in their strictest dictionary sense whenever doing so would obscure our meaning.

The term "social action" must be used to refer to legally permissible methods in the direction of legal objectives because to suggest otherwise would unduly broaden the area of discussion, and would take us outside the ambit of social work. We are concerned here with action within the framework of existing society. For other activities we have other names.<sup>3</sup>

The requirement that social action must be for socially desirable objectives is a distinction that involves difficulties since it calls for subjective reactions. In 1940, in certain states, it is socially desirable to keep children in school up to sixteen, but to Alexander Hamilton it was sound social practice for children to work in factories at a "tender age." In the United States one political group defines social welfare in terms of *laissez faire*, another in terms of regulation

<sup>2</sup> Grace Coyle, "Education for Social Action," in Lieberman, *New Trends in Group Work* (New York: Association Press, 1938), p. 1; Porter R. Lee, "The Social Worker and Social Action," New York State Conference of Social Work, 1935; Wayne McMillen, "The Professional Base for Social Action," in *Four Papers on Professional Function* (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> For example, deliberate violation of law in what is believed to be a good cause; or revolution. It may be arbitrary to say that a movement to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law would have been social action, but that helping slaves to escape was not; just as it may be to say that petitioning the British Parliament in 1775 to repeal the Stamp Act was social action, but that the American Revolution was not—especially if one approves of the underground railway and the Declaration of Independence. But even if we should agree with Thomas Jefferson about revolutions and with Charles Sumner about a "higher law," the activities suggested stand by themselves.

and governmental planning, and a third in terms of the abolition of the wage system. What constitutes a socially desirable objective is relative, among other things, to time, degree of enlightenment, and social philosophy. It is obvious, therefore, that support for a program of social action will be small or great according to its conformity, or lack of it, to the prevailing mores. But there exists here a fundamental basis for agreement. No social worker would accept the idea that social action should contemplate objectives that are socially undesirable. There exists at any time a substratum of social objectives, the desirability of which would not be called in question by any social worker.

So far, our definition of social action has given little hint of area or scope or type of activity. We have suggested merely legality and social desirability. It seems possible to identify at least three types of activity that fall within the field of social action.

We would include, first, group action for the purpose of achieving beneficial results in behalf of the group itself. Examples of this type of social action include such activities as the organization of consumers' coöperatives, associations of tenants, or labor unions. It is obvious that certain limitations must be observed here. The organization of a partnership or the launching of a corporation for the purpose of engaging in a profit-making venture is not a type of social action, however beneficial the results may be to the personal fortunes of the partners or the stockholders. The essential factor is that the method chosen be one that is open to all and that the purpose be social, not personal.<sup>4</sup>

A second type of activity includes campaigns to influence group attitudes or patterns of behavior, when these attitudes or behavior patterns have an important effect upon general well-being. Thus a safety campaign would fall within the area of social action. A campaign for freedom of speech, or for observance of the Bill of Rights generally, or in support of democratic principles in government, would be social action.

<sup>4</sup> A friendly critic of this paper writes, "I should broaden the first to include activity by a group on some 'cause' beyond their immediate benefit—a settlement or YWCA club, for example, might work for a boycott on Japanese goods or for a city management type of government. In this case the social worker's function is primarily an educational one—helping the group to learn the process of getting information, influencing public opinion, using the channels of government, etc."

The third type of activity is the one generally thought of first when the term "social action" is used: community action through the regularly constituted governmental or political channels. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this point here. This type of activity would include everything that its sponsors consider socially desirable, from a definition of requirements for air space in tenements to the establishment of a new social order.

If the foregoing discussion of the nature and the limits of social action is valid, the next step is to consider how social work is involved. Social action, as here outlined, even though the definitions have been conceived of from the point of view of social work, might be engaged in by anyone. Can it be, at the same time, a phase of professional activity on the part of social workers?

There is no difficulty here if we are thinking of the individual social worker. As citizen and as individual, he is under the same obligation, and has the same right to engage in social action as that possessed by other citizens. But the question that we must consider is a more significant one: Is social action, in any of its aspects, an activity of social workers in the sense in which social case work is, or group work, or community organization?

Perhaps the first and best answer to that question appears in the fact that in each of these other main branches of social work, social action is recognized as an essential tool, or its practice is taken for granted as one of its own basic methods. Fern Lowry has recently declared that "the ultimate objectives of social case work and social action are essentially the same. Both are interested in promoting the welfare of the individual."<sup>5</sup>

The president of this year's Conference has said that the group worker in contributing to education on social issues makes use of a process which "cannot stop short of experience in social action if it is to be effective."<sup>6</sup> If we read the report presented by Robert P. Lane last year, we discover that the concepts of social action as presented in this paper are very close to the concepts outlined by the community organization group itself. Most of

<sup>5</sup> Fern Lowry, "Relationship between Social Case Work and Social Action." Paper read at a meeting of alumni of the New York School of Social Work, March, 1940.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1935), p. 404.



the "initial agreements," some of the definitions, many of the "objectives," and most of the "activities" mentioned in that report apply with equal force to the field of social action. As a matter of fact, the twelfth "activity" of community organization mentioned is "promotion of legislation, often referred to by the term 'social action.'"

From all this it is a logical inference that social work as a whole is concerned with social action. As a matter of fact, it seems to be true that social work tends logically to become a social reform movement. A well-known social worker has recently said, in a personal communication:

Social work is more than a self-generating activity carried on by employed professionals busily engaged in applying programs to people; it is the expression of an intangible force, evolutionary in character, engendered by the entire social body in its struggle to improve the individual and total lot of its members.

The social worker is a representative of and spokesman for this evolutionary force. Because of the nature of his individualized professional activities, he comes into possession of knowledge at first hand of individual hardships that are the evidences both of maladjustments and of basic faults in our socio-economic structure. Having this knowledge, and animated as he is by a social purpose, he has no choice but to undertake social movements designed to mend, alter, or rebuilt this structure, as the situation may seem to require. This does not mean that the social worker, as such, is or should be engaged in a general, undifferentiated onslaught on social wrongs. Rather, he is first of all a specialist, who through the practice of his art is frequently able to assist in bringing already existing individual or social forces successfully to bear upon a particular situation with satisfactorily curative results. When this specialized art, directed to the treatment of individual problems, is unable to reach its objective because of conditions beyond the control of social worker or client—conditions imbedded in the framework or practice of society itself—then it becomes necessary to resort to action on a wider scale.

There is no area in social work where this point is not sooner or later reached. The family case worker discovers situations

where bad or inadequate housing or unemployment or other economic factors make impossible the creation of a normal life for a family. The child welfare specialist finds absence of proper school facilities or recreation areas a contributor to delinquency. The medical social worker finds inadequate income a barrier to the restoration of health.

The particular social problem that stands in the way of the establishment of a normal life varies according to occupation, locality, race, morals, customs, and economic practice. There is, therefore, no uniformity about the nature of the area of social action with which any particular social worker may be concerned. The problem may involve the absence of a minimum wage law in Indiana, the presence of seasonal industries in New Jersey, soil erosion in Oklahoma, jobless migratory workers in California, etc.

From the foregoing it necessarily follows that every social agency must be concerned with social action. The need for it permeates the whole field of social work.

But if these assumptions are taken at their face value, the question remains: Who may engage in social action? Are we to assume that all social workers are to become practitioners of two specialties? While practicing the one for which they were trained, are they now required to take into their hands the tools of another?

Here arises a question involving what has come to be known as the "area of competence." Actually, more is involved than the question of competence. Time factors alone—case load, getting on with the job—are sufficient in part to dispose of it. No one can practice two specialties at the same time with efficiency. But every social worker must find himself from time to time confronted with the question here presented.

In considering this matter it may be helpful first of all to recognize that the social worker as citizen is called upon through his vote to help decide questions of public policy. He will do this, regardless of competence, just as do all other citizens in a democracy.

Second, he will become at times particularly interested in specific questions of public policy because he has become aware,

through the practice of his profession, of particular needs. The question may concern a bond issue to finance a hospital building program, the enlargement of the personnel of the department of public welfare, an improved civil service law, or the question of an exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation. On all of these questions the social worker brings to bear an essential element—knowledge in varying degrees of the effect of existing policy. If, before he may presume to take part in a campaign involving these issues, he is required to develop maximum competence, it is obvious that he must become an expert on public finance, a public welfare administrator, a civil service expert, and an actuary. But these matters are not left solely to such experts to decide, for which we may be thankful. Ultimately the decision is made either by the voters, en masse, or by legislators who, whatever they may be as individuals, as a body are not expert in anything, and who are subject to political and other influences.

To say that social workers may not take an active part in helping to decide these questions because they do not have utmost expert knowledge is to leave them partially disfranchised. Possessing, as they do, knowledge of the effects of existing policy, they are equipped to exercise judgment in the area involved.

In the third place, the social worker may discharge his responsibility for social action in a given situation by reporting to his agency the facts he has discovered in the performance of his job, and by continuing to call attention to them until the agency itself launches the indicated action. Here the question of competence does not enter. The social worker practicing his specialty is apt to find in economic situations or in social practices, obstacles to the accomplishment of his professional objectives. If, because of these obstacles, the objectives become impossible of attainment, the problem becomes more than one of personal failure: the efforts of the agency itself are made impotent. To meet this situation, the agency must become the medium for social action. It may play that role by organizing within itself a new functional division for that purpose alone.

Finally, we reach the point where independent agencies are set up solely to promote some type of social action. This is the logical

outcome of the recognition in social work that its professional objectives can be attained finally only by a combination of all of the forces and skills at its disposal; and that adjustment as a conscious process involves not the individual alone, but the environment, as related to the needs of normal human beings. Consequently we have child labor committees, consumers' leagues, associations for legislation, housing associations, and societies to promote the coöperative movement. In these we find the specialized expert in social action—the social worker playing the necessary complementary role to that of the case worker, the group worker, and the community organizer.

But it is not the expert alone who is entitled to enter the sacred portals of social action. Let it be said again that both the need for social action and its practice permeate the whole field of social work. It is not desirable that it should be practiced expertly at any point, but practice it we must, and in the practice greater understanding and competence will come. Nor let it be supposed that when we act experimentally in this field we differ from our colleagues in other fields or altogether from ourselves in our more expert roles. The rural social worker, trained in one field, becomes of necessity a one-man council of social agencies for a county. Case work never would have attained its present efficiency if individuals of one and two generations ago had not begun its practice before they knew how. It may even be that case workers today, with all the knowledge they now have, would be hampered somewhat if they waited to know everything about human personality before undertaking the task of "helping people out of trouble." But case workers have gone far in development of theory and in study of practice, and social actionists, if the term be permitted, may well follow their example.

While the foregoing suggests that rank-and-file social workers have direct responsibility for social action, it is a noteworthy fact that this responsibility is frequently more "honored in the breach than in the observance." Three major reasons for this fact may be suggested: absorption in the day-to-day job, indifference, and fear. For the first two phenomena the blame lies partly

in lack of imaginative leadership, both in the field and in the schools of social work. The third requires separate, though necessarily brief, consideration.

Fear as a deterrent to social action arises out of a sense of insecurity of job tenure. To be sure, fear on this score does not extend to all areas of social action. On some issues there is little difference of opinion with regard to the underlying principles. Shall the department of public welfare be so organized as to effect economies in administrative overhead? Shall adequate state institutions be provided for the mentally defective? Shall juvenile delinquents receive different treatment from that accorded adult offenders?

It is different when the proposals touch vested interests. A campaign for an improved housing code, or for genuine penalties for violating the one now in effect; for a minimum wage law, or for a state labor relations act, giving wage earners the same right to join a union that their employers have to join chambers of commerce—here the reaction is different. An employee of a private agency will think twice before taking a public stand in favor of such legislation if members of the board of his agency are known to be opposed, or even if it is thought probable that they would be. For an employee of a public agency, the opposition of a supervisor or a department head or a political leader may have the same deterrent effect.

These fears are not without foundation. Everyone knows that, who has paid any attention to political reprisals in various states against courageous employees of public welfare and other public agencies who have put their professional obligations ahead of their personal fortunes.

In many private agencies there are board members who respect the civic rights of agency employees and would not interfere with them in their discharge of their public obligations, even when differing on matters of policy. In other private agencies this is not the case, and with the development of central financing the danger to all employees of private agencies has been increased. Everyone knows that, who has paid any attention to the action of community chests in some cities in excluding from their lists



agencies that have worked in behalf of various types of protective labor legislation. Elsewhere, employers' associations or chambers of commerce have attempted, sometimes successfully, to coerce such agencies by instituting a financial boycott.

While the danger is real, it does not follow that social workers can do nothing about it. What they can do is a subject that should be discussed seriously and at length. At this time the following may briefly be suggested:

First, social workers should never act without a knowledge of the facts involved. Second, they should test their judgment by a review of the facts and a reconsideration of their significance, standing ready to change their position if such a reconsideration indicates that they were mistaken before. (Facts and good judgment regarding them are powerful weapons. A board member of one agency who protested against a position taken by the staff refused an invitation to meet the staff to discuss it, explaining to a friend, "Those fellows have an uncanny acquaintance with the facts." He preferred to resign.) Third, before unfurling a banner or leading a parade social workers should prove, through excellence of professional performance in the jobs for which they are paid salaries, the possession of skill, powers of judgment, and mental and moral integrity such as will entitle them to be taken seriously as exponents. Fourth, social workers should develop, through professional organizations, an abiding sense of ethical obligation in such matters that will create a feeling of joint responsibility within the profession, and respect for it on the outside. Fifth, they should develop protective organizations of employees in social work.

Finally, what can Section IV of this Conference do to assist social workers in finding themselves in the area of social action?

It should continue to provide a forum for the discussion of social problems. We need constantly, and in every manner possible, to strengthen our understanding of such matters. But these programs should provide also for discussions of method and technique under the leadership of the ablest and most experienced practitioners of social action obtainable. Social workers who attend this Conference should find in our programs practical



guidance. Schools of social work should find suggestion and assistance here in the reforming of their curricula, and teachers should be able to obtain here material for teaching.

Beyond all this, Section IV of this Conference should take up again the work laid down in 1914 by the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor. It is our task to work out techniques and to make appraisals of existing procedures, but that is not enough. We must discover and proclaim what is excellent in social practice, and in the structure of society itself, and what bears heavily on human welfare. And in the light of such discoveries we must from time to time make specific proposals for social advance, as did the pioneers of a quarter century ago.

The social worker at his best [says Dr. Devine] is an indefatigable crusader for specific reform or reforms, one who combines a knowledge of facts with a zeal for action; who agitates ceaselessly for the cause, whether others are interested or not; who cheerfully accepts the hostility of any who profit from the evils to be eradicated, but seeks to make friends of all who can be brought to enlist in the righteous cause; who builds his program on the basis of experience. . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Edward T. Devine, *When Social Work Was Young* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 151.

## SOCIAL ACTION FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

*Dorothy C. Kahn*

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IN UNDERTAKING TO PRESENT THIS TOPIC, I must make certain disclaimers at the outset. There are a number of professional organizations both within and outside the field of social work that might be considered as having a role in social action in general and in social action in social work in particular. There are three professional organizations in the field of social work: the American Association of Social Workers, the American Association of Medical Social Workers, and the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. Other organizations are in the process of developing. To date none of these organizations have formulated an official position in relation to social action, although they engage in social action in varying degrees. Moreover, the professional associations of physicians and lawyers take such action (also without a formulated thesis on the subject), and not infrequently act on subject matter in the field of social work. Notable examples of the latter are the recent radio series prepared by the American Law Institute on Youth and Crime and the action of the American Medical Association on socialized medicine.

This presentation, then, will be merely an individual comment on the subject, not in any way representing the view of any of the organizations mentioned, even when illustrations of their activities are used.

First of all it may be well to examine the special viewpoint from which a professional organization would necessarily approach this or, indeed, any other subject. There are three characteristics which determine this viewpoint:

1. The professional organizations are organizations of indi-

viduals, not of agencies. This point hardly needs noting in those professions where practice is usually on an individual basis. It constitutes very little problem, so far as our subject is concerned, when the professional person practices in a single type of organization, such as schools, or hospitals. These auspices, by their very uniformity, tend less to determine or identify the professional person who practices in them than do the social agencies, which by their very variety tend to deny the common professional character of social workers. The professional organization, then, is the channel through which the practitioner realizes his professional identity as distinguished from the pervasive representative quality which distinguishes him as the agency's agent.

2. A second attribute of a professional organization is that it has a standard of admission to membership—a standard which is related to special qualifications connoting competence.

Here again social work has a peculiar problem. Whereas most other professions have achieved some form of legal certification or licensing, setting a minimum standard above which membership requirements in the professional association may be set, social work has as yet no such certification. The professional associations, therefore, carry in their membership requirements the entire burden of qualifying a group. This has some liabilities in a field where many persons are practicing whose competence has not yet been tested by any common factor. It has some advantages also, because the very absence of certification lends sanction to the one way in which competence is described. One can be a registered nurse, a licensed physician, a member of the bar, without belonging to the professional association in one's field. It is not possible, however, to belong to any of these organizations without the initial sanction of license to practice. Hence the very fact of an association of licensed practitioners carries an assurance of competence, whether the professional organization's standards of membership exceed the requirements for licensure, or not.

3. Finally, the professional organization is characterized by its purpose. Invariably these associations are founded on the prin-

ciple that professional persons thus banded together may more effectively promote their professional aims and ideals.

These three characteristics are important in considering methods of social action, as we shall see. But first let us consider the potential subject matter of social action by a professional organization. I wish we could, at least for the purposes of this paper, consider professional action, because in my opinion social action by a professional organization is professional action. This statement makes an assumption which should be stated and perhaps defended, i.e., that whereas a variety of kinds of organizations may take social action, or an individual may do so in a variety of groups, there is a special kind of social action taken by the professional organization.

Understanding of this special kind of action has suffered in recent years from misuse of the familiar concept "area of competence." This concept, originally an effort to define the particular nature of social action in social work, has sometimes been used as a brake on such action by defining subject after subject as "not within our area of competence." Is this due to growing professional humility? There is a deplorable tendency among us to undervalue what we know. This may be due to promotion of the idea that if social workers pretend to know nothing that the man in the street does not know, they will improve their public relations. There is also the very real discontent of a developing profession with the limitations of what it does know. Moreover, there is a reaction to what I have often described as the typically American aversion for the expert, an aversion which fastens more tenaciously on those who practice a profession where the beneficiaries of the service are not the ones who pay for it.

Against this background, social work has a special obligation to describe and to demonstrate what it does know and to limit its social action only by the genuine limits of its knowledge field. This knowledge field I venture to describe as being the field of human behavior, human relationship, and the interaction between these and our social institutions. What we know about this broad subject matter is different from what the average citizen knows, by virtue of our opportunity to observe under special

conditions and with a disciplined eye. To deny this is to deny the professional base of social work.

Further confusion arises because increasingly social work and, indeed, other professions are succeeding in projecting their special knowledge into the broad field of public policy foundation, where opinion, conviction, and prejudice join hands or struggle with special knowledge to reach a decision. If we believe in that much abused term, "the democratic process," we will not deplore this fact. It is essential that public opinion shall determine public policy. But there is greater need than ever for social work to affirm its special knowledge as a determinant in the formation of public policy and to avoid the error of appearing to base its contentions for a given program on better ideas of "how things should be done," rather than on more expert knowledge of what happens to people when they are done in certain ways. This is not as fine a distinction as we have been led to suppose.

Let me take an example from another profession. The recent agitation for changes in the facilities for medical care grows out of a deepening public conviction, supported by important data from the fields of social work, public health, and medicine itself. The resultant proposals for change in the organization of health and medical care facilities and some experiments along these lines are disturbing to persons who believe that because medicine has been traditionally practiced on a private fee basis, with only such exceptions as have been conceded to private philanthropy, it must always be so. That the problem has been recognized by the organized medical profession is attested by the growth of committees on medical economics. It must be clear to all thoughtful persons that there is impending a serious split in the medical profession, arising directly out of the problem we are discussing here. The organized professional American Medical Association is under Federal indictment for interference with the practice of some of its own members.

This has happened not because a profession has engaged in social action or even acted in its own interest, but because it has allowed its prejudices about how things ought to be done to supersede its professional knowledge of the needs of the people

to whom it ministers. This is a divergence from, if not an actual denial of, the professional principle in action, which draws its strength and support not from numbers or noise, but from facts stripped of comment or self-interest.

An illustration of professional timidity, on the other hand, is found in the moot question of taxes. I get very tired of hearing social workers say, "We don't know anything about taxation." To be sure, the mysteries of public finance are a closed book to many of our profession, but we do know something which the average taxpayer does not know (even though we tend to forget that we too are taxpayers), and that is the unequal burden that certain kinds of taxes place upon people. We do know that relief recipients and other low-income groups in eight Southern states cannot vote because of poll taxes, and that allowances for payment of taxes on property are subject to debate in public welfare agencies. We know that the distribution of household expenditures among low-income groups is such that sales taxes bear unduly heavily on them. We can document these statements. And on some more general questions of public policy, we know more than the average citizen and are rapidly closing the gaps between ourselves and him. I refer to such propositions as those that I outlined last year as the special theses of social workers in the administration of public assistance in a democracy, beginning with the simple fact that "it is not good for people to be poor."

These considerations are, I believe, the determinants of method in social action. A professional organization by its very nature speaks from the special knowledge and disciplined observations of its members. Surely numbers alone do not command a hearing in this or any profession. If all of the persons in social work positions in this country, estimated as between 75,000 and 100,000, were to speak with a loud and unanimous voice, their mere numerical strength would not be impressive. The professional organization, however, necessarily made up of much smaller numbers, is heard because of what it connotes in the public mind.

How does it speak and to whom? Professional action is inevitably addressed to influencing public opinion, influencing policy formation and legislation. So much attention has been directed



to the last of these, that the dependence of legislation on other factors tends to be overlooked. Legislators have acquired a kind of insensitiveness to the pressure of telegrams, petitions, and other devices, excepting as these represent some recognized relation to their constituency or interests. These interests must be developed "back home" if they are to be effective springboards to legislative action, unless an acute situation calls it forth.

Such an acute situation was the recent relief crisis in Cleveland. It is not often that a social situation involving matters of the greatest concern to professional organizations achieves such national notoriety as did this one. The fact that it was a political battle, so far as the early news was concerned, may have contributed to this end. This situation alone might provide a clinical example of professional action, and there is much that could be said about it. Suffice it to say that despite the competition afforded by the utterances of a mayor, a governor, and even the President of the United States, the results of a study by the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers was hailed by the public as the first real light on a confused and difficult subject. The influence of this objective and documental statement on legislation and on the prevention of the recurrence of the crisis remains to be seen, but there is something of far-reaching importance to be learned from this episode. Its strength lies in the conviction-carrying power of professionally competent data. Numerous additional illustrations might be provided reaching back through the Association's annual relief studies and including the early testimony on the need for Federal relief before committees of Congress.

Before pointing out the influence of a profession on actual statutes, it is important to note that the value of this kind of professional action cannot be measured by its immediate success. Inevitably a profession by virtue of its special knowledge and skill is in a position to point out things which are not so readily distinguishable to the general public and which are, perhaps, unpopular to the degree that they are unfamiliar. In addition, when these things run counter to established ideas, wishes, habits, or other factors which condition public opinion, their progress is

necessarily slow and even occasionally in reverse. This should not dismay any thoughtful advocate of social action, but rather should stimulate both reiteration of what he knows and further activity in analyzing the factors which block public acceptance of his knowledge.

This entire section of the Conference might have been given over to a discussion of techniques of influencing legislation, and even then we would not have covered the subject adequately. Much of the science of government fails us here because legislation on critical issues, especially in the field of social work, is so frequently determined by strange combinations of factors. These range all the way from the individual legislator's personal conviction to substantial "deals" which he is sometimes induced to make "in a good cause." One of the interesting questions is how far a professional organization or its individual members might properly go in the *quid pro quo* or compromise method by which much legislation is placed on the statute books. The answer to this question is not entirely in the area of strategy, although it is important for social workers to learn what is worth fighting for. We have too frequently, perhaps, won for ourselves the reputation of being a group that will "fight like blazes" for something about which we care very little. The alternative of sweet reasonableness is not to be achieved through any compromise on vital issues, lest we be caught in the toils of our own strategy and lost in the truly good opinion of our momentary adversary. That much social legislation of value has been achieved by persistent efforts and interpretation against great odds must be apparent in the presence on the statute books of relief legislation, the Social Security Act, the recent personnel amendment to that act, and such occasional heartening episodes as the President's veto of the Jenkins bill. (The Jenkins bill, passed by Congress, was designed to return to the state of Ohio the money which was withheld from it while it was out of conformity with the Social Security Act. In the opinion of thoughtful professional persons, this bill would have seriously undermined the standard-making function of the Federal Government. The Presidential veto was the result of persistent pointing to this aspect of the bill.)

Whether the social legislation which we now have and some which we have not yet achieved will withstand the assaults of economy drives and preoccupation with national defense will depend substantially on the relative power and persuasiveness of the professional theses on these subjects.

It would not be fair to leave this subject without enumerating some of the problems in the field of method. The first of these referred to earlier is a problem of agency connection. It has perhaps not been made sufficiently clear that while social agencies may do much to promote desirable social action, and various aspects of community influence, financial support, scope, and function may easily project an agency into a position which may appear to be contrary to that of the individual professional staff member. When there is no actual opposition, there may be a genuine resistance on the part of the agency to vigorous activity on the part of the staff member. And where there is no such resistance, there may be an absence in the agency as such of the motivating force which propels the activity of the professional person. Granted that this force should find its first object in the agency, the agency cannot be its only object, nor can it be the channel through which the professional person operates, excepting in so far as the agency's own function determines this action. The identification of social workers with agencies has been cut through successfully both by professional organizations and unions (the unions with greater ease because their councils are held in the absence of agency executives).

A second problem of method is the social worker's relation to his client. The question has properly been raised: Can social workers undertake to influence the actions of their clients without departing from their professional role? It must be clear to any thoughtful person regardless of his field of operation that social work represents to its clientele an appearance of power to give or withhold benefits, a power which constitutes one of the gravest of professional responsibilities, even when its possession is more illusory than real. To introduce a client to an opportunity, such as is involved in an organization of tenants, membership in the labor union, etc., is one thing. To allow this introduction to take

on even the appearance of persuasion or bias does, in my opinion, rub out the distinction between professional and political action.

A third problem of method of increasing significance to the field is the relation of the professional organization to public officials. Whether the public officials are members of the profession or not, it is imperative that the professional organization distinguish itself and its aims and articulate these to the public officials in increasingly self-conscious and effective ways. To assume that a public official who happens to be a social worker is therefore in no need of assistance from the professional group as such is to leave a colleague exposed, isolated, and vulnerable to all the pressures which professional action is designed to resist. If the official is not a member of the profession, the same situation obtains. Whether he seeks, ignores, or deplures professional action, he is entitled to consideration, help, and criticism from the organized group most vitally concerned with the end results of his operations. This is one of the most challenging areas of professional action today, more challenging, perhaps, because more complicated when our own colleagues occupy public office.

Finally, we are in the very early stages of development of techniques of collaboration among various groups to the ends of social action. There have been some strange notions to the effect that social workers should band together in one single kind of organization to present a united front to the public, whereas all our experience demonstrates the need for a varied approach to problems. It is essential for all of us to affiliate with different kinds of groups for different kinds of purposes and sometimes for the same purposes. To assume that there is any unitary approach to the complex problems of social work and social action is to oversimplify problems to the point of inaction. Professional organizations have taken some leadership against this omnibus idea and in favor of coöperative activity in which each organization or group makes its peculiar contribution to a common end. This, like any other democratic undertaking, derives its validity from the independent, free activity of each part. No useful purpose is served by either individuals or groups who jump on each other's bandwagon. Certainly no professional organization can afford to entrust or sub-

ordinate its aims and objectives to those of any other group, nor can it effectively act in a coöperative enterprise if it does so.

In all of this discussion of problems of method, nothing whatever has been said about the two most obvious and best developed methods of social action: one, the interpretive statistics; and two, the case example. These two, especially the case example, have perhaps been developed by social work far beyond the point where they have been used by any other profession. The technique of using these with the restraint which spells effectiveness is the peculiar contribution of this profession to methods of social action. These and other methods deserve further exploration. They are the channels through which social work must find it necessary to discharge the intolerable burden of its knowledge of human facts.

## HOW LAY CITIZENS CAN INFLUENCE THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF HEALTH

*Carmen McFarland*

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**H**UMAN NEED AND PUBLIC OPINION are creating for us a Bill of Rights in Health. Such a citizens' Bill of Rights in Health is the basis out of which arise our desires and obligations to influence the administration of local health services. It would, I believe, read as follows:

1. *The right to the opportunity to be well born.*—This means knowledge for child spacing, prenatal care, maternal, and child health programs. It means a national nutrition and agricultural program aimed at the food needs of our people.

2. *The right to safe and sanitary homes, work, and community environment.*—This includes protection from occupational diseases and hazards, safety at home and at work, adequate housing, pure food, drug, and cosmetic standards, and protection from communicable diseases.

3. *The right to good medical care regardless of geography, race, or economic status.*—This includes adequate hospitalization programs for convalescents, chronically ill, and tuberculosis and cancer victims. It includes medical care plans for rural and racial groups as well as others in our population who do not now get it easily. This right has been demonstrated by the insistence of wage-earning groups, rural and urban, to purchase medical care collectively on an insurance plan basis.

How do we go about influencing local health services to reach the goals stated in such a Bill of Rights? I believe there are four main ways of influence.

The first way is by knowing and using existing services. A friend of mine tells the story of her early social work days in the mining camps of Tennessee where typhoid and malaria were considered



normal burdens of the population. One day she asked a friend, who was also the county judge, why there seemed to be no disease control program in the county. The judge became interested and took her to visit the county medical officer. This old doctor told them that sometime in the twenty years he had served as health officer, the county had voted authority for such necessary immunization and hospitalization program, but no one had ever applied for such care before. The worker accepted this challenge and appeared a few days later and repeatedly thereafter with clients needing attention. After more visits by the social worker, the health officer remembered that he was entitled to appoint a truant officer, but since the death of the old officer who had not had anything much to do, he had not appointed another. The next step was a new truant officer, with an advisory committee of citizens. The truant officer discovered sick children. Sick children meant immunization programs, hospital care, and medical attention. This county health program, jogged into action by the social worker and the truant officer's lay committee, has continued and grown in service and value. So, as citizens, our first job is one of educating ourselves and our neighbors in the use of available services.

Almost every health department takes its good work too much for granted and expects the public to know what it is doing, without bothering to tell what it is all about. A few weeks ago I telephoned our city health department and asked what health services offered by the city were not being used to capacity. The conversation continued something like this:

"Why 'most all our services could be used by more people."

"What services? I would like to know what you have to offer."

"Our prenatal clinics and venereal clinics where people can have free examinations."

"Haven't you a folder or something telling people what you have and how to use them?"

"Oh no, that would cost too much money."

"Where can I learn what the city health department has to offer and what the health ordinances are?"

"Well, if you go to some law library you can get an up-to-date copy of the Municipal Code and look them up."

"How much does the book cost?"

"Fifteen dollars."

I gave up. Social workers know of these services and help their clients to use them, but a community's health program is not intended to be just a remedial program for the poor, sick, and unfortunate. It should just as strongly emphasize prevention and positive health. Health services such as immunization, tuberculin testing, venereal disease clinics, infant welfare stations—all are for the purpose of preventing illness and disaster as well as for treatment. Therefore it seems to me that we must insist upon a publicity program by our local health departments.

I would like to emphasize one principle for lay groups to use in order to be successful when trying to educate for the use of local services: the necessity of learning to use and improve those services which the members of a group themselves need. We all know too many clubs who fill up a year's health program with important nationwide health problems, all terribly important, to be sure, but almost useless because the subjects do not seem to touch directly the interests and needs of the individuals of the group. I want to tell you the story of how the Y.W.C.A. in Chicago discovered realism for its members in the city's tuberculosis program.

Theoretically, the majority of working girls in Chicago realize that tuberculosis among women of the age group eighteen to thirty-five is a great and serious community problem. They use Christmas seals, and sometimes even contribute an extra dollar. In general, however, the excellent educational work done by the Tuberculosis Society left them as unaffected as cigarette billboard ads leave me, until, a few years ago, the girls in our bowling league learned that one of their number had been referred by our examining physician for chest X-rays which resulted in a six-month absence from work. Closely following this came the incident of a young and popular club leader who was absent one day—and then gone for a year. Happily enough, excellent educational propaganda, relative to the seriousness of the tuberculosis problem among women of this age group, was widely circulated at this time. The meaning of tuberculosis and the need for protection had been, rather tragically, driven home.

The bowling group girls, after welcoming the return of their member, not into bowling, but into a less strenuous club program, came to our health council to inquire into the possibility of a protective tuberculosis examination program for everyone. This resulted in a tuberculin-testing project; discussions; and a follow-up with X-rays and personal counseling with the physician of the Y.W.C.A. and of the private tuberculosis agency. Three active cases were discovered. Where could these girls go for care? Did our city have hospital beds? Staying in bed for six months or more in an apartment is not possible when one has no job.

In one of our branches, public opinion among our younger members is at the point of flushed excitement about the need for more tax-supported hospitals to care for illnesses and convalescences of long duration. What sort of social action this will lead to by one group, will be better known a year from now. No doubt there will also be a new constituency responding to the Christmas seal campaign next year. We support services we understand and use.

A second way in which we can influence local health services is through enforcing local ordinances and state laws. Last fall, nearly an entire state health conference in the Midwest turned its thinking to the need for education in the field of public health. One of the many conclusions reached was that laws and rules, without public understanding or interest, are of little or no value. The lay citizen through group and individual action is a mighty arm in law enforcement. Generally, I would suggest three methods:

1. *Reporting violations.*—We don't ordinarily realize how much we can influence the administration of our local health department by the simple system of reporting violations of our ordinances. A local public health official told me recently that a city health service under his jurisdiction functioned 95 percent, 50 percent, or not at all, depending upon the interest and demands of the public. One of our most striking examples in Chicago is in the smoke-abatement division. Here is a city department whose functioning continually affects our corporate and individual health. It was established in 1907, for health reasons, as a result of a great civic interest in cleaning up Chicago's smoke problem.

We have a smoke ordinance, and a department which could eliminate most of Chicago's smoke and its noxious gases. Coal can be burned without smoke, if it is burned correctly. Aids to janitors who wish to learn smokeless firing are available. The ordinance requires that new or reconstructed furnaces be designed to operate smokelessly. The department checks new installations for smoke and makes yearly inspections of all factory equipment to unearth defective boiler and furnace parts; yet with all these services available, unless we collectively and as individuals show our interest in a smokeless city by reporting dense smoke, it is easy to see how difficult it is for any department to control the situation.

A few years ago the workers in a burlap bag factory in Chicago were on strike because of a wage cut. One evening, in presenting their case to a citizens' committee meeting at the Y.W.C.A., one of the women strikers told of the dust that was continually in the air, and the effect this was having on the health of the workers. Members of the committee, upon hearing this, said: "This must be a violation of the law. Such conditions are certainly an occupational hazard. Let's see what we can do about it."

The office of the state department of labor was called; an inspector was dispatched to the factory, and within a reasonable time the factory owners installed the ventilating system required for dusty trades. I am glad to say that the outcome of the strike was restoration of the wage cut with the by-product of better health conditions at work. As you see, this example of collective action by a citizens' committee brought quick results.

One example of the results of individual reporting comes from my suburban community of Lombard. There is, as yet, no garbage disposal system in our town. The less self-conscious citizens load up their tin cans in their chain store shopping bags and while driving on the highway toss the bags and garbage into the ditches. Not long ago one such citizen had barely reached home when his telephone rang. "Police Department calling! A half hour ago you dumped some garbage out on Route 53. Please return at once and pick it up." The chagrined citizen knew not how he had been detected. No one had seen him. But, ah, his grocery, as is the

custom of chain stores on busy Saturdays, had written his name on the shopping bag, and this selfsame bag was the evidence through which he was traced. A resident near the highway saw his name on the bag and called the police. Of course, our town needs a garbage disposal system, but in the meantime the police act if we report, and we know that municipal garbage collection will come much sooner if they are harassed by frequent calls from indignant citizens.

2. *Interpreting and popularizing laws.*—Two years or so ago, Illinois passed the Saltiel Marriage Hygiene Law. Immediately following the passage of this law, the engaged girls in business and industrial clubs in the Y.W.C.A. asked, "What is this law—how will it affect me? What is this test? How much should a doctor charge? Can we ask for more than a mere blood test for this charge? What should we expect to learn from a doctor before marriage?" As a result of these questions, an educational project of lecture-discussions, with scheduled periods for personal interviews with the examining physician of the Y.W.C.A., was developed. In these lectures all available community facilities were indicated. The series was so helpful to our members, and created such favorable opinion toward the new law, that it was used over and over again throughout the Association groups, with modifications to meet the needs and interests of the various clubs.

3. *Raising the sanitary standards of the public through educational processes.*—There are many city health ordinances that are simply impossible of enforcement until such time as the public so frowns on violators that the group will be small enough for the police force to deal with it. Some of Chicago's ordinances which might be in this class concern: anti-spitting; cutting of pollen-bearing weeds; sterilization of dishes in restaurants; display of foods; metal garbage cans with covers, etc. Some of these ordinances are so far ahead of the sanitary habits and standards of the general public that little enforcement can be done. It is in this area that some public officials feel that the best kind of law enforcement is that of education by lay groups for better health habits. Certainly this function is the job of all clubs and organizations of lay people.



In addition to emphasizing use of available services and helping to enforce ordinances and laws, the third way in which we can influence the administration of local health services is through translating unmet needs into the local health program. Citizens have, in my opinion, two definite approaches to the problem of securing services to take care of known needs in our community.

1. *Organizing new programs on a volunteer, group or private agency basis.*—Dr. Allen Butler, in a recent issue of the *Journal of Public Health*, well stated one of the primary jobs of citizens today in medical care when he said:

The crying need today is for an increase in the number of voluntary-prepayment or insurance medical service groups, properly organized in the interests of economy and efficiency. These will provide the experience, standards of cost and quality essential to building of state plans of medical care.

In our efforts, as citizens working toward legislation of this type, we should not underestimate the importance or the function of voluntary service groups. These groups create the public opinion so necessary to the inclusion of any service within governmental administration. The three-year program for providing foster home care for needy convalescent children, sponsored by the Junior League of Chicago in coöperation with the Children's Memorial Hospital and the Chicago Orphan Asylum, is such a demonstration. The need for convalescent care outside the home for the marginal and relief-level families in order to prevent repeated returns to the hospital was long an acute problem in the Children's Memorial Hospital. The director of hospital social service was able to make a few such placements in private families through children's agencies. Soon the hospital board recognized the need for such a program on an organized basis. The coöperation of the health division of the Council of Social Agencies led to the present project sponsored and financed for a three-year period by the Junior League. This project has functioned for a year and a half, has found fourteen foster homes for convalescent care, and last year helped forty-three children through convalescent periods. Home finding has been done by the Chicago Orphan



Asylum, with the salary of the investigator and the maintenance costs for the children paid by the Junior League.

2. *Sponsoring direct changes in public services.*—The movement toward the decentralization of Chicago's public health services into community areas by means of the district health center plan is such an example. We have known for years that death rates are about four times as high in some sections of our city as in others; that tuberculosis, for example, is fifteen times as prevalent in our Negro section as in some of the outlying residential neighborhoods. We believe that an eventual decentralization of the city health department's work is necessary to cope satisfactorily with the varied health problems in the different neighborhoods of Chicago.

For some time a large committee, working through the Council of Social Agencies, has proposed a health center in our Negro area to be used as a demonstration unit. This center would be directed by a Board of Health physician who would administer regular Board of Health activities in the district. He would be responsible for adapting the program to the health needs of his area. The center would also provide space for health and welfare agencies doing community health programs.

Over sixty organizations, including the medical and dental groups in Chicago, have already advised the Board of Health and the Council of Social Agencies of their approval of the plan. A private organization has indicated its willingness to make a substantial financial contribution to initiate such a center. This much progress took about four years. The plan has now been presented to the city council and a special committee has been appointed to study it. Sixty leading citizens in the community have also been selected to act as a sponsoring committee. I understand that the City Council has recently appropriated \$1,000 toward the project. The first center in the city will cost between \$10,000 and \$30,000 a year, so you can see what a job we have ahead of us to secure an appropriation this size.

The fourth, last, and perhaps most important way in which we can influence the administration of local health services is by demanding qualified medical personnel plus an adequate budget

in our health departments. Unqualified leadership is generally considered the more serious handicap of the two, but it is most easily remedied if citizens desire it.

An illustration might be cited of how lay organizations brought pressure for the appointment of a qualified officer. In one case the county health officer had died. His appointment had been a purely political one, and the health work of the county demonstrated that fact. Upon his death the Parent-Teacher Association presented a rather complete statement of the needs in personnel and program to the county Board of Health and to the mayor of the large city in the county. In addition, the Y.W.C.A. health education committee with other groups in town sent an endorsement of the stand taken by the Parent-Teacher Association. A good medical appointment resulted.

In closing I would like to summarize what I have said. Lay citizens may influence the administration of local health services in four ways:

1. By knowing about and using existing services
2. By seeing that local ordinances and laws are enforced
3. By promoting the organization of new services to meet known needs
4. By securing qualified personnel and adequate appropriations for health work.

## THE EFFECT OF JOINT ADMINISTRATION ON CASE WORK PRACTICES

*Margaret E. Rich*

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THE CATEGORICAL APPROACH to social problems is as old as history itself. Exhortations to care for the widowed and the fatherless, for the sick and the traveler were common parlance centuries before a social agency was even thought of. The pattern has persisted, and the resulting haphazard conglomeration of agencies and institutions, each concerned with a group whose single common factor is a social infirmity, has now become a matter for concern. Exhortations today are for an integrated program for the socially infirm and the elimination of the overlappings and gaps that categorical planning has created. Combination or coördination of existing agencies and conscious planning of new efforts in relation to need are urged upon communities concerned with more economical and efficient social service. In some instances the expansion of a given agency so as to extend its services to a larger group has proved a satisfactory substitute for a new organization. In others, two or more agencies offering similar or identical services to different groups have been brought together in a single administrative unit.

We are concerned today with such administrative combinations of agencies hitherto separate entities, the one giving service to families, and the other service to children. Our effort has been to discover what the actual experience of a combined agency can contribute to the knowledge of how such a combination works in practice. Have clients benefited? Has the community benefited? What are the gains and losses in terms of staff and board? Are there any factors in organization or procedure that seem to have influenced the experiment favorably or otherwise? Twelve agencies in which a family and a children's agency, hitherto separate

entities, had been united in one administrative unit were asked to answer these and other questions on the basis of their own experiences. We are not concerned here with either family or children's agencies offering multiple services unless they represent a union of formerly separate organizations. Where more than two agencies have combined, we have included only those services previously carried by the family and children's agencies. In each instance two or more staff members collaborated in preparing the reports, and it is due to the time and effort they so generously gave that we are able to present this material to you.

The twelve agencies are scattered geographically, located in eight different states. Two of the agencies serve a special cultural group in communities of 800,000 and 1,500,000 respectively; another, community-wide in responsibility, is in a city of 825,000. The other nine communities range in population from 33,000 to 300,000. Only two of the group of twelve are districted agencies. One has been functioning for twenty-five years; one, for less than a year. The majority have been in existence for from one to five years.

Except for the one common denominator of a single executive, the twelve agencies present many differences in organization, suggesting, certainly, that a merger does not necessarily demand a fixed administrative pattern. Some are less mergers than loose unions or federations in which each member maintains a considerable degree of independence. Four have two separate departments, one offering service to families, the other to children. One has two departments under a single supervisor. Seven are not formally departmentalized and have one supervisor for all services. In all the agencies most of the workers carry some cases in both fields, but in most instances the major part of the individual load is in one or the other of the two fields. This is exclusive of foster home finding which is vested in one worker or one department. In one agency the service to unmarried mothers is carried by one worker. In general, the tendency seems to be for each department (where departments exist) or individual worker to concentrate on the service given prior to the merger.

In the smaller of the combined agencies more of the case work-

ers carry completely undifferentiated case loads than do those in the larger agencies. This, however, is a changing and not a static situation, and there is considerable evidence of increase in a sharing rather than a separation of responsibility, as well as a shifting of emphasis. For instance, one agency writes, "Gradually the children's cases listed under protective service have been directed to the family workers." In one county-wide agency, with two departments and two supervisors, a worker assigned to a county area "began by doing work under the Family Bureau only, but is now doing both types of work because it is easier for those small communities to accept one person whom they can learn to know well and who can give any service requested."

There is considerable diversity in the so-called specialties of the separate agencies now maintained as the activities of the separate departments, or as the specialties of individual workers. Placement of children in foster homes is generally accepted as the function of the children's agency, and economic relief to families in their own homes as that of the family agency, but, except for these two, specialties vary from agency to agency. In one community, previous to the merger, service to unmarried mothers, except placement of the child, was carried by the family agency. In most of the others such service was given by the children's agency. "Specialties," we quote from another agency report, "such as service to unmarried mothers, visiting housekeepers, were carried by the children's agency; service to adolescents and occupationally incapacitated adults by the family agency." From another we learn, "Problems of budgeting, temporary relief, emotional difficulties in personality development, housing, and use of housekeepers, are largely handled by the family workers; placement of children in foster homes, day care for children, service to the unmarried mother and her baby, are handled by the children's workers." "Family case work," says another, "includes the whole range of case work except foster home care. The case load of the children's workers is primarily foster home care, families re-established after placement, or children's problems in which placement is a possibility."

"The concentration of intake in one worker, which, of course,

is possible in separate agencies," says one report, "represents one of the big gains made since the combination. We can study our intake to better advantage and clients and referring agencies no longer have to shop around for service." But here again there is no uniform pattern. One agency continues to have separate intake departments, but "all applications for placement made by parents or relatives of the child are assigned to a family case worker for study. Situations where the child is already out of the home are dealt with directly by the child placing department, as are those where referring agencies have determined the need for placement." In one departmentalized agency the two supervisors handle intake on alternate weeks, each taking applications for both services. Five agencies (two of them departmentalized) each have a single intake secretary; five (including two that are departmentalized) have a rotating service in which all staff workers participate.

Under the rotating plan the worker who has taken the application is likely to continue with the client unless there is some special reason against it. If the client's major problem is known in advance, an appointment may be arranged for the application to be taken by a worker specially qualified to give the needed service. Except in one of the districted agencies cases are assigned by the intake secretary, supervisor, or executive, either to the department offering the particular service, or, in the nondepartmentalized agency (and occasionally where there are two departments), to the individual worker on the basis of case load and special ability. Consultation with the executive, a supervisor, or both frequently precedes case assignment. One agency takes all applications except emergencies to an intake committee that includes board members and representatives of other agencies. Another is keeping carbon copies of all application interviews for discussion in weekly conferences with the executive and the two supervisors. Apparently the worker taking applications has been freed to consider the client's total need, and this release has had favorable results in allowing the client to consider various solutions rather than to accept the service implied in his original request. He does not feel, for instance, that because of his coming to a children's agency he is expected to place his children, or that



because of his coming to a family agency he must keep his family together.

Only a minority of the group of twelve agencies has professional staffs on which none of the members had had previous connection with either agency. In a few others the majority of the staff members, with the exception usually of the executive or supervisor, had had no previous connection with either agency. In still others the executive or the supervisor or both represent new acquisitions. Administrative friction and the slowing up of integration of purpose and program seem to occur most frequently where a worker has to take, in the combined agency, a position of less responsibility than that previously held. Wide differences in the professional qualifications of the combined staff also tend to interfere with effective functioning. Emphasis, therefore, where workers with experience in both family and children's agencies have not been available—and very few have been available—has been on selecting workers with sound case work background in one field or the other, or in allied case work fields. The result is staffs that represent a variety of case work experiences. Frequently the point of view of both family and children's agencies is assured by selecting the executive from one field, the supervisor from the other. In this way the family worker carrying children's cases and the children's worker carrying family cases can each confer with a specialist. In the departmentalized agencies that have two separate supervisors, each has had training in the type of work that the department is responsible for.

The reports indicate that the integration of staff philosophy and skills is one of the major concerns of the combined agency. Further, it is a long-time process and must be carefully planned, not left to chance. Some of the arrangements inherent in a combined agency—such as the use of the same offices and one supervisor for all case work—naturally facilitate an easy give-and-take among staff members. To achieve the maximum of unity without the loss of valuable diversities calls also for a variety of opportunities planned in relation to staff needs and agency program. Some experiments are being made in transferring workers from one supervisor to another on individual cases rather than transferring cases

from worker to worker. Consultants on child care or on some other special service offer opportunities for development of similar or identical skills by all the workers. The most common methods for supplementing and deepening professional skills include frequent staff conferences and case discussions, projects for studying different aspects of the agency program, lectures, and seminars.

Even with careful planning, there may, however, be unconscious resistance on the part of the worker to accepting and integrating the new experience in his actual practice. Because one does best what he knows best, there is a tendency to cling to the security of known areas of service and the use of already acquired skills. To quote the experience of one agency: "It seems quite natural that people who have been accustomed to working things through in a particular way and using particular resources should tend to continue in the same fashion after a merger. In the rivalries that exist between workers there does appear a desire to prove themselves and to defend the methods with which they are most proficient and at ease." This tendency to follow the known paths of practice seems more apparent than any competitiveness arising from previous allegiance to a separate agency.

On the whole, however, the reports indicate enthusiasm on the part of staffs for the way in which their work with both children and families has been enriched and made more effective through contact with co-workers having different backgrounds of experience. Stimulation has come also from the fact that the merged staff is often considerably larger in numbers than those of the separate agencies. "The former children's workers," to quote one statement of many of the same general tone,

express growing satisfaction with their expanding horizons. They feel a deepening security in their understanding of family problems and relationships, and of the general relief situation from which they, like many other children's workers, had been more or less protected. They see benefit in gaining experience with family situations where placement is not a problem, where strained relationships may be eased without the introduction of abnormal living for children.

The children's workers believe that working in the family field simultaneously with emphasis on budgeting has helped them see more

clearly the implication of income in placement cases, and in evaluating foster homes.

Family workers show increasing ability to individualize the child and to utilize special resources for him. The family worker has an increasingly realistic picture of what placement actually means and no longer anticipates miracles from it, nor is it regarded as a last resort indicative of the worker's failure to keep a home intact.

On the whole, the development of an undifferentiated point of view seems to have gone along with opportunity to practice in both fields. Workers show greater inclination to accept a case on the basis of the needs involved and to work out a solution based upon the capacities of the client and the resources available—partly because they now understand the nature of these resources and their possible uses.

Only one report dissents from the general point of view that case work practice in the combined agency has benefited by the merger: "I cannot see where service to clients has been facilitated. My own feeling is that there is a different approach in work with families and with children, and workers should be trained in the children's field before attempting services to children." This dissenting voice, on the other hand, expresses the opinion that "if specialized service for either family or children is necessary, this service would be more available under a combination of agencies."

A point most frequently emphasized in the reports is that the client has the benefit of a continuous relation with the worker rather than interruptions at such points as when a child is to be removed from his home or to be returned to his family following placement.

The major gain in procedure has been the greater simplicity in working with complex family situations calling for service to more than one member of the family. Previously it was necessary to be willing to transfer part of the responsibility to another agency, to confer, summarize, clarify for the client, and so on. In the merged agency we have in many cases found it possible for one worker to assume dual responsibility; in others it has been easy to assign two workers within the agency when needed.

Greater ease in transfer and refer of cases has resulted in the client's getting needed service promptly and efficiently. The fact that the

worker who has already established a relationship can, when desirable, give the new service indicated, has expedited service and has avoided confusion for the client. When transfer is necessary, there is a growing tendency to make it on the basis of the service offered by the individual worker and her special ability to help the client rather than on a departmental basis.

There have been few comments from clients themselves. On the whole, they seem unaware of the merger. One client remarked that she had read of the merger in the newspaper and had applied because she understood it was a service agency rather than one that gave relief. The new names seem on the whole to have little effect upon applicants, although several clients expressed a fear, where the words "child welfare" were used, that their children might be taken away. Some have expressed satisfaction with having the one office. One client remarked, "Now I won't be kicked around like a football." The establishment of the generalized instead of the specific function has by all accounts made it less likely that the client will suffer because of gaps in services.

The relations between the two agencies prior to the merger, the steps taken to effect the merger, and the tempo of these steps seem to have considerable bearing on the ease with which joint functioning becomes effective in actual practice. One board member of a merged agency has expressed his deep conviction that merger by fiat—by powers outside the agency—has about the same chances of success as has a shotgun marriage. Ideally, the impulse to union should come from within the agencies themselves. Mutual acquaintance, mutual understanding and respect as between staffs and boards of the two agencies are vital factors in the success of the new agency, and these should be present before the combination. "Our combining," writes one agency, "has been a slow experimental process." "The evolutionary process (started long before the combination)," says another, "brought about changes in philosophy and approach which in turn helped to bring about the merger." One step in the process was "a joint study of intake of the separate agencies that showed clearly the similarity of referrals to the two agencies." In one instance the two agencies had for many years had offices in the

same building, and the staffs were accustomed to frequent conference.

Even with considerable preliminary joint thinking and planning, there is indication that the combination frequently results in loss of lay participation. In two instances the stronger and more active board has lost interest apparently because the responsibility formerly theirs alone is now shared by others, and they have not been able to find a function of equal importance in the joint effort. Unfamiliarity with the other field may be one reason for this. The new agency is certainly more complicated and therefore more difficult to understand. In several situations the board of the weaker agency has been resentful of what seemed a submerging of their interests. Rarely has it been practicable to have the board of the new agency made up of all members of the boards of the two agencies; size alone would tend to make it unwieldy. A new board, with one third drawn from each agency and the rest new members, has been tried in some agencies. Or separate committees for the two services may give the two boards responsibilities identical with those previously carried. An executive committee drawn from the membership of the two committees may then become the board of the combined agency. Inequality in strength of the two groups may, however, prove a serious threat to the development of an undifferentiated program equally strong in its services to both children and families. The use of case committees representing the board committees on agency policies and procedures are aids in creating lay understanding of and participation in the new program.

So far as the reports cover this point, other social agencies and the community in general have accepted the merger as a move in the right direction. In one community workers in other agencies have expressed relief at not having to decide whether it is a family or a children's case before referral, but allowing one agency to determine the kind of service needed. Savings in cost seem negligible or nonexistent. On the other hand, greatly improved services are thought to have resulted with little or no increase in total costs because savings have been used to secure better qualified staffs including needed specialists. The question as to whether or



not the combined budget is easier to interpret to the community was mentioned by just one agency, where, in spite of its administrative unity, a separate budget for each department is presented to the Community Fund. One agency feels that its work with children is more easily understood by the public and may lead to overselling this particular service at the expense of work with families. Several of the reports mentioned difficulties in developing satisfactory statistical procedures for the combined agency. Two agencies referred to the existence of two national agencies—one for children's and one for family work—as a handicap in establishing undifferentiated services locally. Some agencies questioned whether the advantages of combined services are not most positive in a smaller community where separate agencies are unable to get adequate support for the development of specialties. The agencies in the larger communities did not raise this question.

I have given you as accurately as I could a picture of combined agency service in twelve agencies, as seen through the eyes of people who have been participants in the experience of combining. We did not ask for an evaluation nor have I ventured an interpretation of these experiences. It is clear that the fusing of interests and programs is still in process and, if we may judge by the twenty-five-year-old agency, will continue for some time to come. As we study the individual reports we see that the degree of fusion that has already taken place varies from agency to agency. These variations are due to a number of factors: the conditions in a given community; the relationships of the agencies prior to the merger; the steps by which the merger was effected; the participation of the board; and the adaptability and professional quality of the staff. The likenesses are in the area of philosophy and objectives and in a wholehearted acceptance of the experience of merging as challenging and stimulating. Whatever the difficulties, none expressed any desire to return to the former separate units.

The process of combining agencies is not merely a matter of adding one and one, or of discarding this and salvaging that in terms of philosophy and skills. It calls for a fusion that will bring forth new values without loss of the old. Alexander Smith in



*Dreamthorp* has said, "The world is not so much in need of new thoughts as that when thought grows old and worn with usage it should, like current coin, be called in, and, from the mint of genius, reissued fresh and new." The final test of the combined service agency will be the quality and value of the coins it is reminting.

## METHODS OF INTERPRETATION AS SEEN BY A CASE WORKER

*Robert S. Wilson*

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FROM THE CASE WORKER'S POINT OF VIEW public understanding of the objectives, services, and methods of social case work lags markedly behind its current stage of development. Consequently, we still have communities whose campaigns for private agency services still feature the crippled and handicapped. Other community chests may specialize in elaborate arguments to prove that private agencies do different things from the public social services. The size of case loads in many public agencies is ample indication that the individualized approach is also poorly accepted in the public field.

Studies of positions in interpretation and public relations indicate that there are few workers specializing in interpretation who are employed as regular staff members within agencies offering case work services. A somewhat larger number are employed for other purposes, not specializing in interpretation, but giving a variable amount of their time to "publicity."<sup>1</sup> It would seem that future gains, therefore, in interpretation of social case work will depend on more effective interrelationships between case workers and publicity experts outside their own organization, as for example, in publicity departments in the community fund or the United Charities.

It is our purpose to discuss some of the factors which now affect this mutual use by case worker and by publicity expert of the information and techniques of one another. In the first place, there is not complete agreement as to objectives. The objectives of publicity departments and case workers in interpretation are

<sup>1</sup> See "The Census of Provisions in Interpretation and Public Relations," *Channels* (June, 1939), pp. 147-60.

affected by the character of their own particular agency tasks. With the publicity expert the creation of good will and of an informed constituency has to be translated into a dollar-and-cents proof of results. Good will alone does not finance monthly payrolls or annual budgets. Interpretation is likely to wait upon interpretive efforts which produce more cash returns.

From the point of view of the case worker such purposes are likely to be subordinated to purposes directly linked with the services of the agency. First, the case worker may wish to achieve a kindlier understanding of the clients of the agency with their sensitivity to categorical labels and their swift response to public proclamation through publicity of their strengths or weaknesses as a group or as individuals. Second, the case work practitioner may wish to encourage more effective use of the agency either by improving the selection by sources of referral of the problems brought to the agency or, on the other hand, by discouraging referrals of problems which are so alien to the present service of family agencies that lengthy interviewing seems futile. Third, the case worker may wish to reveal community lacks. Bad housing, problem areas, seasonal work are illustrative. Or such interpretation may be in the nature of a report on the failures of agency service because of the lack of needed community resources, such as the tuberculosis hospital or child guidance clinic, or because public assistance is inadequate. Fourth, the case worker may attempt to gain acceptance of the professional method which she uses. Since "helping" is so much a part of the texture of everyday living, she may feel the need to describe the difference between the lay or neighborly method of helping and that of the professional practitioner in social case work.

Less frequently we find two additional purposes on the part of the case worker: Fifth, she may wish to secure an informed constituency who would lend a supporting public opinion in services and programs of the society. Sixth, she may attempt to broaden the base of financial support to all case work services and to all community resources which interplay for social betterment. It is my own impression that the financial base of support of private case work is often ignored by those of us employed in the

private field. We are likely to work much more consciously for legislative grants to our important and necessary neighbors in public assistance than we are for our own ultimate source of funds. It is also a personal impression that our effectiveness in interpretation as case workers becomes greater as our emphasis becomes that of social action empowered with conviction and tested information.

Another factor which sometimes limits coöperation comes in the differences in the personality patterns of case workers and interpretation specialists. Job selection, training, and assigned duties emphasize different personality traits. Broadly speaking, most case workers tend to be poor salesmen and inadequate promoters. The case work sensitivity which will release the strengths of another in a case work relationship and make him effective in working out his own technique to resolve his worries and overcome external crises is foreign to the salesman's impulse.

The knowledge that the thoughtful case worker possesses of the client's own part in his reconstruction of events and his reorganization of his own powers may limit interpretation. Such a worker is uncertain how much credit the agency should take for results which are equally attributable to the person or to the environment or to the natural allies to treatment which he or she has been able to uncover. Her skill in relating strengths in the client and in his environment deals with intangibles of relationships. Effective publicity seems to require definite claims of success, tangible descriptions of services given. What seems to the public to be the primary service given often seems to the case worker to be the superficial tools which implement but do not describe this new professional relationship.

Our professional training and the nature of the case work discipline add certain obstacles to our satisfaction in the use of interpretive opportunities. Professional training, in or out of school, places emphasis on the process of case work and on its conceptualization. Such concepts as are omnipresent in our professional vocabulary are necessary shorthand descriptions to pry open hidden aspects of motivation and relationship. They are necessary in our increasingly conscious use of appropriate skills

and knowledge. However, the use of this professional jargon outside our own circle of professional associates seems to dry up those personal elements which are actually present in the worker-client partnership. Interpretation must be communication. Communication does not exist when we cannot doff our professional vocabulary for more universal terms or cannot restate our service within the frame of reference of another group or profession.

Another factor which sometimes hinders us in our effectiveness in interpretation as case workers is our tendency to be preoccupied with newer forms of experimentation in professional service. Interpretation, to be effective, has to be related to the current professional tasks and the majority activities and services of the agency. At times we seem to feel that we are betraying our professional trust if we fail to persuade the constituency of the agency that advanced techniques are effective and advisable. The use of relief must be disclaimed, therapy defended, and laboratory work in human motivation espoused. May it not be as serious to gear our interpretation to 1950—if we anticipate that case work will develop into clinics using a modified analytic therapy—as it is to relate interpretation to case work as of 1925 when financial assistance was the major service? It is possible to dry up our current sources of funds before the public understands the necessity for advanced experimentation in the delicate mechanisms of personality. A knowledge of community realities and of operating public opinion may be as essential to the case worker as an ability to sense emotional reality is to the client, if we are to have any financial base for new future developments. The client's concerns and the community's willingness to finance help for these concerns still shape to a considerable extent our present function. Our proportion of time in interpreting various activities in the total range of case work service should have some factual relationship to the occurrence of these services in our case load.

Another factor which at times limits the effectiveness of interpretation directly by case workers is its intermittency. Year-round programs of interpretation may be more possible to the publicity specialist, in or out of the agency, whose full time is assigned to

this purpose. The adequacy of interpretation by case workers rises and falls as the case load pressure decreases or increases. Interpretation tends to end in more referrals. Workers can keep their case loads manageable by slowing up their efforts for a larger public understanding of case work service.

There is still another aspect of this point. Unless interpretation has its fundamental base in actual demonstration of services given to human beings more at home with themselves than with the society, it will ultimately fall of its own weight. We have underestimated the efficacy of clients as interpreters.

Another problem which we often face, which affects the quality of our publicity, is the lack of an adequate factual base to determine the kinds of questions which the community wishes to know about our services. Actually, of course, the community is not a single unit but a mosaic, or perhaps kaleidoscope, of groups and publics of all types. Here the public relations counselor or publicity expert can help case workers from his own set of associations outside the circle of professional social work. Similarly, perhaps, the case work practitioner can bring the current questions about social work from groups little known to the publicity experts. To illustrate: the case worker who is identified with organized labor through her own union membership or liberalism of thought should be better prepared than the publicity department to reach this audience.

Still another factor which limits effectiveness of relationship between the technicians of case work and of publicity comes from their limited knowledge of each other's work and its special requirements. What does the average case worker know of the requirements of the city editor's desk or of the radio sponsor for a program interpreting case work? What does he know of the structure of the United Charities or the community chest? Of the considerations which determine the size of the campaign goal? Of the scheme of allocations to agencies? In short, it would seem that many publicity departments in fund-raising organizations have ignored the one public which could help them most in interpretation, i.e., the actual practitioner.

In our own agency some brief reference to the United Chari-



ties in a staff meeting brought forth many questions. For example: "What shall our story be to contributors in a successful campaign year when our case load or budget will not permit taking on many new applications?" The number of such questions resulted in a joint discussion of staff and representatives of the publicity department of the United Charities. More such joint discussions are needed if workers in agencies are to be competent interpreters of fund-raising efforts. Periodically, case work agencies might well prepare interpretive material of the type suitable for direct distribution to contributors, taking responsibility themselves for explaining in their own terms the service activities of the agency.

The organization of the case work job has a different set of limitations and responsibilities which may not jibe with those of the publicity specialist. Interviews are scheduled, committees planned, or responsibilities determined which may prevent the utilization of some lucky news break. An example may illustrate: At our case committee meeting last spring a home economist presented a graphic display of foods and menus possible on the inadequate relief allowance of one of our clients whose maintenance support was furnished by the public assistance agency. Because of other duties we muffed this opportunity to invite the press. Some weeks later we repeated the demonstration at an annual meeting. The publicity writer of the United Charities mentioned this in his copy to the city editor's desk. Within twenty-four hours all the major newspapers had called for supplementary information.

Employees in a case work agency have little opportunity to know some of the rigid requirements in styling material which the publicity worker must meet if his releases are to make the newspapers, or his broadcasts stay on the air. If the worker responsible for the original material does not have a sense for styling, appropriate to the particular medium of publicity, someone has to do that styling for him and in the course of it the writer may discover that his favorite words or concepts have been mutilated.

Another common source of difficulty comes from the revision of material to play up some dramatic point. Accuracy is, perhaps,

not so much in the way of stating a fact as in its proportion and relation to other facts about which the newspaper does not want all the modifying causes and illustrating circumstances. It wants positive statements. Perhaps there has been some basis for the fact that case work agencies are reluctant to release material without a chance to recheck for accuracy.

The record of one city's experience in a project jointly enlisting case work practitioners and publicity workers of the United Charities might illustrate some of the principles of effective coöperation. St. Louis has had on the air since September 16, 1939, a weekly radio broadcast interpreting family case work. It is one of five weekly broadcasts sponsored by the publicity department of the United Charities. It has been planned by a committee of case workers from several private family agencies working closely with a staff member of the United Charities.

The project originated in an interpretation committee of a large family agency. The committee conceived the idea of a "Friendly Counselor" program modeled after "Dorothy Dix" and other radio and newspaper features which specialize in giving advice to people who write in about their personal problems. The theory of the committee was that such letters would inevitably be written, and that case workers were better equipped to give counsel than a person not trained in social work. It was also felt that there was sufficient public interest in this type of human-interest material to offer an admirable opportunity to interpret the case work approach to human relations. The project lay dormant for about three years. A committee member resurrected the project in collaboration with the United Charities. A radio broadcasting station, when approached, accepted the program for immediate use. One week later the program was to be on the air, much to the surprise and somewhat to the consternation of the original sponsoring committee. With such short notice they assembled several sample programs, drawing largely on letters written two or three years earlier, presumably by persons in all walks of life, asking help on personal problems of their own and their friends. These were answered over the air by the "Friendly Counselor," a man with a warm friendly voice, who

was identified over the air as a trained, experienced social worker. Actors from the Little Theater took the part of the inquiring letter writer. Listeners were encouraged to write in for help on their own personal problems. After three or four broadcasts representatives were drawn from other family case work agencies. Drawn in as they were after the project was formulated, and with weekly dead lines to meet, the group had little time to evaluate the original plan or arrive at a common philosophy of interpretation.

Members soon discovered that they had quite a diversity of opinion regarding the feasibility of the question-answer method as an authentic way of interpreting social case work. Some considered the program as a type of radio information booth, giving public information to radio listeners about local welfare resources and needs and giving advice of a very general nature to individual inquirers. Others thought of the program not as education, but as a demonstration of case work method. They doubted whether any sound advice or counsel could be given without the thoughtful interplay or redefinition of the problem and the changing picture of the client's wishes, preferences, and plans which occur in the face-to-face contacts of application interviews. They feared that the answered letter would be substituted for the direct interview.

Warned by such questions, the committee moved into a second stage of the program, a strained type of information giving which had in mind more the professional listening public than it did the general radio audience. Inquirers were told that their questions could not be answered unless they answered a string of other questions first. The not too exciting instruction was given repeatedly over the air, "Call Garfield 2600" (the phone number of the United Charities), for direction in referral to the appropriate family agency.

Since there were many evidences of difference of opinion and philosophy regarding acceptable means of radio interpretation of case work among the case work members of the committee and their professional associates, the committee took an inventory

of the entire project from its beginning, reviewing the previous three-month experience. In reviewing the project committee members asked themselves such questions as: "Is the radio program of questions and answers a suitable means of social work interpretation?" "Has social work a body of knowledge which can be adapted to this type of generalization?" "What dangers are there of having information misinterpreted by listeners and applied to situations that are fundamentally different?"

At this time the group reformulated its purpose, which became that of giving educational information about community resources used by the case work agencies, and about these agencies themselves, stated in the personal terms of the inquirer, real or fictitious. A steering service was given to the agencies giving the type of service requested with some indication as to how to make the best use of these services. Questions were framed to permit description in the personal terms of the user of various community resources, such as the NYA, the juvenile court, the Red Cross, and the State Society for Crippled Children.

Still the questions and reservations accumulated. More of the group seemed to fear that the more interestingly such questions were answered, the more this type of program, with its necessity to produce some categorical answers, might seem to contradict case work philosophy. Again the group took stock. This time it was agreed that some different type of experimentation should be attempted. This time the agencies took responsibility in turn for dramatizing a complete application interview, with some final picture of the "end of the story" and the final gains which the worker and the client together were able to achieve. In the introductions and in the conclusions the "Friendly Counselor" still remained the central figure.

The experimentation is not yet over. The committee has discussed the dramatization of a series of incidents in a family as it used the services of a case work agency over a period of months. The committee is considering drawing in other types of case work agencies than family social work. They are wondering whether the publicity department ought not to have in its em-

ploy a case work trained publicity person, familiar with radio technique, who could carry much more of the responsibility of writing script.

This experiment suggests several basic principles in interpretation of social case work:

1. There is as much divergence of opinion between case workers as between the case work group and interpretation experts concerning acceptable methods of interpretation.

2. Actual projects offer a much better means for case workers and publicity experts to arrive at some understanding of the objectives, methods, and practical circumstances of work essential for comfortable working together.

3. For such projects to succeed there must be an extraordinary amount of "give-and-take," of open-minded flexibility, of willingness to work with differences of philosophy, both of case work and interpretation.

4. Periodic stock-taking is necessary—and a mutuality of publicity expert and case worker in that taking of stock—if interpretative programs are to be evaluated and questions give free expression.

5. Publicity departments offer a real resource for interpretation of social case work if case work practitioners and technicians can stand the strain of close association.

6. Projects must be continued over a long enough period of time to refine their own technique.

7. Awareness of the need for interpretation and alertness for appropriate material is much more important than specific skills in the use of the techniques and media of interpretation.

8. Worthy interpretation of case work is dependent upon a clear assignment of responsibility and an understood division of labor between the case workers and the publicity department.

9. Vividness and interest in the interpretation of social case work can come only from the employees of the social agencies who are directly in contact with clients. The value of the "Friendly Counselor" project has come from the direct access which it gave the radio technician to the case work practitioners

engaged in treatment. Too frequently the human interest present in the client-worker partnership is diluted by its second- or third-hand presentation by some representative of the agency's administration who has been outside of actual case work practice for some time.



## A REVIEW OF GROUP WORK'S AFFIRMATIONS

Charles E. Hendry

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**D**URING THE PAST FIVE YEARS, since the creation of this section on social group work within the National Conference of Social Work, widespread recognition has been accorded group work, both as a movement and as a method directly affecting such areas of experience as play, recreation, and informal education. While it is manifestly impossible to estimate the full influence of this Conference upon group work thought and practice, it is possible, by carefully examining the program for the past five-year period, to discover certain main currents in group work development.

An analysis of approximately 150 papers and discussions included in the programs of this section from 1935 to 1939 reveals that they can be classified broadly into four major categories: (1), the study and clarification of social needs and social work objectives and their implications for group work; (2), the description and analysis of group work as a process in education, recreation, and social work together with a consideration of related methods and techniques; (3), an examination of problems and practices in the selection, training, and supervision of volunteer and professional leaders; and (4), a consideration of the interdependence and interrelationships of different agencies, fields, and methods in the practice of group work.

*Group work in relation to social needs and objectives.*—In the first category, that having to do with Social Needs and Social Work Objectives and their Implications for Group Work, forty-three papers and discussions occur. Fourteen of these have been reproduced in the *Proceedings* of the conferences. Taken as a whole these contributions are vital and realistic. Some undertake to identify the needs of children, youth, and young adults. Needs

in rural areas, among nationality and minority groups, in institutions, and among the unemployed are inventoried. Substantial and critical use is made of representative studies, surveys, and research. Democracy is examined and re-examined. Objectives, it is acknowledged, must bear a functional relationship to needs. The decisive test of this functional quality lies in the integrity with which this is reflected in the analysis of implications—in this case, in the analysis of implications for group work. Fortunately, the scaffolding of categories—individual adjustment and development, group development and achievement, and social action—has not seriously interfered with the construction of a dynamic philosophy. Fortunately, too, there has been little disposition to deal in definitions. To sharpen definitions, happily, is not to set or settle them.

Three contributions contained in *Conference Proceedings* stand out prominently: S. R. Slavson's "Group Work in Development and in Therapy"; E. C. Lindeman's "Group Work and Education for Democracy," and Grace L. Coyle's Pugsley Award paper, "Group Work and Social Change." We are advised, however, in papers concerned with group work interpretation, notably in Harold Wagner's paper in the *Seattle Conference Proceedings*, that the clarity, conviction, and comprehensiveness which distinguished the contributions just named are largely lacking in attempts to interpret group work to the public.

*Group work as a process.*—Fifty-three papers, panels, and discussions are represented in our second classification, fourteen of which have been published in volumes of the *Proceedings*. Here one finds an attempt at description and analysis of group work as a process and a consideration of certain related methods and techniques. It is appropriate to observe that among the many descriptions of group work as applied in different settings and with different constituencies, and particularly among those that reached publication, descriptions based upon the work of the major, so-called leisure-time agencies are relatively infrequent. Descriptions of public agency programs including the schools, large-scale housing, the CCC, the NYA, the WPA, selected state institutions, and public recreation at different levels are fairly

representative. Group work in workers' education and in coöperatives is also reviewed.

Documentation occurs further in relation to various activity-experience areas and in relation to program development as such. The very titles of many of these papers provide evidence of their fundamental character: "Group Activities as an Outgrowth of Individual Interests"; "Relating Participant in Program to the Policy Making of the Agency"; "Facing Some of the Issues of Democracy in a Club Program"; and "Consequences of Social Action for the Group Work Agency." Group work is described and discussed also in terms of activities and their relationship to personality growth, character development, and citizenship education. "Art as Creative Experience for Different Age Groups" is typical of the papers presented in this area. Dramatics, music, folk arts, camping, vocational guidance, and social education represent other program areas treated. "Health Programs in Camps" is as close as any paper comes to a consideration of the relationship of group work and physical education.

It is among the papers which deal with related methods and techniques that one encounters the most technical and specialized discussions. These concern problems and practices in grouping; leader-group relationships; records and recording; and experimentation and evaluation. Some indication of the value accorded these papers is suggested in the fact that 50 per cent of them have been preserved in volumes of the *Proceedings*.

*Personnel selection, training, and supervision.*—In contrast to the forty-three papers concerned with social needs and social work objectives, as well as to the fifty-three papers included in the classification which has just been examined, a modest total of fourteen papers is represented in the third major classification, that having to do with problems and practices in the selection, training, and supervision of volunteer and professional leaders. Even more striking is the fact that, of the four papers published in the five volumes of the *Proceedings*, not one is primarily concerned with the professional worker. As a matter of fact, only three of the fourteen papers deal with the professional worker. One paper—the outstanding paper, in many respects,

of all the papers delivered in the Social Group Work Section of the Conference—does deal with both the volunteer and the professional: Grace Loucks Elliott's "The Importance of Maturity and a Social Philosophy for Group Leaders and Supervisors." Minor attention is devoted to problems of leadership selection. Meager attention is directed to employment practices and personnel standards. In-service training is discussed in but one paper. A final paper on "Staff as Partners in Agency Administration" opens up issues of considerable consequence.

*Group work and community organization.*—Coming now to the fourth and final classification, that concerned with the interdependence and interrelationships of different agencies, fields, and methods in the practice of group work, it is found that the twenty-seven papers involved are chiefly devoted to four main types of subject matter: youth, youth leadership and youth services; group work case work relationships; local coördination and community planning; and certain larger aspects of social planning.

Nothing, probably, is more significant in the entire program of the Social Group Work Section of the National Conference of Social Work than the prominence accorded discussions of American youth. While recognized in some quarters as a problem group, in other quarters youth is becoming recognized as a pressure group. This transition is of the utmost social import and in itself is producing a radical redefinition of the total youth situation. In one respect the relationship of case work and group work is primarily a matter of community organization. The relationship between these two important methods in social work, however, involves much more than this, and valuable contributions have been made in this Conference toward the development of a fuller understanding of the deeper dynamics in case work as related to group guidance and group therapy.

Papers concerned with local coördination and community planning are divided between those dealing with the machinery of coöperation and those dealing with new departures in decentralization. The two papers selected for inclusion in the *Proceedings*—M. W. Beckelman's "How Group Work Agencies Function Coöperatively in the Community" and Edward D. Lynde's

"Gains through an Area Study"—provide representative documentation. Conspicuous by its absence here and, indeed, throughout practically the entire range of papers presented in sessions of the Social Group Work Section, is any discussion of basic financial and administrative considerations affecting group work.

In terms of larger aspects of social planning it is seen that more discussion is directed to an attempt to differentiate between the functions of private and public agencies than to an effort to appraise inequalities in opportunities and resources for play, recreation, and informal education. Some of the problems and prospects in planning in broader terms are considered in Lucy P. Carner's "The Place of the Private Group Work Agency in a Program of Youth," and in my own "Coöperation among Group Workers on a National Scale." These papers are contained in the *Proceedings* of the Atlantic City and the Indianapolis conferences.

*Group work in conference procedure.*—Before passing on to the more difficult task of attempting to interpret more precisely what seems to have been said about group work during this five-year period, a few additional observations are in order. Those responsible for program planning in these conferences very evidently have sought to apply group work principles and procedures in the section programs of the Conference itself. Careful examination makes this abundantly clear.

Problems uncovered at one conference have become points of departure in planning the next year's program. Coöperative study has been organized in various parts of the country. Committees of inquiry have been created. Group reports have supplemented individual papers. Discussions and round tables have been emphasized. Joint sessions with selected organizations and groups—National Conference of International Institutes, National Institute of Immigrant Welfare, Social Work Publicity Council, National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work, National Probation Association, and the Committee on Personnel Training—have been encouraged. Close coöperation with the American Association for the Study of Group Work has been maintained. Where desirable, as was the case in the work on "Objectives"



prior to and at the Atlantic City Conference, provision has been made to guarantee publication of basic material not included in the *Proceedings*. Beyond this, and of primary significance, has been the rather consistent policy of including one or more sessions for the purpose of general evaluation, appraisal of tendencies and trends, and deliberate delineation of progress made and problems to be faced. Noteworthy in this connection is the report on "Group Work and Leisure-Time Agencies in Recent Community Studies" prepared by a committee and presented by its chairman, Roy Sorenson, at the Indianapolis Conference.

In his remarkable *Autobiography* Lincoln Steffens describes how, as a young student, he decided "to organize his ignorance into a system." One rather wishes that this were the present assignment. On the contrary, instructions are to arrange our affirmations in review formation. Presently it may be seen, however, that what we do drowns out what we say, and we will have "organized our ignorance into a system" notwithstanding.

While the process of clarification is probably of greater significance than the actual points of clarification, it remains now for us to review results. What has been said about group work? What broad, basic agreements concerning group work do we today affirm?

1. Group work is at once an educational principle and an educational process. It has no objectives of its own except in the sense that by its very nature it derives both its meaning and its motivation from democracy; and in so far as it operates in harmony with the basic principles of democratic procedure, it necessarily produces and projects objectives within the process itself.

2. This being the case, group work represents a resource available to many different agencies in different fields. By itself group work does not constitute a field. Its application to date has been made, in the main, by agencies supplying services in relation to play, recreation, and informal education.

3. Because of this dominant alignment and because in play, recreation, and informal education voluntary participation, flexible groupings, creative expression, and coöperative control constitute such central characteristics, group work probably functions



most effectively in these areas of experience. Group work, therefore, requires a positive and constructive orientation. Its effectiveness is reduced wherever the orientation is negative or narrowly preventive. Group work is not primarily a procedure to prevent delinquency nor is it a form of treatment for clients. Group work is a specialized and constructive approach to creative experience.

4. Certain needs are recognized in the growth and development of children, of youth, and of adults which can be helpfully approached through group work procedures. Social, economic, and political forces render these needs particularly acute among certain groups in given communities, at different times. Youth as a group, the unemployed, and also certain minorities are in this position now. The needs referred to include: (1) certain elemental needs—the need for friendship, recognition, adventure, creative expression, and group acceptance; (2) certain developmental needs that assert themselves at different stages in the individual's passage toward maturity—the need for association between boys and girls, the need for parental emancipation, and the need for adjusting one's program in relation to changes in one's physical, economic, and other capacities; and (3) certain functional needs—the need for the development of motor, manual, and artistic skills, the need for contact with nature, for creative contemplation, for nonvocational learning, for the development of skill in group participation and group action, and for an ever broadening participation in community responsibility.

5. It will be noted that these three sets of needs are stated in terms of individuals as persons, that is, in terms of the individual in his groups. Group work represents a rediscovery of the importance of the group in personality development. It affirms that the nature of the group is as important as the nature of the activity, program, or curriculum. It emphasizes the role of the group *as* education, as well as *in* education. It reaffirms what social scientists have been saying these many years—that “a person is influenced most by the group in which he most vitally lives.”

6. A further affirmation is represented in current group work thought. It centers in the fact that life in the modern community

is now largely corporate in character and therefore dependent to a degree, hitherto unknown, upon group organization, group leadership, and group effectiveness. Group work affirms, therefore, the imperative importance of developing skills in group living and particularly those attitudes, appreciations, and abilities which are essential to a responsive and responsible citizenship in a democracy. The crucial urgency of this need to develop more adequate groupways as part of the folkways of democracy was never more compelling than at this hour.

7. Research during the past few years has supplied convincing confirmation of the necessity of providing democratic agency administration and leadership, if desired individual and social outcomes are to be realized. Group work asserts and insists that democratic results are impossible in agencies whose administration is undemocratic or antidemocratic in structure or in spirit. The fact that an agency is a voluntary agency, or that it is an agency of government, even in a democracy, does not mean necessarily that it is democratic.

8. Prominent, therefore, in group work thinking has been a consideration of the structure of and the sanction for agency boards, the degree to which they represent essential elements including the constituency served, committee organization and method, staff and member participation in policy-making and program planning, "academic" freedom, and board-staff relationships.

9. Agencies of the type under discussion, and particularly those in which group work practice is emphasized, require for their administration executives who are educators. The function of providing recreation and informal education requires as much character and competence in personnel as is required in providing formal education in schools or colleges. Specialized professional education coordinate with that required for the practice of case work and for teaching is now widely recognized. It is recognized further that the type of professional education required is not confined to any one type of professional school.

10. Unlike school and case work practice, an extreme reliance upon volunteer personnel by non-school agencies engaged in

recreation and informal education greatly complicates the personnel situation in relation to group work. No principle of group work practice is more firmly established than the principle of voluntary lay participation. The successful use of volunteer personnel, however, depends in large measure upon the ratio which obtains between professional supervision and volunteer leadership. This ratio includes the factor of quality as well as the factor of quantity. It is affirmed with renewed conviction, particularly in the light of certain recent experiments, that a systematic plan of providing opportunities for selected persons of superior qualifications to contribute volunteer group leadership constitutes in itself a potentially significant form of adult education.

11. Previously it has been asserted that "group work" is not an appropriate designation for a field. Neither is it an appropriate designation for an agency or a program. Practically all agencies, programs, and specialized activity areas, such as strenuous muscular activities, organized camping, and the arts and crafts, involve the use of the individual, group, and mass approach. Arbitrarily to assign the individual approach to one type of agency, the group approach to another, and the mass approach to a third, is to indulge in unwarranted and unrealistic oversimplification. Each approach has its own unique and indispensable values.

12. Viewed in this way it will be seen that group work has to do primarily with group organization, leader-group relations, and interpersonal behavior. Practices in methods of group formation are known to be of the utmost importance. Groups vary greatly in degree of cohesion, integration, and stability. Their functional value in relation to particular kinds of activity and particular types of person presents a correspondingly wide range. Initial leader-group contact and subsequent relationships between the leader and the group, the natural group leaders and individual group members, pose as delicate and as complex a set of technical problems as are found in the case worker-client relationship. It is because of the awareness of this fact that in-

creasing emphasis is being placed upon the need for more adequate recording, experimentation, and research.

13. Much thought has been given to ways and means of enriching program experience through a refinement of knowledge and techniques in guiding group life. Conventional case work techniques and, more recently, techniques of individual guidance and counseling, which unfortunately and so frequently are associated with "problem cases," are giving way to what may well become a new composite pattern, concerned with the total relationship of program and personnel to the problems of the individual participant. The contributions of Fritz Redl, Alexander Martin, S. R. Slavson, and Margaret Svendsen, to name but a few outstanding examples, hold great promise in this regard. Particular attention is needed in sensitizing personnel to the more common relationship problems of the ordinary, so-called normal individual. As greater insight into these relationship problems is developed, more light will be thrown upon the use of artificial forms of motivation, emphasis upon activity skills, various forms and methods of competition, so-called self-government schemes, referral procedures at different levels, the use of friendly visitors, and other related practices.

14. It is assumed in group work thinking that vitality, depth, balance, integration, and progression in group experience, conceived of as a program, are largely the result of leadership conceived of as a dynamic relationship. At base, this, in turn, rests upon mutual acceptance, respect, and coöperation, and these attitudes must be reflected, as in a series of mirrors, from individual to group, to leader, to executive, to other groups, to board, to community. Program and leadership effectiveness is a function of total situations.

15. Nowhere is the validity of these principles so sharply tested as in relation to youth as a group today. Youth are sick of being pampered. They resent being treated as puppets. They are in defiant revolt against paternalism. From the standpoint of everything that group work stands for this is a healthy and a reassuring development. The time has come to acknowledge dangers and deficiencies both in youth-led and in youth-serving organizations.

Youth and their elders need each other on a partnership basis, and at no time in American history has this need for close coöperation been more imperative.

16. Reference has been made earlier to the importance attached to case work group work relationships. Mutual advantages continue to result wherever joint activity, whether for study, diagnosis, treatment planning, or actual therapy, is undertaken. It is generally agreed that every opportunity should be sought to bring about the fullest possible understanding and coördination between professional workers using these two separate though intimately related approaches which are often used with identical persons or with persons in the same family.

17. Machinery in the local community for joint study, direct action, the administration of common services, and coördination and planning, in relation to group work, is represented chiefly in specialized divisions within councils of social agencies. These councils are found principally in larger cities, and only in the larger of these is provision made in the council staff for specialized group work personnel. Some suitable equivalent of this type of machinery is needed in small communities. Although a difference in source of funds tends to create a difference in type of interest, more and more it is recognized that both private and public agencies should be adequately represented in this type of conference and planning body.

18. Increasingly it is becoming apparent that questions of educational philosophy and group work technique have been explored and elaborated without adequate reference to or review of the economics of recreation and informal education. To the extent that this has been the case in the programs of this section of the Conference, there is cause for concern. To the extent that this has been the case in the field at large, there is cause for alarm. The conviction is growing among larger and larger numbers of persons concerned with group work and with recreation and informal education that present agency, chest, and community practices will require continuous adjustment if inequalities in opportunity in this area are to be reduced. It is quite conceivable, however, as a result of such studies as Howard Whipple



Green has made in Cleveland, community surveys such as Edward D. Lynd reported upon at Seattle, statistical studies such as the Children's Bureau's recent report on "The Community Welfare Picture," experiments with neighborhood units and area projects, the Study of Organized Group Camping in California, and the reports of the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, that community leaders, professional workers, and citizens may now devote themselves with an intelligence and effectiveness in relation to the economics of recreation and informal education equal to what has already been functioning in relation to questions of educational principles and method. Out of a blending of the three should emerge a more realistic basis for developing a social philosophy of recreation and informal education. Anything less than this is unworthy of a democracy.

19. Closely related to this whole problem is a question which has received extended discussion in sessions of this Conference, the question of differentiating functions as between private and public agencies. Unfortunately, debate rather than discussion has characterized much of what has been said concerning this point. Impartial analysis demonstrates beyond a doubt that any absolute differentiation in the functions of voluntary, private agencies and official, public agencies is impossible. Functions are relative to particular situations in both time and space. Each is capable of performing identical functions and neither enjoys a monopoly of excellence in performance. Each is needed in a democracy, and as governmental services are enlarged and extended, far from reducing the need for vital voluntary non-governmental agencies, the importance of strengthening such agencies and of creating new ones is actually increased.

20. In the last analysis, community planning for social welfare, upon whatever level it is undertaken, is concerned primarily with just two basic questions: (1) how to locate and relate essential resources and vital social needs; and (2) how to guarantee that agencies attempting to supply such vital services are doing so with the utmost effectiveness and economy of operations. Affirmations to this effect and dedication to an intensified effort



to develop coöperatively a set of guiding principles for common application in appraisal furnish a clew to the mood of group work as a movement at the turn of this new decade.

For present purposes this concludes our review. Although we have largely limited our analysis to the programs of the Social Group Work Section of the National Conference of Social Work for the past five years, it is apparent that much of what has been here identified has been in the making for half a century and more.

Group work as a process in play, recreation, and informal education itself is in process of discovery and development. Historical analysis, philosophical orientation, and current social scientific reference are essential to the achievement of perspective in examining this evolution and in determining future directions.

If the affirmations here recorded reflect substantial agreement and established conviction, then the task of this Conference and our task as individuals, during the years immediately before us, is to transform our affirmations into operations; to bring performance more closely into line with our pretensions; to put in practice what we put in words.

# AN EXAMINATION OF GROUP WORK'S PRACTICES

*Ray Johns*

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GROUP WORK IS ENTERING A NEW ERA. Its affirmations about itself have won it a wide following. Its potentialities have focused attention upon it. It is in the spotlight. It may soon be "on the spot." Its philosophy seems to have outstripped its practice.

Our objectives have been considerably clarified. Essential insights and skills have been identified. Techniques and processes have been analyzed. The wide acceptance of group work as a method of informal education, the halo which has developed around its intriguing possibilities, now necessitate a critical examination of its practices in relation to its stated assumptions and its objectives.

Group work must now be intellectually honest with itself. It has achieved a maturity sufficient to face critical self-examination. Realistic recognition of the gaps which exist between our affirmations and our practice can be the first step toward more effective work.

Good practice, fully consistent with the highest hopes and affirmations, does exist. But no useful end is served by adding up scattering samples of good workmanship from different communities and describing that artificial composite as typical of group work today. Rather should we look together, with brutal candor, at the average practice of group work in the average community.

In our determination to be thoroughly realistic, we may even exaggerate the width and depth of the chasms between what we

*Editor's note:*—This paper utilizes data from surveys in many cities. Because of the critical nature of many of the excerpts used as evidence of current group work practice, it did not seem wise to identify particular cities. All the references, however, have been kept and can be made available if necessary.

say and what we do. But at this critical juncture of group work development when we can enter a significant new era, we can even face the hazard of seeming, temporarily, to be negativistic. Our own confidence in the essential soundness of the democratic educational process we call group education—our own emerging sense of professional competence—impels us to honest, though brutal self-appraisal.

The main currents in group work developments have been traced; the major affirmations have been reviewed.<sup>1</sup> Let us together examine the available evidence about how group work is actually practiced.

Where would one go for concrete, factual data? Recent studies and surveys, which have included all the agencies of informal education and recreation in cities in many sections of the country, offer one fruitful source. A limited body of research and other writings provide additional data to validate judgments based on the analysis of survey materials and field observations. Data from studies in seventeen different cities have been reviewed for this analysis of group work practice: Louisville, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Stamford, Canton, Boston, Detroit, Montclair, Erie, Elmira, Minneapolis, Providence, Yonkers, Denver, Hartford, Rochester, and Cleveland.

Let us take the affirmations summarized for us and compare each one with the practice we find:

1. Group work affirms itself to be an educational principle and a process which derives its meaning and its motivation from democratic principles. Kinship with education as a process is generally accepted. But formalized, authoritarian concepts of education still exert powerful influences in group work practice. Fully as many classes as clubs are recorded by agencies reporting to the Children's Bureau. A study in an Eastern city reveals that the "class form of organization is used more largely with young people than is the club form of organization." The teacher-pupil relationship still holds sway. A recent Midwestern survey reports "a conspicuous dearth of inter-club councils, house councils, and other planning groups." In all the cities reporting to the Chil-

<sup>1</sup> See Charles E. Hendry, "A Review of Group Work's Affirmations," *supra*.

dren's Bureau only one percent of the total group enrollment is reported as having had experience in intergroup councils.

If an educational concept of democracy means "participation, in accordance with maturity and ability, in initiating, planning, conducting, and evaluating common activities," increasing responsibility for activity planning and agency administration will become more common. Yet in almost none of the several hundred agencies included in the seventeen surveys reviewed was there any evidence of the "representation of group interests, selected by and from those groups," which Ordway Tead commends in his *Creative Management*.

Intergroup councils and committees are increasing; the possibility of some administrative control by participants is being discussed but as yet is very little practiced. One survey in a Southern city did report of one large agency: "The program is planned and administered very democratically by a large number of committees and councils. . . . The process of planning is continual." The utilization of a democratic educational process is becoming more general within groups; it is being extended more to intergroup councils. It has yet to "enter the administrative portals" of many agencies.

2. Group work reaffirms the central importance of the group in personality development. It asserts that the nature of the group is fully as important as the nature of the activity. It says that the kind of grouping used largely determines the outcomes to participants.

Some evidence of the deliberate use of groupings already vital to people is slowly accumulating. Highly artificial groups with little basis of congeniality of persons or of interests are still extensively used. Some such groups do develop a group feeling. Many have too great divergences of age or background or interests. In a society where primary groupings are decreasing in significance and where most persons, young and old, choose a variety of secondary interests, groupings with vital bonds are difficult both to locate or to develop. However, advances are being made in some agencies. Neighborhood groupings are being utilized for younger persons. Group acceptance scores and interest locators

are helping agencies in some cities to achieve satisfactory groupings. New tools to facilitate effective grouping practices are becoming available. The affirmations regarding the significance of groupings and the practices revealed are still far apart.

Group work avers that groups should be small for most effective work. The evidence is not too encouraging. In a Southern city we discover that "only forty per cent of the groups are small enough to permit any reasonably intensive work." In another, "A challenge to a good group work is raised by the large number of large groups." In an Eastern city the clubs averaged 27.6 members; the classes, 26.0 members. In an Ohio city the club membership ranged from 14.9 to 53.3; in an Eastern city, the range was from 21.6 to 41.5. Special interest groups ranged in size from 12.7 to 40.6. Larger, mass groups, do have social value, but they are no substitute for the small, stable group experience. In a Southwestern city, the analysts stated, "The type and size of many groups do not permit much individualization."

Recognition of the significance of sound grouping principles has thus far outstripped the grouping practices themselves. If, as Mark May says, "People are most influenced by the groups in which they most vitally live," group work must utilize such groupings.

3. Group work asserts that basic personality needs can be met through a guided group process. To what degree are the elemental needs for friendship, recognition, and acceptance met in some of our groups? Adequate data, based on sound research, is limited. Some clew to the gap between the affirmation and the practice may be seen in the high turnover of membership in many agencies. A relatively limited degree of acceptance in some groups is suggested by the findings of Wilbur Newstetter in *Group Adjustment* and by Hedley Dimock in *Rediscovering the Adolescent*.

Opportunities for meeting the developmental needs of growing persons, particularly those involving wholesome heterosexual relationships, are relatively limited. Coeducational activities, though increasing in some cities, are still restricted in number

and in quality. From a large Southwestern city it is reported that "opportunities for mixed group activities are distinctly limited."

Certain functional needs of individuals, particularly those involving some motor skills, are evidently considered of primary importance in some agencies.

The number of persons enrolled in physical classes (41.6%) the proportion of full-time instructors leading physical education classes in relation to all types of classes (77.0%) and the amount of equipment provided . . . indicate a heavy emphasis on physical activity interests in relation to the other interests of people. In view of the need for education for creative use of leisure, it would seem desirable that the many arts and crafts, drama, social skills, intellectual interests, and music would be developed in better balance to the physical activity interests.

Group discussion is used quite extensively by some agencies dealing with youth. Extensive samples of good group thinking and intelligent group action are more difficult to locate.

Group work has averred that individual differences should be understood and made the basis for program-making. The admissions processes reported in most cities leave much to be desired. In a Pennsylvania city, careful observers state, "Private agencies need to further individualize their program by careful admissions practices, intelligent personal guidance and careful referral." In another, "referrals by and to other agencies and coöperation with case-working and other treatment agencies are infrequent and highly informal." The continued extensive use of standardized program activities in some agencies and the sterility of the club stereotypes in others suggest the wide possibility of improvement in this area.

Another study points out the importance of "utilization of the group process for individual therapy, for program-making based on expanding individual and group interests and for increasing group self-direction." Recent writings and presentations and known experimentation in certain centers suggest an awakened concern for individualization of services in many group work agencies. Conferences and planned experimentation between case work and group work agencies are resulting in better mutual



understanding and in more effective working relationships. The recent publication of a monograph entitled "A Primer of Guidance through Group Work"<sup>2</sup> suggests the possibility of further development ahead.

In one Eastern city, 538 persons, many of them active in group work programs, have been identified as already revealing personality difficulties. Two functions for agencies doing group work are suggested: (1) early recognition by staff and volunteer workers of incipient personality problems and quick referral for proper social treatment through well-established social work channels; and (2) treatment as an important part of the total social work program of service for some problem cases. The report says: "Young people can achieve social status, find satisfactions and releases, and acquire new social attitudes through their experience in groups of persons of their own age and maturity under the supervision of skilled workers."

4. Group work says that the role of the group leader shall be that of a friendly, understanding, mature person with a rich variety of personal interests and a skill in guiding the relationships of group members. Yet in city after city, the most conspicuous lack pointed out was "the training of leaders in basic educational and personality insights commensurate with the training they get in activity skills." In only one city was it noted that "maturity, interest in the growth of persons, and the ability to work with individuals and groups in a coöperative and creative way are the first requirements of group leaders."

The wide gap between philosophy and practice may be seen in this comparison: Of the eleven functions of the group leader suggested by Slavson in *Creative Group Education*, ten relate primarily to the persons in the group, one primarily to subject matter. In a study of several hundred leaders in a New England state, twenty of the twenty-two leader skills identified relate to subject matter or activity skills more than they do to the persons themselves.

The immaturity of many group leaders should be a matter of

<sup>2</sup> R. E. G. Davis, *A Primer of Guidance through Group Work* (New York: Association Press, 1940).

concern. In one city 37.4 percent of the 2,939 group leaders were under twenty-one years of age; in another city, 29 percent; in another, 26 percent. The inexperience of many group leaders is revealed by the fact that, in one city, 1,456 leaders, or 49.5 per cent of the total, had led a group less than one year; in another city, 44 per cent.

Limited educational background is indicated by the fact that one fourth of the 2,939 leaders in the one city had only a high school education or less; in an Eastern city, over two thirds of the leaders had no more than high school training. In another city, in New York State, over one half had the same limited educational background. The possibility of having group leaders who have achieved the emotional maturity and the social philosophy Grace Loucks Elliott advocated at the Indianapolis Conference seems quite remote with so many young leaders with such limited backgrounds.

A survey recently completed in a Southern city states: "The large number of group leaders and the relative inexperience of many of the leaders creates a serious problem of training and supervision." Supervisory conferences are apparently infrequent and irregular in many agencies. Better selection and better supervision of group leaders surely mark one of the ways to close a wide gap between current group work affirmations and practices. The "supervisory load," indicated by the number of groups and group leaders per staff person varies greatly. In many agencies it is far too large for effective supervisory practices.

Supervision of group leaders suggests the importance of adequate records. In an Eastern city, it is reported, "administrative records are best kept and in many cases quite elaborately kept. Records of individual persons reveal much to be desired; a large number of agencies keep only identifying information about members and participants." In a Western city, "More adequate group records, which reveal insights about group member and group processes need to be developed." In some cities, group records are apparently entirely lacking. Considerable experimentation with records has been carried on in some cities. The need for more adequate records is evident.

5. Group work states that the necessity for a professionally trained leadership is becoming generally recognized but is not yet realized. More and more persons are being added to staffs of agencies who are trained in the processes of informal education, in community organization, in supervision and administration. Specialized professional education is still quite limited: in one city, one third had received some graduate training in different fields; in another, one third of the staff members had received some specific professional training. But even in that city, only 8 percent of the professional members had either undergraduate or graduate degrees in social work. In one agency, it was reported, "The . . . leadership is exceptionally clear, and articulate about its conception of function and philosophy, and consistent in its various departments. The quality of work is high."

Relatively few staff members, in some cities, maintain memberships in any professional societies outside their own agency associations. Limited use is made of professional literature which does not come through the channel of each agency's own national office. In two surveys a list of relatively recent group work publications was checked by staff members. Out of a possible score of 117, the highest was 84, the lowest, 2. The quality of professional leadership in many cities and in many agencies, though rising considerably, still leaves much to be desired.

6. A wide variety of program opportunities based on the needs of group members has been one of the dominant affirmations of group work. The studies in all the cities reveal a heavy preponderance of physical activity with one half of all the groups and a large proportion of staff specialists related to that program emphasis. The most serious lack in one large agency's program with young people is reported to be in its informal educational, social, and cultural activities. The low proportion of persons in orientation courses in another city is regarded as highly significant. With the need of young people and adults for education in hobbies and the arts, in understanding themselves and the world around them, rapid progress in fields other than physical development is considered desirable in most agencies.

Considerable rigidity of program, with little adaptation to the needs of individuals or of communities, is evident in many cities. Revealing statements are noted: "It is a typical . . . program which derives its goal and character from the national pattern . . . it is conducted in strict observance with the national . . . philosophy, organization and group method." The increasing flexibility in some national agency program services promises to lead the way to greater consideration of individual and community needs.

7. Group work says: Group interests and loyalties should transcend group concerns. Experiences within the group should contribute to skills and understanding essential for responsible participation in a democratic society. Group work has accepted responsibility for helping to develop an understanding of contemporary life, for helping to bring about desirable social change.

The evidence of sound practice toward making this affirmation a reality is not too encouraging. Group loyalties are still primarily centered within each group, though the growth of inter-club councils holds promise of an extension of loyalty to whole agencies. Agency loyalty is still a major goal of many organization leaders. The number of exploration groups on social and economic problems—local, national, and world wide—has increased. One large agency has "an active program in 'Public Affairs' " through membership groups, committees, the board of directors, and general cross-section groups. This program "includes many questions of current social interests, especially in the field of international relations, social and economic problems, and problems of minority groups."

Relating young people to social change is apparently difficult to accomplish. The close identification of agency financing with conservative community interests, combined with the problem of discovering specific enterprises in which young people can participate and which contribute toward needed social change, makes participation far less effective than Grace Coyle's challenging Pugsley Award paper suggests may someday be possible.

Writing of case work following the World War, Bertha Reynolds said, "these groups [referring to industrial workers] . . .

society had accustomed itself to ignore. . . . It supported case work so it need not feel the impact of mounting discontent."<sup>3</sup> Need we remind ourselves that in those same years, publicly supported recreation and privately supported leisure-time agencies were coming into wide popular favor, were expanding rapidly? Can it be that our leisure-time service, with which group work has so much in common, was itself used, by some unwittingly, by others, perhaps, wittingly, as an "opiate for the people"?

8. Group work has recognized its relationship to the total process of community planning for social welfare. Group work understands this to mean developing services in relation to social needs, providing group experiences for a variety of constituencies, achieving effective working relationships between various agencies and different fields of social work. The ways in which group work functions coöperatively between agencies in sixty cities were described by Mr. Beckelman at the Seattle Conference last year. Forty-three of the cities which reported have group work sections or divisions in their council of social agencies; ten of the councils have staff members related to the divisions. The uneven development of such coöperation in the field of group work is noted. Some interagency work on the clarification of group work objectives and standards, mostly by means of commission-study groups, is evident in several sections. Only the early stages of genuine community planning are yet noticeable. Significant experimentation toward neighborhood integration and planning of social service has been carried on, notably in Hartford, Syracuse, and Cleveland.

Provision for services for all types of clientele and constituency has been made the focus of deliberate planning in some cities. The facts have been ascertained concerning the participation of persons in different age groups in various social, cultural, and economic levels, in different racial groups. Some agencies still indicate a total preoccupation with specific groups—one sex, one age group, one economic level. Some such specialization is undoubtedly quite desirable for some agencies, but adequate plan-

<sup>3</sup> Bertha C. Reynolds, *Re-thinking Social Casework* (New York: Social Work Today, Inc., 1938), p. 16.



ning must eventually make provision for all the people, either through present agencies or new agencies. It must take into account the great economic differences of people and of different sections of the country.

Clarification of the roles of private and public agencies is progressing in many cities. Some private agencies still conduct mass recreational activities, almost regardless of available public resources. However, better planning and better working relationships are emerging.

Thus we see group work practice as it is today. It is both better and worse than this generalized analysis can possibly reveal. The gaps are not confined to the aspects of group work that we have discussed together. Many types of gaps are evident: gaps between our philosophy and our processes; gaps between our insights and our skills; gaps between the practices we advocate and the practices we use.

The reasons for the wide gaps between our affirmations and our practice are not difficult to discern. Philosophy should be ahead of practice. General acceptance of defined desirable practice has not yet been achieved. Group work, in addition, has too long and too completely been concerned with "coverage." Quantitative rather than qualitative measures have been too often applied. Group work has need of a historical orientation; it needs to understand its own rootages in early group life, its early identification with sociological concepts as well as later educational methods, with the insights of mental hygiene and with social work practices. It needs to understand the values, and the potential handicaps, of its reliance on agency expression, the significant body of "extra-agency" group life, its basic relationship to local community forces, to social planning movements, to current social and economic forces.

As we reveal to each other the inadequacies of our group work practice, it may be useful to remind ourselves that we share distinguished company. In *The Nature of the Physical World*,<sup>4</sup> A. S. Eddington writes,

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 179.



Nowadays whenever enthusiasts meet together to discuss theoretical physics, the talk sooner or later turns . . . to a certain all-engrossing topic; the desperate state of their own ignorance. This is not a pose. It is not even scientific modesty . . . it is sometimes an attitude of naïve surprise. . . . It does indicate that we have turned a corner in the path of progress, and all our ignorance stands revealed before us, appalling and insistent.

We have identified many of the gaps between what we say and what we do in group work. Before us, this week, and in the months ahead, lies the task of bringing our practice and methods nearer our goals and our philosophy.

# A CRITICISM OF THE LITERATURE OF GROUP WORK

*S. M. Keeny*

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ANYONE WHO GUILLESSLY SETS OUT TO CHART this fascinating new country of group work literature soon finds that he has trouble about his boundaries. Some of my consultants lead me to believe that group work is, in part, in the grip of a philosophy of "manifest destiny," and that in their judgment the world of knowledge will really not be orderly until the flag of group work flies over all. Some would concede, perhaps, that Robinson Crusoe confiding to his diary (before the arrival of Friday) should perhaps not be included, but all else should be. In this direction lies danger. After all, it was Crusoe who noted that when he built his enclosure too large the goats inside were as wild as those outside. Our categorical fences must not be too far flung.

Your editor, mulling over this predicament (and seeking an honorable way to avoid some hard labor), turned to his friend Dr. Du Vall, of Temple University. He learned that at Temple a seminar had recently collected about one thousand titles within a large circular fence. Even this relatively vast enclosure was within a still larger one of some three thousand volumes, all related more or less to group work. But inside both of these was a comparatively tiny garden plot containing 218 books arranged in tidy beds labeled:

	<i>Number of Volumes</i>
1. Group Work Methods and Techniques	76
2. Relation of Group Work with Other Agencies	32
3. Camps and Playgrounds	24
4. Skills and Program Resources	21

5. Relationship of Group Work to: etc.	20
6. Agencies	14
7. Neighborhood and Community	11
8. Adult Education	10
9. Personality and Behavior Problems	6
10. Implications from Social Science	4

Who publishes the books on group work? The Temple bibliography lists, under "Principles of Social Group Work," thirty-seven books and forty-four pamphlets and articles. Of the thirty-seven books, Association Press is responsible for fifteen, and there are sixteen other publishers for the remaining twenty-two. Of the articles and pamphlets, the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* lead with nine; and *The Survey* is the largest single source of articles.

Of seventy-three titles in the Temple list under "Adult Education," the American Association for Adult Education leads with seventeen titles. Harper's has six, Association Press six, and twenty-six other publishers a total of forty-four.

In the related field of counseling and guidance, the same cheerful individualism appears. No less than thirty-one publishers have had a hand in producing the sixty-five titles on the Temple list. Teachers College, with seven titles, apparently has a publishing policy in the secondary school field; Macmillan has six more or less basic books stressing mental hygiene; McGraw-Hill, with five, seems interested in "personnel work." Association Press has not a single title in this whole group. As for the other twenty-eight publishers who publish the remaining forty-seven titles, the pattern does not appear in the scattered ones and twos.

This analysis suggests that our literature is produced through a variety of publishers, most of which have probably printed the books listed as a part of another plan and not at all because they fall in the group work list. It also shows that the Association Press list is highly developed in at least one direction, but is not balanced. Whether any one publisher should attempt a balanced list in this particular field is a question of policy too involved to discuss here.

It cannot be honestly said that the style of group work litera-

ture is, in the main, distinguished. Some of the authors who must be classed as exceptions, such as A. D. Sheffield, write with a fine sensitiveness to the values of our language, but with too confiding a faith in the scholarship of their readers. All the authors have been handicapped by the fact that they were doing pioneer work in a field where the terminology was not fixed. In addition, it has happened that some of the work most worth recording has been done by people with whom the art of writing is at best a secondary accomplishment. We still suffer from a dilemma somewhat like that lamented by Max Beerbohm when he prayed that among Oxford girl undergraduates intellect might be wedded to beauty.

Part of the difficulty arises from the intellectual indigestion of some of our authors, caused by their attempt to assimilate too many strange dishes too closely together. Three or four courses of new psychology have been served in the last fifteen years; as many more of sociology; one or two of anthropology—all spiced in recent years with economic seasoning. Freud, Watson, Koffka, Lynd, Mead, Pareto, Marx—these are but a few that have been dished up to disturb us as we were quietly munching our vegetarian diet of Follett, Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Lindeman.

Among the specific faults of our writers is the tendency to allow verbosity to take the place of precise thinking. It is a common failing for one to allow fatigue to make one garrulous—and by this test some of our authors are very tired indeed!

A particular plague of our literature is the Ph.D. thesis disguised as a book of general interest. Every reasonable person must be sympathetic with the half-starved graduate student whose doctorate is being withheld until he can pay for a dissertation costing from \$500 to \$1,000. This earnest effort has been produced to meet the rigid requirements of a dissertation committee which requires the publication of "all necessary supporting data." These often include elaborate finger exercises in building some questionnaire or other instrument. The author writes anxiously and stiffly, with his eye on his adviser and his examining committee.

Our greatest single need is improved literature for the non-professional leader and committeeman, who must carry on the

great bulk of the work with actual groups and who help make and support the policies the professional is to execute. This lack is, in part, a problem of book distribution. It is, however, partly a result of writing with the professional fraternity too much in mind and with not enough thought about building the only kind of support that makes for sound agency growth: a large body of intelligent volunteers who understand the implications of our professional theories and who are enthusiastic enough about them to work for them and to help get money for them. The writing skills required here are different from those necessary for most of our professional literature and are even more highly to be prized. We are in desperate need of interpretative literature for nonprofessional people that really interprets in terms of practice and that does not merely theorize, or promote. (Many of our agencies are still getting money and publicity in terms that must give any socially discriminating person the shivers.) The literary style in writing to volunteers must be easy and colloquial, but it need not be the good-fellow jargon of the less advanced luncheon clubs.

We have a lot to learn from the work of our best columnists. When we can find a new author who can write on our important questions with the vividness and directness of, say, a Samuel Grafton of the *New York Post*, we should order dancing in the streets. The best writing of the Y.W.C.A. and of the Girl Scouts in their program literature is close to what I mean: a combination of sound thinking and the light touch.

On the subject of supervision, we have no adequate literature. Particularly do we need publications that deal realistically with the range of problems in a small but typical local staff. Much of the literature that we do have applies to a single agency. There is urgent need for finding a common denominator—manuals that will be useful to many if not all agencies doing group work. These should be supplemented by brief specific pamphlets that will help particular agencies to apply the principles set forth in the manuals.

We need much better descriptions of good practice, adequately annotated but not buried in the verbal detritus of a critical

mountain overhanging the practitioner. All that are wanted are candid camera pictures of what we do when we are doing our work well, and that is the hardest thing of all to get in words. The American Association for the Study of Group Work sent out last fall for such descriptions. The call brought some seventy-five replies, but, if my information is correct, many of them suggested bouquets kept one day too long. Perhaps we can't do this sort of thing in words, and must use movie film. But it is much too early to give up. What we need is the observing eye, the deft pen, the selective mind, and a good deal of advance planning with the publisher, for this sort of thing runs into many words and much money.

We need more carefully planned writing that will relate records and studies to our organizational life. The gap between the records we recommend and the records we use is too broad for leaping. Bridging it, however, is one of the most important pieces of engineering we have to do. Our problem here—that of books that are important even though not many will sell—leads me to suggest that we may have to work out more ways to subsidize the items we want that won't carry themselves. It frequently happens that an agency that is spending \$50,000 a year on personnel will do without essential books rather than spend \$500 on them. It even happens that they will spend thousands of dollars in getting them written, and then refuse to spend the additional hundreds that would get them into circulation. Not all of this burden ought to fall on one organization. When a need has been identified, the plan for the necessary book ought to include careful thinking, not only about who is to write the book, but how it is to get into the hands of the people who will be helped by it.

Finally, we need more adequate literature concerning the way in which group work evolves into significant social action. We say that sound education must eventuate in appropriate action, but it is doubtful whether the man from Mars would deduce this principle from the study of many of our groups at work. To be sure, allowance must be made for "faith in the process" and every safeguard set against forcing outcomes. But I fear that the difficulty lies deeper. Thousands of us cherish the dream that our



processes will forward economic democracy, but we are forced to balance our budgets every year with contributions of which 10, 25, 50 percent, or even more, come from sources that have their origin in the economic inequalities of our society. The irony of the situation is heightened by the fact that the more underprivileged our membership, the greater our dependence on the philanthropy of the economically conservative. Thus we are socially at war with ourselves.

The problem may be insoluble. But, if it can be solved, the solution will come only through analysis more candid than any I have seen in the group work books I have been reviewing. Unless we do face the problem, we must in simple honesty confess that our role is not essentially one of building a democracy, economic as well as political, but merely one of guiding leisure and educational activities within a circle of assumptions that our present sorry situation represents, for practical purposes, the best of all possible worlds.

Despite all our talk about group work, our actual production of literature on the subject is highly individualistic. It is not uncommon for two or more authors to be working secretly and desperately on a manuscript on the same subject at a time when the market will barely support one book on that subject. The fault is not all with the authors; the publishers are even less co-operative in sharing their plans. Our present processes are obviously wasteful of money and of time. With so few resources of time and money and such urgent needs, we ought to coördinate our efforts better, safeguarding with the greatest care, however, the creative spirit of the writer.

Our plan need not be thoroughly comprehensive at the beginning. It might move forward by easy stages and in a number of steps, including: (1) consolidation of the relevant information that is now scattered among a number of sources—teachers, authors, publication committees, and publishers; (2) strengthening of our plans for the distribution of books; (3) formulation of a flexible plan incorporating the most urgent generally recognized needs; and (4) consultation with known authors and the discovery

of new ones with the purpose of encouraging production on a reasonably definite time schedule.

The first point obviously includes bringing together the materials I have mentioned, such as those of Professor Du Vall and of the Committee on Publications of the American Association for the Study of Group Work. An important addition to this list will be the projected analytic bibliography on which Frances Adkins Hall, of Princeton, is working. A very few days' work by a competent group on existing materials would clear our perspective a good deal.

I mention next what is probably the most important job we have to do, to which I have previously referred: A careful restudy of the actual needs of our customers. We have a lot to learn from the methods used by the manufacturers of new commercial products. They put all their expert committee judgments up against the ultimate test—what the buyer thinks. Optimistic authors and committees now frequently estimate the number of copies of a book that will be sold in terms of the number of professional workers in an organization. They forget that ordinarily the best that a local agency will do is to buy a single copy of a book, which will be passed around the circle. Even our professionals are not book buyers so much as they are book borrowers.

Part of this study will be the search for a larger common denominator in language and ideas among our customers. At present we are trying rather vaguely to meet in the same book the needs of various large groups of both sexes and of many faiths. Obviously, not every book can do this. We may have to write our books on several distinct levels and work with great care to avoid references or turns of phrase that may be unimportant to the author but which may govern the decision of a large group of buyers. If we go at this negatively we shall have to find authors who are complete yes men; but we can go at it positively and strengthen the bonds among institutions that walk too much alone.

I suspect we shall find right here a troublesome problem that lies deeper than an occasional phrasing. Probably we are all bored with the type of group work literature that has to have

the imprint of a particular institution on its title page, that must be written in its own jargon, and that must have its own sacred initials at least once on every page. But we do not wish to belittle true loyalty to the best that is in any institution. On the lowest level, this loyalty is about all that some of us have in the way of professional security. On a higher level, the continuity of the agency's achievement is much better tested than some of our group work assumptions. Those who question the "broader" approach of group work are reasonable in asking whether the values they are being asked to give up are less vital to the community than those they will presumably achieve by the abnegation. In terms of publications, only a fresh and convincing demonstration that we can do more together than apart will carry our case for us.

I suggest complete restudy of the potential field of books for volunteer workers. These will need to be short, clear, simple, and cheap. Also, they must be prepared with the participation of the volunteers themselves. At the same time we shall need to restudy the actual readiness of our own professional workers to read our own professional literature. Their educational level is somewhat below the Bachelor of Arts degree. Our typical authors, on the other hand, write on the postgraduate level. This sharply limits the number of buyers to begin with, and lays the publisher open to the charge of misrepresentation when he tries to sell a book to people who are really not up to reading it. One result is that the poor publisher argues himself into believing that a large part of his market is really in the colleges and secondary schools. If they use group discussion methods, he is inclined to think they really belong in the group flock. Many of those who receive the glad tidings of a new book are at least as surprised as delighted that they have been included.

It is obvious that our present list of stand-bys (the American Association for the Study of Group Work has about a thousand members) is by no means an adequate base for a group work professional literature. Through this and other coöperating organizations, we must find the professional people who are interested in the same problems of group work and who recognize in

its literature a resource in learning to do their jobs better. Some of the places where we might look for such people are:

1. *The progressive education group.*—Many of their members are already interested. In the large total membership, however, it is hard to reach them, except by display advertising which is generally not so effective for specialized books as is direct mailing.

2. *Government-sponsored group projects.*—The leaders of a great variety of group projects sponsored and supported in whole or in part by the Federal Government may well be interested, although they are especially hard to reach effectively. Their budgets make even those of our private institutions seem marvels of stability. Their turnover is high, and their addresses change rapidly. Nevertheless, they are reaching vast numbers of people that our urban private agencies never touch.

3. *The adult education group.*—Here again is a territory still largely uncharted for the purpose of book distribution and with much overlapping of names reached in other ways. After all duplication has been taken care of, however, there are still thousands of leaders here who are not at present on our lists of buyers.

4. *Agencies devoted exclusively to recreation.*—Some of these organizations look upon specialized group work with an understandable skepticism. We need to work more with them and to define more sharply what we have in common with them.

It is essential to find out what books are now being projected and written and, by joint agreement with the "onlie begetters," not only to prevent overlapping, but to expedite the creation of the books that are most urgently needed. This should definitely encourage younger writers. Such a plan, in general, needs to be most realistic in terms of financial implications and time schedules. For a series of half a dozen books, a span of five years may be necessary. Two years are necessary when the data for a book must be gathered afresh from the field. One year is little enough even when the author has been found and the data are at hand.

Again let me say: Let us help the new authors and some of the older ones by providing them in advance with the publishing facts of life. There is no point in working extra months to bring

into existence 150,000 words, however lovely, if two dollars is to be the price of a book and 75,000 words the limit.

Finally, as we emerge from this sea of publishing facts and speculations, let us humbly remember that we shall not be saved by books alone. We may hope, however, that if we continue to recognize all the interests in the assemblage with which we began—readers and advisers, as well as authors and publishers—we have in our literature one of our most potent allies to help us in rebuilding our corner of the world nearer to heart's desire.

# THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CASE WORKER IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY

*Grace F. Marcus*

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WATCHING A CONTINENT plunged into the unimaginable agonies of war, we are numbed by terror of the monstrous capabilities commanded by men for their own annihilation. Destruction is overrunning the lands beyond our seas, crushing human beings like flies. It is arrogant; recklessly sure-footed; inexorable. How are we to identify this enormity with anything we know in human beings or in those aggregations of human beings we call society? If it lurks in our society, how can we be saved from it? How are we to strengthen ourselves against organized horror like this? What have we been overlooking that the inevitable should yet take us so utterly by surprise? We can adjust our philosophies to floods, dust storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes, though they belittle our foresight or our power, lay waste our homes, and destroy our lives, but not to the catastrophe of human genius turned inhuman and malignant, not to the spectacle of civilization devising its own doom.

The blow that is being dealt us is to a belief that has sustained the whole structure of our habitual being, a belief that there is a difference marking men out from the other animals. In defiance of all we have been told and have read we have refused to surrender faith that something in man could be trusted to put reins on ferocity and set bounds to the deadly devices his wit might employ for misconceived ends of self-preservation. It is no reassurance to us now that the slaughtering armies are composed of individuals with private heroisms and decencies. The shock has been to a previously unshaken conviction that there can be a



dignity in human destiny, and that in this destiny each individual may be granted his human share of choice and control. Our most disabling present fear is of a fate that debases into stupid weaknesses those ultimate restraints on which we have counted to protect man from man.

The paradox of man's recorded career has been the defeating blindness of his imperious drive for self-preservation. The cunning of the human mind has been equal to the need of defense against an unregarding universe. It has been equal to the progressive mastery of nature's hidden power, only to fall its own victim and set at naught a fabulous achievement. Man has subdued the air to his purposes and penetrated the atom. His vision has encompassed the universe and his ingenuity triumphed over time and space. The one fastness he has not yet made his own is within himself. A persistent betrayal of man by himself continues to make a tragedy of human history: it annuls his courage, his endurance, his distinguishing intelligence, his devotion to others, and his aspirations for peace, progress, and creation. For less crucial problems man has had intellect to spare, but in this struggle for his own survival his vaunted reason has repeatedly delivered him into the treacherous custody of his fears, hatreds, and aggression; it has played the accomplice in his downfall. The paramount task of civilization is to liberate this pursuit of self-preservation from its secret enemies within the human mind. That mind need no longer be locked against itself, a stranger to its own nature. The subtle key has been forged. How is man to be prevailed upon to recognize and use the knowledge to which it gives access?

It may appear a violation of all perspective, of all the dictates of common sense, to relate social work to issues of this magnitude. Are we, in thinking there is a relation, guilty of an absurd presumption, or, absurd though it may seem, must we risk presumption to see our task plain? Our justification, if justification there be, must be found in the nature of the social work function itself, and in that of the most distinctive of its methods, social case work. How do the problems of social case work ally it to those involved in the life or death of a society? What special

vantage ground does social case work possess? What light has it to cast not merely on the "forgotten man," whose refusal to remain forgotten can in the end spell a cultural catastrophe, but on the elementary conditions for self-preservation which have eluded all men alike in the conduct of their relations to one another?

Of the professions, social work, the youngest, is most intimately and directly involved in the maladjustments between individuals and society. The problems of financial dependency, social inadequacy and personal handicap, disturbed relationships and anti-social behavior to which social case work, for instance, chose to dedicate itself have been those which our most respected institutions failed to prevent or cure or with which our other professions could not or would not deal. We see as notable in these inabilities or refusals to take responsibility a repudiation both of the problems and of the persons whom they afflict. That is why the newcomer, social case work, had relative freedom to adopt ills that were by no means new or unknown in the history of our society. It is also the reason why so little pertinent knowledge was available about the problems with which case work was confronted. Repudiation is a denial of the need for knowledge. In this instance, experience was to reveal that this general repudiation of the problems of case work is more than an external obstacle to be hurdled, that rather it is an essential part of those problems. Case work had all too innocently stumbled upon phenomena to which man's common-sense knowledge of himself has been closed.

The task of social case work brought it into contact with more phases of immediate daily living than law, medicine, or education knew. This distinctive circumstance rendered it impossible for case work to follow the example of other professions and carve out for its province a segment of the individual or his life. It could not for example, separate mind from body as medicine separated them until very recently, when psychiatry challenged the rest of medicine to repent of its fallacy. Case work could not achieve a practical divorce of intelligence from the rest of the individual as did education. The problems of case work would not permit it to avoid the baffling individual at their center as

economics, political science, and sociology managed to avoid him. The comparative success with which other professions and disciplines had sidetracked the human being was at one with a universal need both to take him for granted and to reject as abnormalities his failures to measure up to social expectations. Case work, guilty of an initial presumption in attempting to correct these failures, naturally could not so easily dismiss them. The relative scantiness of its own accumulated knowledge and the embryonic stage of its method also made it less resistive to a disturbing psychoanalytical influence than the older professions and the social sciences have been: case work did not have to undertake the reconstruction of an impressive edifice of inherited lore in order to admit human nature into its calculations. Its very poverty of established tradition and prestige freed case work from the necessity to fight for an old orthodoxy; it had little to lose by change if change would bring it light on the darkness in the human mind.

The source of light on the darkness was the revolutionary knowledge acquired by psychoanalysis through researches which penetrated past the barriers of the conscious into the secret, hitherto unknown depths of the human mind. In what has that psychoanalytic revolution consisted? What power has it given to case work? And how does this extension of case work's power enlarge the responsibility of case work to the interests of a society whose ideas of human nature have undergone no revolution whatever?

In the labyrinth of the unconscious, psychoanalysis found the impulses which divide man against himself and his fellows and make him in his struggle for life kill the values that make life worth living. The mind which man has prized as his stronghold against brute instinct and trusted as the organ of consciousness, reason, and moral choice, is discovered to have its source in and to be moved by the same primitive, conflicting urges which it has sought to put down as alien enemies. From these very impulses, commonly regarded as hateful and abhorrent, the mind derives its energy and gets its power both to create and destroy. Unreasoning fear, hostility, and aggression are as native to its

depths as their opposites and when forcibly repressed may corrupt to their use any or all of the weapons with which the conscious mind arms itself against their re-emergence. Thus reason is assured of no firm, complete jurisdiction over thought and behavior since it becomes subject to unsuspected invasion by the irrational. And conscience, though it is the appointed guardian against fear and hate, may be their dupe and in its obedience to the archaic savage code of the unconscious forfeit development of the capacity to distinguish accurately between the safe and the dangerous impulse, the real and the imaginary delinquency, or the essential and the empty obligation. Ill-adapted to appraise reality, unconscious fear and hostility may pervert efforts at self-preservation into morbid self-surrender by exacting as the price of security the renunciation of natural impulse, initiative, and ability; or they may inspire a domination and exploitation of others in the supposed interest of self-defense. Furthermore, the inner history of the individual reveals an ugly reverse side to the moral codes, conventions, and ideals by which society attempts to regulate the behavior of its members for their own and the social good; social standards and customs, like the individual conscience they mold, are compounded of irrationalities and operate with a harsh rigidity that may outlaw rather than educate primitive impulse, and by outlawry make it an uncontrollable menace both to the individual and to society.

These revelations of a new psychological science have seemed not only to dispossess man from the citadel of his own mind, but also to deny him hope of ever conquering it. But if we reconsider, we reach a quite different conclusion. The human animal evolved reason and conscience out of his necessity to assure himself both physical and social survival. His use of these tools for self-preservation has miscarried through his ignorance of the self to be preserved. The exercise of reason and conscience has been internally crippled by false ideas of the constitution of the mind, of the impulses that motivate its activities and of their relation one to another. The human being's misconceptions of his own nature have been responsible for a tragic irony, the development of rational and moral disciplines that in violating the self have

made it more permanently captive to its weaknesses. Psychoanalysis has given reason access to the irrational, and united conscious mind to the unconscious impulse from which it has so unavailingly tried to divorce itself by force. If in one sense reason can no longer assume itself to be absolute monarch of the mind, in another sense, that of scientific understanding, reason for the first time becomes armed for the conquest of the foes disputing its kingdom and may aspire to liberate the human mind as in physical medicine it has been liberating the human body.

The single individual remains bound to limitations upon his knowledge of himself for they are inherent in the nature of his mind and its workings. The task of freeing him from the snares of self-perpetuating fear, hatred, and aggression must therefore fall on the professions and the social sciences having to do with him and his welfare. Hardly a beginning has yet been made on this enterprise, and none can be made by any profession until it realizes that man's own individual mind is always at the center of any problem he has in living and that none of these problems is accurately defined unless the mind in its real nature is included as an essential factor. By this token, social case work has an opportunity and an obligation to serve society far greater than its relative immaturity would seem to indicate. It enters upon its career equipped with a scientific knowledge of personality that enables it to acknowledge the vital human core of its problems rather than to take its station on their periphery after the fashion of the older professions and disciplines. These, in their subscription to popular theory, have dealt gingerly with isolated fractions of man's mind and separated his external concerns into self-contained, unrelated departments, intellectual, physical, moral, spiritual, economic, and political. Recognition of the total personality and the wholeness of its behavior has given case work the advantage of freedom from these sterilities. But it owes another and more permanent advantage to its peculiar function.

Case work meets the difficulty between individuals and society in the quick. Its experience exposes it to the particulars of human needs, motives, and reactions as these conflict with society's interests and demands. The particulars of case work are those whose



omission from other reckonings of man's problem in society has permitted both the individual and the social group to make grievous errors of choice in the deluded pursuit of self-preservation. Case work habitually confronts the consequences which follow for the individual from failures in his own and society's functioning. It is in the sickroom of society, among those members of society whose condition most faithfully reflects its sickness, that the practice of case work is performed. Other professions have their distinctive vantage points, either of special intimacy with some aspect of the individual or with some part of the social organization under which he lives. The province of case work is in the invisible nerve centers of society, the relationships that connect the individual unit with the social whole. The knowledge acquired in case work's operations has a consequent uniqueness that makes it indispensable not only to those whom it directly serves, but to all the anonymous others who may now or in the future join their stricken company.

It is just here, however, that we find case work disabled by a conflict between its responsibilities for serving the interests of the individual and those of society. The same revolutionary psychology which has furnished it the dynamic of a method for effectively serving the direct, individual client has appeared to deny it the possibility of effectively serving a profession's indirect but ultimate client, society. Is this the inevitable terminus of its psychological revolution or merely an arrest in the revolutionary process that may be traced to some unperceived loss of direction? We know that revolutions may have more and different results than the participants in them originally expected, and that they may lose their momentum either through secret compromise with the system they have overthrown or through intellectual failure to recognize and use their unanticipated results. Is it something of this sort that has been happening to case work?

It is relatively simple to dispose of some of the intellectual obstacles that seem to be blocking case work in the exercise of an influence beyond the fixed bounds of its direct service to individuals. One of these has seemed to arise from its inability to adopt for professional purposes a philosophy to which it might



march in behalf of human rights and social justice. The reason for this inability is not far to seek. Though such philosophies may be necessary and valuable guides to action in other, nonprofessional spheres, case work has learned that theories not evolved from and tested by a scientifically oriented experience with the individual harbor a dangerous, common-sense blindness to the real nature, needs, and motivations of human beings. Case work, therefore, resists the seductions of philosophical stands on social problems because, whatever their practical virtues may be in other connections, for a professional practice these positions have the defect of glossing over the painful necessity for remaining under the discipline of doubt until the knowledge which may settle the doubt has been obtained. This aversion to a borrowed philosophy created synthetically from sources of varying reliability has therefore saved case work from wasteful excursions and merits attention only in so far as case work itself has been tempted to conclude that since it cannot make a social philosophy a safe ground for action, no other basis is to be found for influencing society in the conscious modification of its institutions, ideals, and customs.

Another intellectual obstacle which has rendered case work halfhearted in any effort to make its knowledge socially available has been erected by the discovery that the individual's allegiance to his habits and prejudices is impervious to the direct appeals of reason and that society's own irrationalities are no less deep and pervasive than those of the individual against whom society so often appears to be arrayed. In believing that interpretation to the public must fail of its mark, case work is finding a false analogy between the individual's reactions to a discredited method of treatment and his ordinary susceptibility to evidence which is addressed to his available understanding and his average sense of social responsibility. Both this understanding and this sense of responsibility will be limited by his individual biases, but the defeatism which denies his accessibility to any concern about his fellows ignores his insistent human need for support of his own reason and conscience as arbiters of his behavior.

A far more serious source of the conflict case work has had

about its relation to society is its uncritical acceptance of the common-sense notion which separates the individual from society as if he and society were distinct, antagonistic entities, in fact, as if society could exist apart from the individuals who compose it or as if individuals in the mass were different in their essential kind from individuals as we know them in their singleness. This unexamined fallacy is Siamese twin to the assumption, widely held both by case workers and their critics, that there must be a fundamental conflict between the interests of the individual and those of society and that either a choice or a compromise has to be made between them. In its adherence to these unfounded theories case work has overlooked some of the implications in its psychological revolution and has been led to depreciate an invaluable part of its particular professional experience. Furthermore, its subscription to these doubtful tenets has exposed it to unnecessary question about the legitimacy of its concern to improve its method, for this concern has been illogically opposed as entailing neglect of its responsibility for professional action.

The unscientific separation of the individual and society has prevented our defining accurately the problems man has in living with himself and his fellows. The findings of a scientific psychology have shown that the personality of man is not a closed, independent system, and that its development is shaped from infancy by constant interaction with surrounding personalities and by the codes and conventions to which they exact obedience. Unnecessary tolerance has been given to that inhumanity in social systems and institutions which is the product of man's ignorance of his own nature and its needs; this tolerance has been sustained by the irrational assumption that human institutions derive from some nonhuman independent source and are not governed by the same laws that govern the mind and behavior of the individual. Consequently, our economic and political systems neglect to take man into proper, practical account, and most of the accepted theory of economics and political science is strange to any understanding of human nature. Thus we have an economics that attempts to explain the problems involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods without realizing that it

must reckon with the needs and motives of the human beings who produce, distribute, and consume them. Political science too has been oriented away from the human behavior in which its problems are inextricably involved, and law has been wedded to ideals of abstract justice that have made it fear any concern with human factors as a contamination and corruption of its purpose.

Case work has lamented the lack of development in the fields of the social sciences and yet has shared the popular awe of an economics and a political science which have missed the heart of their problems in one-sided concentration on technicalities. This inhibition on its own free use of what it knows has kept case work from examining and presenting its evidence when the evidence seemed to bring it up against the barriers of an economic system operating according to mysterious laws of its own and quite dissociated from those inherent in the nature and needs of human beings. One odd result of this has been the tendency on the part of case workers to feel responsible for the effects which their evidence about the factors which economics and political science ignore might have on the functioning of the social system and to believe that they must not emphasize needs calling for economic readjustments to the planning of which they themselves cannot directly contribute. What is lost sight of in this peculiar conflict is case work's own possession of invaluable data on the human factors which our society neglects in its attempts to manage itself and its members. There is reason, for example, to question whether it is economically wise for a society to divorce its economic decisions from the human considerations involved since in the long run those considerations will assert their right to attention in a paralysis and breakdown of the systems that have outraged them. The issue for case work is not whether society asks for or welcomes its evidence, it is the issue of a profession's responsibility to present from its accumulating store data on problems in human living to which the unaided vision of the individual and society gives them no access. Man the tool-maker lacks full command of that supreme tool of all tools, his own mind, and must rely on the professions dealing with him

and his affairs to see what he cannot see and free him through their insight from the evil consequences of his blindness. The power of choice remains his, but it is the high office of a profession to strengthen that power of choice by offering the human facts and the human issues to him and so extend the range of his options.

Case work occupies a position of professional loneliness that often seems bleak and difficult to bear. It carries the exhausting burden of insights beyond its resources for bringing them into effective use. The demands of its method may appear to clip its wings for the flights through which from time immemorial the individual has sought to escape the individual by preoccupation with the mass. Case work needs to see how intrinsically the individual and the mass are one and to hold tenaciously to its concern with the individual as the key to an understanding promising individual and society their first release from a darkness that extinguishes the ardent light in the human mind and makes the unsought accident of life a senseless suffering.

## EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

*Marion Hathway*

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THE OBJECTIVE OF A SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK is to equip the student to assume the responsibilities of professional practice in the field of social work. Inherent in the philosophy of professional education is the belief that the scope of theory and practice offered in the school should include the understanding of behavior, the mastery of methods in individualizing service to meet human needs, the knowledge of administrative practices through which these methods are applied, and the problems encountered in providing these services within a community. Inherent also is the conviction that preparation for administration embodies a mastery of professional content in the service and a demonstrated capacity upon which specific preparation for the leadership of supervision and administration can be developed. "Training for public assistance," then, as viewed by the school of social work, embodies a qualification for general practice applied in a setting responsive to public control.

In preparing personnel for the social services developing under public auspices, the schools have adhered to this philosophy of professional education and yet have effected certain adaptations in method and content which have been prompted by the needs of the public agencies. The recent study of education for the public social services, undertaken by the American Association of Schools of Social Work under a Rockefeller grant, has revealed the major skills and knowledges desired by the visitors, supervisors, and administrators in the services and the major adaptations effected by the schools in their effort to make a contribution to the agencies. The resources of the schools for the equipment of personnel in the public assistance field as shown in this study will be reviewed briefly here. Special reference will be made to curriculum content, faculty resources, and student needs.

Obviously, the entire course of study is at stake when any evaluation of the role of the schools is attempted, and the curriculum must be viewed as a whole in order to determine its real contribution. Yet for comment here it is helpful to consider the curriculum in its several aspects which for the purpose of the study were designated as: understanding the individual; basic practices in service to individuals and groups; administration; public welfare administration; research; the structure and function of agencies; the framework of the community in which these services function; and field work which provides a realistic experience in practice as carried out by social agencies in the community and as given educational content by supervision related to the school program.

The content of basic courses in the curriculum has been both modified and enriched by the impact of recent expansion in the public welfare services. Materials adapted from psychiatry and medicine to present the physical and mental and emotional development of the individual are increasingly related to normal growth; and increasing attention is given to their integration with subject matter offered in other courses in the curriculum. This tendency has been accelerated by changes in the nature of the services and is believed to be an encouraging offset to the vigorous criticism made by certain agencies that the schools have been overemphasizing psychiatric content in the curriculum. In the adaptation of materials from medicine it is clear that the basic course which deals with physical growth and development has been expanded by the addition of subject matter from public health.

The nature and extent of modification within the basic case work courses vary according to the philosophy of the school, yet generalization is possible. Some schools were emphatic in the statement that generic case work is the sound basis upon which specialized case work content can be learned. Others believe that it forms the entire content of practice and is applicable to specialized as well as to generalized programs of service.

Course materials have been changed in important respects, so that a selection of cases from a wider variety of agency situations



can be presented in the basic case work course. A clarification of agency function has been found to be helpful, so that the setting of the public agency may be properly understood. In one instance, the school's emphasis upon the understanding of individual behavior as distinct from the teaching of case work practice has developed a universality in application which has met a need. In another school the integration of field practice in both public and private agencies with the teaching of case work so that the preparation in the first year may equip the student with basic skills for practice in either area was a device successfully used.

Confusion in the teaching of case work practice has followed the sudden shift of social case work programs from private to public auspices. Here and there in the process of study, there appeared evidence of a schism in the case work field which tends to differentiate private from public practice more sharply than ever. When agencies discriminate against one or the other type of background in selecting personnel, it is evident that the conviction in generic social case work practice is badly shaken. If the teaching faculty in a school of social work accepts a broad inclusive definition of case work content, the application of generic case work principles to the operation of the public social services presents little problem. If, however, the teaching faculty regards the public assistance procedure as "administrative and investigatorial" and draws a sharp line between "generic case work" and "case work as practiced in a public assistance agency," the problem is very great.

From the materials of the study it is clear that one major source of the difficulty may well originate in the omnibus character which case work courses have been allowed to assume. Upon them has been placed the burden of acquainting the student with the fundamentals of human behavior and its manifestations, of developing his skill in rendering the service of the agency to the individual, and of developing his own discipline as a professional practitioner in relation to individuals whom he serves. All three processes enter into the teaching of case work, but they are not the sole prerogative of these courses. On the contrary, they constitute a major part of the total professional curriculum, of which

case work is only one area. It is to field work practice and to the supporting courses in structure, function, administration, and research as well, that the student looks for his development as a professional person.

The extent to which course offerings in the area of community organization have been affected by expansion of public welfare programs is not entirely clear from the study. Criticism was frequently made by the employing agencies that the graduates of the schools of social work do not understand or appreciate the significance of the community or of community forces which affect the social work program. The majority of schools expressed the conviction that the content and objectives of the courses in community organization need review in the light of the importance of tax-supported efforts and the changing function of voluntary activities in the field. Several times it was suggested that the material of these courses had not received as much attention as might be warranted, and it was implied that objectives and methods focused principally on private social work practice might still be in use. Obtaining adequate teaching material, especially from the public agency field, seems to be difficult.

Trends in the development of public welfare content are especially important to this discussion. An introductory course in public welfare which deals with the structure and organization of public welfare services is universally offered. In some schools, this course emphasizes the actual services under public auspices; in others, more attention is directed to the general administrative relationships of the Federal, state, and local units in the field. Frequently observed was the course in public welfare administration which is concerned with problems of administration in the public welfare setting. In some schools, historical material is emphasized in order to give understanding and perspective to the problems which are presented. In others, those administrative problems which have peculiar connotation in the public field are the principal foci.

The course in public assistance is concerned with administrative problems centering in programs of old age assistance, blind

assistance, and aid to dependent children as expanded under the Social Security Act. Frequently offered in the sequence is a course in social insurance, presumably emphasizing the interrelationship of public welfare services and the social insurances. An increasing number of schools are also making available to students the subject matter of public administration which is related to the public welfare series.

Generally speaking, all schools agree that the subject matter of public welfare should be a part of the preparation of every student whether he is destined for public or private social service. Students entering the private field, they believe, should be equipped for sound working relationships with public agencies. Later alumni registers prove that many students eventually enter the public welfare field, irrespective of their first job placements.

Research courses in the general curriculum serve to acquaint the student with methods in the field, to develop on his part the attitude of scientific study of programs or procedures and to give him some basis for understanding and evaluating social data. The study reveals increasing effort by the schools to clarify and define the place of research in professional study and increasing use of such courses by students interested in public welfare. Again this parallels a need expressed many times by workers and administrators interviewed in the course of the study.

The structure and organization of the social services are constantly changing as new methods of social control are developed and old ones discarded, and as scientific knowledge is extended into new areas. Fundamental to practice in the field is the understanding of the evolution of the social services and of their structure, functioning, and interrelationship at any one time from the local, state, and national point of view. General courses offered in these fields include historical perspective, present structure, agency function, and the relationship to other areas in the total field of the social services. In some instances these functional areas can only be explained historically, but the knowledge of their place in the program is important to the student who expects to practice realistically in a community. The place in the professional curriculum for materials dealing with the

mosaic of social services and their interrelationship was recognized as essential.

Professional skill is not practiced in a vacuum, and the findings of the study give ample evidence of the need on the part of the student to understand the environment in which he is at work. Thus it is logical to turn for a moment to that phase of the curriculum which is concerned with the social and economic framework of society in which social work programs are developed. Here and there courses in social planning or regional resources, in rural or urban social problems, in propaganda and public opinion, provide a broad orientation to the student interested in community organization or administration. On the whole, however, except where they may be available through related departments and thus not listed in the catalogue, few attempts to offer such material were discovered. The impression gained from the study is that more such courses are desirable. They should be planned, however, to meet the needs of advanced students interested in professional practice and thus interested in orientation to culture patterns in which their practice must be undertaken.

In the discussion of administration in the professional curriculum, two assumptions must be kept in mind. The first is that social workers operate within a framework of social services and are inherently a part of the administration of a social agency program. Thus students preparing for the field should be equipped with a knowledge and understanding of the concepts of administration, the procedures and problems involved in management in order that they may carry their own responsibilities effectively. The second assumption is that preparation for administration of social work programs is based on the mastery of the content of practice and demonstrated ability in the field. Only mature individuals who have demonstrated these capacities are encouraged to undertake additional and special training for the field.

Preparation for supervision and administration is offered in the schools of social work for students who have had satisfactory experience in the practice of social work. The general curricu-

lum of courses and field has presumably laid the foundation for successful performance and promotion to positions of greater responsibility. Efforts are being made by the schools to provide this general foundation in the early instruction of the student. Those with satisfactory experience in the field who desire further preparation for the responsibilities of administration are usually encouraged to broaden their equipment by electing courses in community organization, social planning, public finance, governmental fiscal control, social legislation, public welfare organization, and research. The educational experience is usually individualized in terms of the student's background, and it is difficult to generalize except to emphasize that the mastery of practice in the field and a broad background of knowledge of the setting in which social work functions constitute the objectives in any specialized equipment for administration.

The field work program in the schools has been vitally affected as the public welfare services have expanded. While general objectives in field work remain the same, the content of the field practice experience and the selection and development of field practice centers reflect very definitely the modification and development which the public programs have necessitated.

From the data of the study, it may be said that the objective in the first placement of the student is a generic experience and that family and child welfare agencies are most frequently utilized for this purpose. As to whether the auspices shall be public or private, a considerable difference of opinion exists, and a general conclusion is impossible. In a few instances, medical social agencies are used for the beginning experience, but their use is limited to a very few schools.

For advanced students, there is a decided tendency, as far as this is practicable, to recognize the desire of the student for experience in the specialized area which approximates his own interest. The student's own needs, however, are important determinants and are definitely balanced against his expressed desire for experience in a particular field. The study gives the impression that the placement of advanced students is highly individualized.



Field work practice in community organization work is much less standardized than in case work and in group work. The principal reason is that the process of community organization has not yet been defined in a way to which the profession subscribes. Those who emphasize the process of community organization are interested in student placements which provide experience in the intergroup process. Those who emphasize community organization as a part of administration are interested in placements for students which emphasize the social-planning aspect of the social work program. Everywhere, however, there is agreement that field practice in community organization is suitable only for mature and advanced students.

Field work in administration is still experimental, and the study reveals no widespread agreement that a sound educational experience can be provided for students in the area of administrative practice. Projects which deserve scrutiny, however, have been undertaken at the New York School of Social Work, at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, and at Washington University.

A genuine conviction has developed on the part of the majority of schools that the public agencies should be more generally used as field practice centers than ever before. Executives in the field have cited the changing character of the social worker's job occasioned by the setting of the public agency and are unfavorably inclined toward any suggestion that supervised field experience and employment experience in private agencies are conducive to the best adjustment and performance in public agencies. Thus a school preparing students for general social work practice at a time when job placements in the public field are expanding turns its attention to the use of field centers in that area which will provide acceptable generic practice.

With very few exceptions, the schools visited are making decided progress in developing field practice centers in the public agencies. The extension of the public welfare services has suggested new types of field experience which might be suitable preparation for students anticipating practice in the public field. Also, the schools are making progress in expanding the scope of



experience in field work in order that the students may be acquainted as never before with the setting and the problems in which the agency function is performed.

The nature of the field for which the schools are preparing personnel and the content of the professional curriculum which is thereby necessary point emphatically to the need of faculties broadly trained, highly competent in their own fields, and conversant with the problems of professional education in the whole field of social work. The study has provided evidence for genuine encouragement in this direction. While the number of full-time faculties is increasing slowly, due to budget limits with which the schools are confronted, it is apparent in the selection of new faculty personnel that broad preparation is being emphasized. This is especially true of the faculty members who carry responsibility for the practice courses.

Here and there is still the tendency to isolate or protect the teaching of practice and to recognize skill in that area as the sole determinant in faculty appointment. Evidence from the study suggests that social case work has been singled out for a special kind of protection in the program of educational leadership and that some of the problems of curriculum planning and modification have their origin in this situation. The increasing importance of the field of public welfare administration is shown by recent expansion in the full-time faculty in schools which have previously not emphasized public welfare content.

Policies governing the admission of students to the schools have been modified to some extent to meet new situations which the expansion of public welfare services has created. The prospect of employment in the public field has encouraged competent students to undertake professional study, and in areas where the public agencies have begun to develop personnel standards, a positive effect upon recruiting of capable students is noticeable. On the other hand, the low standards which have recently been permitted by certain civil service commissions, and the insecurity of tenure and meager salaries characteristic of some of the public welfare services where civil service does not operate, continue to deter effective recruiting.

Special concessions are usually made to workers who are granted educational leave for study and who plan to return to their former jobs after a period of residence work in the school. In at least twenty-two of the schools, definite consideration is given to students on leave from state or local welfare agencies. In almost every instance they are enrolled in the school for limited periods, and thus schedule planning must be greatly individualized to meet their needs. Frequently students selected for educational leave do not satisfy the stated requirements for admission to the schools. Requirements which may be waived or postponed in special instances relate to age, to the content of the preprofessional work, to the academic average, and to credentials from nonaccredited institutions. In most instances the candidate who presents a record of successful employment in the field of social work when applying to the school is in the more favorable situation so far as the waiver of requirements is concerned. In general, the schools ask some reassurance that the student applicant is physically able to carry the program of study. Moreover, the schools are giving increasing attention to the evaluation of personality attributes which predict success.

The increasing number of part-time students in the schools indicates that registration in regular and in special courses has been extended to the workers employed in the public agencies. In general, the policies covering the admission of part-time students to courses in the regular curriculum coincide with those relating to full-time students. Yet the privilege of electing all courses in the curriculum or of becoming a candidate for the degree or certificate is rarely extended. The difficulty of arranging field work on a part-time basis and the isolation of field work from courses are very real problems in educational planning. The schools regard field work placements for part-time students as limited in number and as undesirable except where special provision must be made for a few students who for certain urgent reasons are unable to continue the work of the school in residence.

Extramural courses sponsored by the schools and offered as nonresident courses outside the cities in which the schools are

located are a device by which the resources of the schools can be extended to social workers employed in public agencies of adjacent communities. The majority of schools visited during this study either question the wisdom of such course offerings or have had no experience upon which to base conclusions. Few have actually experimented with the plan. As a general rule, extramural field work is considered impracticable, due to the lack of adequate supervision by the school and the depletion of faculty resources involved. In placing limitations upon extramural work, for reasons that they believe to be correct, the schools are at variance with the desires of the agencies as revealed in the findings of the study. Further study of the problem is no doubt indicated.

The structural adaptations in the schools of social work have been few in number because there is widespread conviction on the part of the schools that the present organizational base is essentially sound. Yet attention should be called to the establishment of two types of schools which may now be approved for membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work. The recognition of one-year and two-year programs (Type 1 and Type 2) was in part the result of the work of two committees considering the facilities of the state universities and land-grant colleges which desired to establish professional curricula in order to meet local demands for additional social work personnel. The new classification makes no basic change in the place of the two-year professional curriculum at the graduate level as sound preparation for the field. It has recognized, however, two factors: first, the dependence of the schools upon field practice resources and upon adequate teaching faculties; and second, the existing salary levels which encourage students to seek employment after one year of graduate study. The plan makes possible the limited functioning of a university in a region where resources do not justify the establishment of a two-year course of study and where for financial reasons few students could remain to complete such a curriculum if it were offered.

The past contribution of the schools of social work to public assistance has been expressed by the nature of the professional

curriculum and has been indicated by the work of graduates and former students in the development of the services. A very close relationship between the schools and the actual administration of the services is shown by the leadership of certain schools in the growth of the public services and by research in the field. A variety of incidental services by members of these faculties, in consultative and participating relationships, has also been made available.

The future contribution will depend upon both internal and external factors in the relationship of the schools to the public assistance programs. The internal factors of curriculum, faculty, and student body have been discussed. A major external problem is the specific place of post-entry education in the services. Merit systems are being established in the formative period of the public social services. The importance of post-entry preparation thus becomes very great. To date, educational leave is making slow progress in public assistance, in spite of the encouragement from the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board.

A second external factor is the level of personnel standards in the agencies. The study has clearly revealed the contribution which can be made by schools of social work in preparing personnel for the administration of public welfare services. The schools believe, however, that resources are wisely invested in those areas in which the professional function has been clarified and where there is an established demand for trained personnel. If the merit amendment to the Social Security Act extends the present basis of selection throughout the country and adds thereby certain procedures of civil service, it is very possible that a permanent personnel will be fastened upon public welfare, with relatively little opportunity for movement in from the outside. If promotional examinations are placed on an open competitive basis, on the assumption that additional qualifications other than efficiency are needed in the new responsibilities, opportunities will be available to trained persons to enter at various levels. Few well-equipped persons will enter at the lowest rung of the ladder in the career framework which is the alternative.

Confusion concerning the professional function and political control of placements are sobering factors to schools accepting the responsibility of preparing young persons for professional practice in the field. No school believes it should use a major part of its resources in preparing for a field where qualified personnel is rejected.

The needed skills and knowledge revealed in the study substantiate a professional content in public assistance which justifies the preparation of personnel for employment in the services. The study also indicates that the subject matter offered in the professional curriculum is applicable to practice and administration in these services. The problem to be met is the extent to which these two parallel developments will converge in a coöperative effort to raise the standards of administration in the field.

The school's province in training for public assistance is the preparation of personnel for the professional functions in a public assistance agency including those of visitors, supervisors, and administrators. To fulfill this task, however, four things are necessary: (1) curriculum study and modification on the part of the schools as the study has indicated; (2) the establishment of civil service systems on a basis to permit open competitive examinations for promotion; (3) provision for educational leave to encourage further professional study as a basis for promotion; and (4) the extension of facilities by the schools to employed personnel on a basis which is sound. The study reveals progress in all of these areas.

# GENERIC ASPECTS OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR CASE WORK AND GROUP WORK

## I: FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A TEACHER OF CASE WORK

*Ruth Gartland*

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FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS PAPER, I would like to define case work as a qualitative process through which we use the dynamic understanding of the individual in society in the rendering of certain social services, individual by individual. Group work I shall define as a qualitative process through which we use this dynamic understanding in the rendering of certain social services, available to groups of individuals united by a common interest or bond. We can assume that both case workers and group workers have socially useful objectives, else why would we be social workers and why would the community employ us? In the practice of both case work and group work, therefore, we may expect to find certain similar generic concepts and methods arising out of this basic understanding and certain specific or different elements arising out of our functional differences in approach and in social agency setting. It may be well to consider some of the generic and specific elements in order that we may see some of the similarities in our practice and also some of the differences, since it is through the differences in practice that we may learn from one another.

Our recent focus upon the human beings we serve instead of upon the problems or programs of interest to us might be an illustration of a generic method arising out of generic understanding. In the past, the case worker was apt to concentrate upon the problems he recognized and was apt to overlook the person he served and the problems of most concern to him. In the same



period, the group worker was apt to concentrate upon the program which he thought valuable and overlook the group members and their creative use of programs. With more dynamic understanding we both seem to be seeing and hearing more sensitively and basing our methods upon this sensitive understanding of people whether we work with them individually or in groups.

Another generic method seems to be that of starting where the individual or group is at the moment and going no faster than he or it can go. In the past, we often rushed in where angels feared to tread, so earnest were we in superimposing our plans and programs upon others (for their own good, of course!). At present, through increasing knowledge of ourselves and of others, we are developing more professional control of our impulsive selves. We are beginning to see and hear sensitively the group as well as the individual, and to try to understand the symptomatic behavior of both. It is difficult to do this with the group. We will need more experimentation and careful recording along the way. Will this not lead, however, to our being able to help in relation to the group's as well as the individual's need, desire, and capacity to use what we have to give?

Our understanding of growth needs in relation to different age periods has helped us to see the child as having his own needs apart from those of the adult. We have long recognized that the physical problems of adulthood may be lessened and sometimes eliminated by health care in childhood. We are now aware that there are other growth needs—intellectual, social, emotional—which if met in childhood will prevent adult difficulties. Our recognition that the child is different at various age periods will lead us in case work and group work to adapt our adult methods to the needs of children as they grow and change.

Awareness through basic understanding of the real meaning of the words and feelings of those who come to us and of the meaning of our procedures to them will lead us to flexible and dynamic rather than static approaches. This may not seem so simple, and at first we will not be as comfortable. Our former security will be upset, and we may resent this even though it will eventually lead

to more interesting, helpful work and to a different security based upon new skills. We will no longer be able to plan our case work or group work programs for a year in advance. We will be involved in a different kind of activity—that of sensitive seeing and hearing, attention to and understanding of those who come to us, and a capacity to follow them as they move and change. We can no longer neatly divide them into “normal” and “abnormal.” Like the jack-in-the-box they may not stay in the proper place. In 1936, second year group work students assured me seriously that they needed a different kind of understanding of people than case workers needed because only those who were “normal” came to them, whereas the case workers served the “abnormal” or those with “problems.” Yet when these students were asked to describe the children in their groups whom they did not understand, they were found to have in addition to the so-called “normal” those who deviated physically, intellectually, and emotionally. Some of the children described seemed neurotic in varying degrees and one was psychotic. The majority of children whom they did not understand seemed to be struggling with fear reactions, caused by inner or outer stresses, and to be expressing these either in shyness, lack of interest, sullenness, withdrawal, or in overcompensation through hyperactivity, dominance, quarreling. It was only because of their symptomatic behavior that they seemed different. They all needed help to overcome their fears.

Another skill which both case workers and group workers will need to develop arises out of our changing times. I have in mind the necessity of adapting this dynamic understanding of the individual in society to our practice in the public fields—for case workers, that of public assistance; for group workers, that of public recreation. If we see private and public case work and group work as methods, then we may see them as so different that we may miss their common denominator. If we see them as social services needing for their practice the same basic understanding, we may be challenged to adapt this understanding to our work with the many as well as with the few. We will recognize, too, that teaching student or staff case workers and group workers, helping them to understand one individual or one small group,

may be helping them in the process of understanding many. Will we wish to short-cut understanding if we accept the tenet that the quality of social service should be the same whether the duration of the social worker's contact be five minutes or sixty?

In addition to these generic elements, I would like to mention certain specific ones. Grace Marcus has said, "The generic is what we know; the specific what we do."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps what we know and do are so interwoven that there will be certain generic elements arising out of what we do. For example, out of the specific practice of group work may come a certain generic understanding of the adolescent who often expresses himself more clearly when living out his feelings in a group than he does through articulation in face-to-face interviews with a case worker.

The value to case workers of some knowledge of the group process is evident in the responsibility of the case work executive to work with staff, board, and community groups. Quite often case workers seem to be naïve about the group process. How often we see case work executives, because of their insecurity with groups, escaping from their own responsibility and focusing wholly upon work with individual staff members or even with clients to the confusion of the function of their supervisors and workers. Meanwhile, their own function is neglected, and the effective functioning of their staff, board, and other groups is impaired. In the years to come the group process will probably become increasingly important. Few social workers will be able to interpret human needs and to see that they are met without working effectively with the group. There seems to be sufficient evidence, therefore, that case workers and group workers can profitably share some of their specific knowledge. If they refuse to do so, they will deprive themselves of the generic understanding which arises out of practice in each of these two branches of their common profession of social work.

We have seen that both case workers and group workers need a basic preparation which enables them to understand the individual in society, but that they need this for the purpose of its

<sup>1</sup> Grace Marcus, "The Generic and Specific Aspects of Psychiatric Social Work," American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, *News Letter*, 1938.

use in their own practice. We have seen that they obtain this understanding not only from the related professions, but also from their own profession, including some knowledge of each other's fields. Perhaps until recently we have overlooked our common bond in this profession of social work. Virginia Robinson writes,

What must be guaranteed uniquely as the stamp of a social worker is the possession of certain attitudes in relation to social problems and the capacity to function in a social agency in particular ways. Sound attitudes, competent judgment and professional skill are phrases that sum up the qualities we ask of a social worker. The attitudes which characterize the social worker have come down in the great traditions of social work—the humanitarian tradition of concern for one's fellow man, for social justice, for human welfare. These attitudes are akin to those in other fields of endeavor, but it has been the peculiar distinction of social work that it has been able to direct these attitudes into reliable action—to discipline impulsive helping into professional skill. If the faculty of a school of social work approaches its problem from the point of view of the development the student must undergo from the natural impulsive use of himself as he comes from college to responsible professional performance as part of an agency or organization offering service, representing social work in a community, they will be able to mark out certain steps along the way which begin to indicate the outlines of a curriculum.<sup>2</sup>

We are interested with Miss Robinson in these professional attitudes of concern for human welfare, in their direction into reliable action, and in the necessity for student change from the undisciplined, impulsive use of himself to the disciplined, professional use which characterizes the professional person everywhere.

Does not this lead us first to a realization of the need for careful selection of the student who comes to any school of social work, whether he wishes to specialize in case work or group work? In the past have we not sometimes had different criteria for the selection of potential case workers and group workers? When these criteria have had superior-inferior connotations, have they not been based upon agency practice in the present rather than

<sup>2</sup> Virginia Robinson, "The Cultivation of Skill as the Determining Factor in a Social Work Curriculum." Paper given at the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1940.

upon what we would wish it to be in the future? If professional education looks to the future, it will need to change present practice, and perhaps one way it can achieve this is to have similar criteria for the selection and education of both case workers and group workers. Perhaps the school of social work will need an admission committee composed of representatives of both fields.

After the student has been carefully selected and admitted, we need to see his learning as a process. If we give him the opportunity to encompass that part of the curriculum which is nearest to his previous knowledge and experience, we may further his learning. On the other hand, if he is plunged into an understanding of the individual and of society which is too foreign to him—deeper than he can accept in the beginning of his education—we may block his learning and cause a resistance to certain material which erects an unnecessary barrier to his progress. Timing and gradual introduction of deeper and more complex material are important in the acquiring and assimilating of knowledge. Synthesis and correlation of course content are also valuable. All too long we have had many separate courses with little or no relationship between them, when they are seen from the viewpoint of a well-balanced educational program. This would imply the need for a unified curriculum with an organic base and initial content which would be prerequisite to later content, all of it carefully selected with its value to social workers kept in mind. Members of the allied professions—medicine, psychology, psychiatry—would not be made responsible for the total selection of their content. The faculty of a school of social work have a responsibility in helping to select content from other professions because they will presumably know what social workers need most. To correlate more closely this content with its use in case work and group work, the instructors of the practice courses would need to audit the basic courses, which both case workers and group workers would share.

The practice courses extending through the two years would be small discussion groups where the student could bring his learning problems, could share in his learning process with others from the same field, and put his professional knowledge to the test of



reliable action. He could also recognize his lay attitudes, their modification, and the gradual emergence of his professionally disciplined self. Occasionally there might be joint meetings of the members of the case work and group work practice courses to discuss their mutual understanding of an individual in his setting and to see how they could apply this through the mutual services of a case worker and group worker for the benefit of this individual and others in his environment.

Closely correlated with the practice courses would be field instruction by field instructors conversant with the theory and practice taught at the school and skilled in keeping the focus of their work upon the learning process of the student, helping him to acknowledge the gap between his theoretical knowledge and his capacity to apply it, but also helping him to overcome obstacles in the path of his performance. Too wide a gap between the knowledge of the field instructors and that of the class instructors would need to be bridged by courses for the field instructors in case work, group work, and supervision.

Projects in social research arising out of seminars at the end of the student's education would serve to synthesize his knowledge further, help him use it to study a problem in the field of his major choice, and through some joint work enable case workers and group workers to share their social findings.

Around these four broad areas, then, would a curriculum for social case workers and group workers be built: (1) the dynamic understanding of the individual, (2) of society, (3) of social research, and (4) of practice through instruction in class and field. For one semester there might be an exchange of field instruction between case workers and group workers for the purpose of orientation in each other's fields in order that they might be more effective in their own and in the profession of social work as a whole. This field instruction, however, would need to be especially adapted to the learning needs of the student in relation to his major interest. For example, group workers having one semester in case work would not be given field instruction as if they were to be case workers. Their field instructors in case work would need to be carefully selected, would need to have enough knowl-



edge of group work to modify and adapt the field instruction in case work to the student learning to be an effective group worker. A special course in case work for group workers would need to be correlated with this field instruction. At some points in their professional education, case workers and group workers would share; at others, they would separate because of their need for concentration upon their different functions. There would be flexible union and separation based upon what seemed to be best for them educationally.

In order to make more concrete some of these implications for the education of case workers and group workers, I would like to relate an experiment tried this year in one school of social work where an endeavor has been made to synthesize and apply the knowledge of the "normal" individual which is believed to be basic for all case workers and group workers during their first year. The content of the course was formulated by a committee composed of a pediatrician, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and case work and group work instructors. The description of this content is briefly as follows:

A synthesis of selected knowledge from the related fields of medicine—psychiatry—psychology is presented in order to give case work and group work students an understanding of the interplay of physical-emotional-intellectual forces which describes the normal individual from the prenatal period through old age. The three instructors share in all sessions, developing the understanding of the individual-as-a-whole, period by period. At the completion of the presentation of material relative to each period of life, student committees and the group of instructors hold a discussion on questions arising out of student social work practice. To make theory realistic, observation of the infant is arranged with hospitals; of the pre-school child, with nursery schools; and of the older children, through public schools and settlements. Demonstration of mental testing is included also. Case work and group work instructors attend all sessions in order to help the students use this understanding in their field of social work practice.<sup>3</sup>

The pediatrician, psychologist, and psychiatrist have shared instruction, attending one another's lectures and feeling free to question and participate in discussion at any time. During stu-

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of the School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

dent discussion periods the "experts," as the students call them, have participated freely with agreement and disagreement. The students have said that through this course they have experienced "progressive" education. It has enabled them to appreciate their own area of competence as social workers and to see it in relation to the area of competence of members of other professions. The free exchange among the students and the instructors has seemed to me to be educational for all. During the second year the physical and emotional aberrations will be taught. Next year the same experiment in synthesis may be tried with some of the content centering about the understanding of the society in which the individual lives.

## II: FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A TEACHER OF GROUP WORK

*Clara A. Kaiser*

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK has two major responsibilities. The first is to equip students adequately for professional activity in social work as it is currently practiced in the field. The second is to provide leadership for advancing developments in the field that will more fully meet changing needs and conditions. Schools of social work must be realistically aware of the kinds of competence social agencies are seeking in their staffs, and they must also have understanding and vision regarding future trends which may demand a different combination of knowledge and skills for social workers.

In no field of social work is this dual function of professional schools as significant as in the group work field. Group work as an approach to dealing with social relationships and developing human personality is only now beginning to clarify its objectives, methods, and techniques. The field of practice has long been functioning with professional leadership largely trained through the process of agency experience. Moreover, the wide divergence in specific purposes and scope of services of the various organiza-

tions in the field has tended to delay the formulation of common needs regarding professional competence for group workers. The professional training schools have been faced with a serious problem in developing a curriculum which would prepare workers for such a diffuse and rapidly changing field of practice. This condition tended at first to focus the attention of schools offering professional preparation for group work as an area of social work practice on the more specific needs of agencies for professional personnel equipped with skills and resources essential to furthering their programs and services. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the courses in the curricula was focused on the teaching of program skills related to the activities projected by agencies which carry on services in the recreational and informal educational area. Emphasis was also placed in field instruction on providing students an opportunity to apply this knowledge and develop these skills in working with groups in the agencies to which they were assigned.

An examination of the bulletins of the various schools in the past years would reveal a large number of course units devoted to the teaching of such skills as dramatics, folk dancing, games, storytelling, arts and crafts, and the like. There was always a problem as to how a student could acquire expertness in many of these activities during the training period and how applicable such learnings were in the varied agency and group situations to which he was assigned in his field work. There was, to be sure, recognition, in addition to this focus on program skills, of a need for providing the student with an understanding of psychological, cultural, and economic factors affecting the behavior and growth of individuals and of the social factors inherent in the community setting within which people sought to satisfy their needs and interests through group activity. The emphasis on this more general knowledge and skill directed toward helping individuals and groups through group work methods was regarded, however, as secondary rather than primary in the professional competence of workers in this field of practice.

Within the last five or six years the focus in professional curricula providing training for group work has shifted sharply and

rapidly. Courses in program skills play a much less prominent role and are regarded as supplementary rather than basic in the professional training programs of schools of social work and in other educational programs preparing more specifically for the field of recreation and informal education. I shall attempt to give my interpretation of this change in emphasis, for it seems to me fundamental in discussing the question of generic aspects of professional training for case work and group work. Basically, the reason for this change of emphasis in the professional training for group work must be sought in the field of practice rather than in the pedagogical theories of the teachers in the training schools. If these reasons cannot be established, we may well question the validity of the new focus evident in the curricula of most of the schools training for group work as well as for other fields of social work activity. The following observable trends in thinking and practice seem to me to represent reasons why professional training for group work has tended to focus on more generic aspects of educational and social work knowledge and skill rather than on the specialized skills related to the specific activities included in agency and group programs.

1. The agencies using a group approach, though still emphasizing distinctive aspects of their purposes and programs, have recognized increasingly common objectives and methods in projecting their services in the community. This has been evidenced on both a local and a national scale through the formation of local coordinating and planning groups, usually in councils of social agencies and of national bodies such as the group work section of the National Conference of Social Work and the American Association for the Study of Group Work. These developments have reflected a recognition of need for more effective ways of planning, not only to meet community needs, but also to provide opportunity for the sharing of experience in dealing with problems of practice.

2. The functions of agencies in the field as to their peculiar contribution in meeting social and individual needs are beginning to be more clearly defined. Their role in relation to formal educational institutions and to social agencies primarily serving

specific needs of individuals is emerging as a means for supplementing and enriching the opportunities of people both for individual development and satisfaction and for furthering social ends which can only be secured through group action. Some agencies are still primarily regarding themselves as providing the facilities and leadership for enjoyable and desirable recreational activities. This is a function which has indisputable value for individuals and the community. Other agencies conceive their functions as primarily directed toward preventing individuals from seeking an outlet in antisocial activities. Still others feel that their chief purpose is to provide effective and adequate ways in which groups of people may further desirable social goals through group action. All of these purposes have necessitated the need for understanding how they may be attained as well as what is being sought through the program of the agencies.

3. The agencies in the field of group work have become increasingly aware of the part played by the leadership both lay and professional in the carrying out of these functions. Implicit in the purposes and programs of the agencies in the group work field is the development and utilization of lay leadership. However, there is increasing recognition of the distinctive contribution which must be made by the professional workers if this and other purposes of the organization are to be furthered. The professional workers are regarded as persons who must not only take responsibility for enlisting coöperation of lay workers, but must be able to give adequate and skilled direction in helping them to deal with the needs and interests of individuals and groups composing the clientele. They are also looked to in relating the services of these agencies to those of other organizations in the community that are serving the needs of their membership. The professional equipment essential for workers in the group work field is still more diffuse than that in the case work field. It is gradually becoming clearer that group workers must be able not only to work directly with people in furthering their recreational and social interests in groups, but also to give guidance and supervision to volunteer leaders and specialists in group activities in helping groups carry out their programs.



4. The fourth and perhaps most important trend in the field of practice of group work is the increasing emphasis on the need for individualizing the services of the agencies in terms of the differences in the needs of communities, groups, and individuals whom they are attempting to serve. This involves a more adequate understanding by workers in the agencies of the social and individual factors which affect the needs and problems of the clientele of the agency.

With these developments in the field of practice in mind, I shall attempt to examine the problems involved in developing adequate professional educational programs for group work.

First of all, it seems to me that the student training for this field must have an opportunity to relate theoretical concepts with direct experience in dealing with the needs and problems of people. The correlation of classroom experience and field experience is regarded as valid educationally for the potential group worker as it is for the case worker. Just what type and intensity of experience this field work should provide is not so clear. The content of the experience and the supervisory function in group work are still in the stage of experimentation. In some schools there is emphasis on continuity of experience in dealing with specific and basic problems of group work. In others it is felt that the student training for group work should have a variety of experiences which will orient him to the different aspects of the professional activities of social workers in the group work setting. In certain schools it is believed that students training for group work should have field experience in a case work setting, since it provides the best opportunity for learning how to understand individuals and the methods by which they can be helped to meet their needs on a person-to-person basis. In still others, it is felt that students can best attain this understanding and skill by dealing with individual problems and needs as they arise in the group relationship. I do not feel that we have as yet accumulated sufficient experience to determine exactly what the content of field work experience should consist of for students preparing themselves for professional service in the group work field. I am convinced that the art of field instruction is fully as important in



professional education for group work as is instruction in the classroom. Field work and the learnings inherent in this aspect of professional education are as basic to the development of a sound training for this field of practice as they are for the field of case work.

The range and content of courses pertinent to training for group work are also by no means adequately defined. As stated previously, there is at present greater stress on the importance of basic subject matter relating to psychological and social factors affecting individual behavior and social needs. To what extent is this subject matter common to the training of both case workers and group workers and at what point does specialization alter the focus for students preparing for these respective fields of practice?

Let us examine the field of social work activity in which each type of social worker engages. Case workers are expected to help individuals and families to deal with problems which they have been unable to cope with because of circumstances in their environment or because of inadequacies in their own personalities, or both. Group workers are expected to help individuals to gain greater satisfaction and fulfillment of their own capacities through group participation and to help groups to further their common interests. In both approaches it is essential that social workers understand the limitations and potentialities of the social milieu within which human beings seek to satisfy their needs and to function productively in their social relationships. We cannot contemplate the complexity and gravity of human society today without realizing the enormity of the problems which we must strive to understand if we are to help other human beings to live more adequate and happy lives. Professional training for social work, regardless of the specialized field of practice for which students are training, must provide a basis for the understanding of social causation of problems with which individuals are confronted. Courses dealing with such problems as economic, cultural, and political conditions and movements are common needs for students preparing for case work and group work.

The basic psychological and emotional factors affecting human

behavior are also equally important for those preparing to deal with individuals on a case work basis and those who will work with people in their group relationships. The implications of the mental hygiene movement are necessary elements in the equipment of group workers as well as of case workers. However, courses in this field have tended to focus on the impact of familial relationships on the personality to the exclusion of the significance of other social and group experience of individuals. Recently the field of psychiatry has made notable advances in relating broader cultural and social patterns to the development of individual personality and to patterns of group life.

In discussing generic aspects of professional training for group work and case work, we are particularly interested in examining the extent to which an understanding of the concepts, functions, and methods of each approach can contribute to the other. It has been long assumed among social workers that case work theory and methods provide a valuable basis for understanding and dealing with needs of individuals whether those needs be economic, emotional, or social. This assumption that every person must be seen in the light of his total life situation if he is to be aided in adjusting more adequately to that situation or in modifying his social environment so that he can lead a fuller and more satisfying life seems to me a valid one. A social worker, no matter what the function of the agency, is concerned with individuals in their social environment.

A social worker who will work with people in terms of their group interests will need to understand their broader needs and problems if the group experience is to be directed toward meeting those needs and toward developing their capacities for contributions to the group. Even though case work is more specifically focused on therapeutic ends, the broader educational objectives are inherent in the process. Although students preparing for group work can undoubtedly benefit from courses designed for those primarily concerned with the case work approach, I believe that the fundamental learnings could be more adequately dealt with if these courses could be adapted to the understanding of individuals as they are seen in their group relationships.

What does this entail as to approach and method for the instructor? Two major problems are involved. First, the approach to understanding and dealing with individuals must be seen as an educational rather than as a purely therapeutic process. I do not mean to imply that group workers do not ever need to deal with deviant behavior or to help people out of trouble; but primarily they are working with people who are, at least in their group participation, functioning as normal adequate human beings. Secondly, the case material that provides such an important element in teaching material for method courses should be adapted to the types of situations which the group worker faces in dealing with individual needs. This is easier said than done for such case material is difficult to find and also difficult to utilize for case discussion. More and more, however, process recording of group experience is being regarded as a valuable asset to developing practice in group work. To utilize such material effectively, however, the instructors of these courses must understand the differentials that enter into the foci of the recorded material of case work and group work practice.

Is the understanding of group work concepts and methods of value in the training of case workers? Theoretically, this question could be answered in the affirmative just as we would recognize the value of an understanding of case work for the group worker. Realistically, the answer is not so simple. In the first place, few schools of social work have made provision for adequate instruction of courses in group work, and in the second place, there is very slight experience as to what the focus and content of such courses should be. I am, therefore, forced to discuss this question largely in terms of my own experience. Group work concepts and methods seem to me to be important for case workers from two points of view. The first is that social workers must of necessity know how to deal with group situations which inevitably arise in the performance of their professional activities. It may be that these situations are relevant to their own group relationships either as participants or in a leadership capacity or relevant to the group interests and relationships of the individuals whom they are attempting to help. In either or both

instances an understanding of group processes and their significance to individuals is important. In the second place, case workers often find that group work agencies in the community may serve as resources in meeting the needs and interests of their clients. Just as case work courses should be adapted to the interests and approach of group workers, group work courses should be adapted to those of case workers. A group work course for case workers should help students to understand group relationships and functions and the basic concepts underlying group work methods. It should clarify the functions and programs of agencies in this field and point out major considerations in utilizing the resources of such organizations in the interests of their clients.

Teachers of both case work and group work need to give further study to the development of course material and methods which would meet the needs of students preparing for the two fields. The need of group workers for an orientation to case work, and vice versa, is generally recognized. The problem of the adaptation of the basic concepts and methods of each field of practice to the other has not been satisfactorily dealt with in the curricula of the schools. We have not as yet sufficient experience to determine whether these courses should be generic to all students preparing for any field of social work practice or whether they should be focused on and adapted to the specialized area of practice for which the student is preparing. That we recognize generic aspects of training for case work and group work does not imply that we regard the two fields as tending to merge, as fields of professional activity. Rather it clarifies the common and differentiated elements that are essential in developing more intelligent and competent professional leadership for both.

This discussion has been directed toward the professional training of students preparing to enter either case work or group work as more usually applied in functional agencies in these fields of practice. It has not taken into consideration certain more experimental or less clearly established functions of agencies that may utilize both the case work and the group work approach. Among such agencies are children's and corrective institutions, agencies dealing with behavior-problem children, and agencies providing

relatively undifferentiated services in small communities. There is need for professionally trained workers who have a basic grounding in the methods and techniques involved in both approaches to social and individual needs. For this orientation to professional service there must be a more nearly generic and diffuse educational program offered in the schools which should be related to both field work and course content.

Professional training for social work is still in a fluid state as is the field of practice. Standardization is not the desirable goal at this stage of development. Thoughtful experimentation and the formulation of criteria for evaluating professional educational experience are essential for progress in meeting the needs of social work as a means for furthering social progress and meeting the needs of human beings.

## USE OF SERVICE RATINGS IN THE EVALUATION OF PERFORMANCE

*Elizabeth Cosgrove*

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THE TERM "SERVICE RATING" will be used to designate a formal plan for the evaluation of performance at regular, designated intervals. The discussion will be aimed primarily at problems arising in the field of social case work although the basic principles and objectives outlined will be the same regardless of the field in which personnel is evaluated.

The increase in the number of social work positions in the last ten years, the development of new types of social welfare programs in both public and private fields, and the installation and expansion of formal personnel policies and procedures have brought added attention of social case workers to a responsibility about which they have always been mindful. There seems to be no section of the country where agencies are not evolving rating plans and making inquiries as to "how to do it."

Many of the plans under consideration comprise outlines and lists of suggested questions for use in analyzing a case worker's performance; they offer bases for direction of an evaluation, but generally they necessitate a report in narrative form to be made either continuously or periodically. This type of outline is more likely to be found in private case work agencies where the number of workers is comparatively small. Another type, more generally used in public agencies, represents more nearly what is generally known as a rating scale where factors to be rated are listed. These factors are intended to designate the strengths and limitations of the workers; this type seems to be used in agencies where there is an attempt to centralize matters pertaining to personnel policies and procedures. The former type shows a decided interest in and use of the psychiatric approach in evalua-



tion of an individual worker's performance. The latter type shows a tendency to use the methodology of the research psychologist. All this is by way of saying that there is plenty of evidence that social case workers are making a real effort to fulfill their obligations.

This discussion cannot do more than point the way to a few underlying principles of service rating. There will be no formula given as to "how to do it."

Regardless of the type of rating scale advocated, however, there seems to be some agreement on several points among those who have labored thoughtfully in their development and use: (1) there is no one type of scale that can be guaranteed to obtain all the results hoped for; (2) the success of any scale depends on how it is developed and how it is used; and (3) no individual or group knows all the answers to the questions inherent in the use of any rating scale. Actual experience in the use of several types of scales brings one to ready agreement on those points.

What, then, are some of the types of scales in use? This group is not concerned with those scales which are devised primarily to measure efficiency in production. However, inasmuch as some scales are devised to measure efficiency or evaluate performance in many kinds of activities, the following descriptions will not be confined to those service ratings which are devised to evaluate professional performance only.

The listing of traits or qualities or factors characterizes most rating scales. The system which is generally known as the "Man-to-Man" Rating Scale, developed by Walter Dill Scott in 1917 and used in the United States Army during the World War, listed five traits called "virtues." Each rater decided which man in the group represented the best combination of virtues and other men were rated by comparison with the best. This same principle inevitably operates in the use of many kinds of scales.

The Graphic Rating Scale<sup>1</sup> which is in use in many fields of activity generally takes the form of a list of traits or activities to be rated, arrived at by an analysis of factors leading to success or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Max Freyd, "The Graphic Rating Scale," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIV (1923), 82 ff.

failure on the job, and various descriptive phrases or adjectives denoting several degrees of the activity or trait being rated. A linear scale is used. The rating officer places a check above the phrase which best describes the employee's attributes. Relative weights of points on the scale determine the distribution of final ratings. The principles upon which the Graphic Rating Scale are based are seen in many scales. Final scores are sometimes indicated in percentages or by the alphabet, *A* representing best performance; or by adjectives such as "excellent," "very good," "good," "fair," "unsatisfactory." This type of scale has been used extensively and has been modified and improved, or vitiated, according to one's evaluation of the methods used. One large civil service jurisdiction has attempted to eliminate dependence on human judgment in assigning ratings on total performance or individual factors. The method involved depends on current reports of service which can be substantiated by evidence.<sup>2</sup> By the use of that method everything that cannot be supported by evidence is excluded from the rating. A central reviewing board reviews all ratings and a liaison officer evaluates the accuracy of judgments by conferences with each rater. Three distinct forms are used, but the fundamental requirement of substantiated evidence is applied to the use of all forms.

Another type of rating system which is known as the Probst system lists over a hundred kinds of behavior, the majority of which are considered to be objectively observable.<sup>3</sup> They are called "outstanding traits or qualities" that are either above or below average. The rater checks only those items which he can check with some assurance. The use of this system has been extensive.

More recent types of rating scales based on psychological measurements and the psychophysical methods of scale building as developed by L. L. Thurstone have been made and are used both

<sup>2</sup> Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., and John C. Laffan, "Approaches to the Measurement and Reward of Effective Work of Individual Government Employees," *National Municipal Review*, XXIV (1935), Supplement, 370-87.

<sup>3</sup> William E. Mosher and J. Donald Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration* (New York: Harper's, 1936), p. 435.

in private industries<sup>4</sup> and in public service.<sup>5</sup> Statements concerning the efficiency of the man on the job are collected from a wide variety of persons and given a quantitative value on a scale with equal units in such a way that endorsement or refusal to endorse may be interpreted in quantitative terms.

The United States Civil Service Commission and agencies having positions subject to the Classification Act use a method of rating on which performance is indicated for rating under three major headings: (1) "Quality of Performance"; (2) "Productiveness"; and (3) "Qualifications Shown on Job." Elements listed under each major heading are marked in three degrees: "✓ if neither strong nor weak point; — if weak point; + if strong point." A numerical rating assigned to each major heading is added and then translated into one of five adjective ratings which is given to the employee. It is designed to eliminate time-consuming computations and to enable the rating officer to know the significance of each rating and to avoid minute numerical distinctions in ratings. All ratings are reviewed by reviewing officers who indicate whatever corrections seem necessary to secure reasonable uniformity of standards and accuracy; before any marks or ratings are actually changed, the reviewing officer discusses them with the rating officer. The ratings are then examined by reviewing boards who make no changes without conference with rating and reviewing officers. Upon completion of the review, the employee is notified of his rating in terms of the appropriate adjective.<sup>6</sup>

Regardless of the assets or defects which apply to any kind of rating scale or plan of service rating, there appears to be one major objective underlying their development and use. This is "to determine the specific strengths and weaknesses of the employee so as to provide a basis for helping him to improve himself

<sup>4</sup> M. W. Richardson and G. F. Kuder, "Making a Rating Scale That Measures," *Personnel Journal*, XII (1933-34), 36-40.

<sup>5</sup> Herman C. Boyle and J. Donald Kingsley, "A New Employee Evaluation Scale" (mimeographed: Syracuse, 1935).

<sup>6</sup> United States Civil Service Commission, Departmental Circular No. 133, May 6, 1935.

thus resulting in an improvement of the service.”<sup>7</sup> It is, then, obviously directed toward what is currently called in social case work and other fields a program of staff development. The important aspects of any system of evaluation become not what rating scale or what plan of evaluation is used, but how it is developed and how it is used, keeping forever in mind the primary objective of the plan. Volumes have already been written on these aspects of the subject.<sup>8</sup> Some of you are familiar with the snares and pitfalls of attempting to institute a plan without being familiar with the experimentation and attempts that have been made earlier by others to solve what is actually a highly technical problem.

The research psychologists have helped to make great improvements in techniques of rating and are on the way to showing how the dangers of recorded personal opinion may be reduced to a minimum. In evaluating social case work performance there is the ever present belief that in evaluating the performance of human beings it is not only impossible to eliminate personal biases entirely, but that there may be a positive value in the presence of subjective factors if their presence is recognized. Actually, the process of rating performance of employees is individual case work with employees.<sup>9</sup> For that reason this group is fully conscious of the constant operation of personal reactions and of the influence of one personality on another. Serious students in the field of social case work and in the field of research psychology have much to offer each other in working out plans that will fulfill the real objective. If there is not some understanding of the fundamental principles of evaluation through the use of service rating plans and if some leadership in that field is not available, it is advisable not to install a formal plan. Evaluation itself goes on whether or not any formal plan exists. It is the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> “A Bibliography of Service Ratings” has been recently prepared (mimeographed, 1939) by the State Technical Advisory Service, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. See also H. S. Belinsky, “Problems of Service Rating” (unpublished master’s thesis; University of Chicago, 1939).

<sup>9</sup> Lewis Meriam, *Public Personnel Problems* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1938), p. 52.

responsibility of the agency to determine what is the best use of its resources. Many merit-system agencies operate under a statute requiring efficiency service ratings; that situation represents the well-known horse of another color. That situation increases responsibility for developing fair standards of rating because in the field of social work there has been an increasing number of workers in the public field, and social work programs have been altered substantially.

A few basic principles for development and use of service rating plans will be outlined here in the hope, not that they will be accepted as specific instructions, but rather that they will offer a starting point for more lengthy inquiry into the whole subject.

The kind of rating plan that is formulated and the method of using it varies with the purpose of the plan. If it is to be used to form a basis on which personnel actions are to be taken, such as promotion, transfer, and separation, the rating scale will include items selected with that purpose in mind. If it is to be used solely for development of staff it will include items directed toward that purpose.

In developing a formal plan for evaluation of performance, participation of the total staff is necessary. The objectives must be clearly understood and accepted, and the participation must be continuous from the initial steps to the completion of their use. Before performance in any position can be rated it is essential to determine what the duties of the position are; these must be analyzed and set forth in terms of functional factors. If social case workers can achieve this, the next step will not be so difficult. That is the determination of what qualities are necessary to perform the duties of the position. This constant definition of qualities in relation to analysis of the job is of primary importance. Unless the job has been analyzed to the fullest possible extent, the determination of qualities necessary to perform the job becomes merely an indoor sport.

A service rating plan designed to distinguish between the performance of a first year worker and the second year or more advanced worker will be ineffective unless the duties of the first year worker in contrast with those of the second year worker have



been carefully analyzed and listed. Some interesting work has been done in this connection in other fields. In one study<sup>10</sup> large numbers of statements from employees, including supervisors, describing necessary qualities were received and edited; the process of editing yielded a much smaller number which represented a wide range of responsibility and constituted the basis on which the scale form was developed. In another study<sup>11</sup> the police captains in Washington, D.C., were asked to make independent judgments as to essential qualities. The combined judgments were checked with the list of qualifications made as a result of the analysis of the actual work before a rating scale was constructed.

The determination of which items or qualities should appear on the rating form and how they should be weighted requires the most expert advice. Those who know much about this problem approach it with awareness of its difficulties and without insistence on the infallibility of any scale. There are, however, some rules on which there appears to be general agreement in the preparation of a scale to be used. One is that each item on the scale must be simple and brief, and that the total scale should have the same characteristics. The description of each point in the scale must be as specific as possible so that it will mean the same thing to most rating officers. No rating scale can be successful if the meaning of each point in it is not easily and uniformly understood. In attempting to make a scale composed of items that are brief and simple there is the danger of using items that look and sound simple but actually may not be so; for example, "accuracy" may sound acceptable, but one type of position requires accuracy of a different kind than another type of position requires. The burden of rating a large number of employees may also become an intolerable one and therefore deteriorate into a thoughtless routine if the rating form requires a lengthy evaluating process. On the other hand, there is the danger of oversimplifying the form and thereby reducing the number of factors or qualities on which an employee may be rated.

<sup>10</sup> Richardson and Kuder, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> L. J. O'Rourke, "Personnel Problems in the Police Department," 43d Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission (1926), p. lxxvi.



Because of the importance of evaluation of performance, deliberation rather than speed is of greater value. Consequently it is well not to fall into "the simplicity fallacy."<sup>12</sup> In large civil service jurisdictions where performance in a wide variety of fields must be rated through use of one or more rating forms, these forms must of necessity be brief if they are to be used at all. Such a situation, however, does not preclude additional effort on the part of the operating bureaus. For example, the Public Assistance Service Unit in the District of Columbia's department of public welfare has added definitions to the elements on the service rating form used by the United States Civil Service Commission and adapted them for use in the social case work field. These definitions were worked out by the staff itself and are being modified as the staff becomes aware of possible improvements. A practice sometimes followed in agencies of large insurance companies is to rate each supervisor before the rating scale is put into general use; this practice is believed by one company to give the supervisors an appreciation of other employees' reactions to rating.<sup>13</sup>

With the primary objective of a service-rating plan in mind and with the rating scale in hand, the next consideration is the method of using service ratings. The development of the scale and the method of its use will be determined to some extent by some purposes associated with the primary objective. If service ratings are to be used in planning for promotions, salary increases, demotions, transfers, and separations, it is important to remember that rating is designed to provide a basis for helping the employee to improve himself, and that it is based on actual performance on a particular job.

In considering the method of using any service-rating plan the following aspects of its use will be considered: (1) completeness; (2) continuity; (3) the probationary period; (4) supervision of rating officers; (5) discussion with employees after rating; (6) adjustments of ratings; (7) rating on performance.

No matter how valid a rating scale may be, it will die unwept

<sup>12</sup> Jack H. Pockrass, "Common Fallacies in Employee Ratings," *Personnel Journal*, XVIII (January, 1940), 262.

<sup>13</sup> *Employee Rating Methods* (New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Policy Holders Service Bureau), p. 24.

and unsung unless it is part of a service-rating plan that is understood by all who use it and is used to its fullest extent. Although there are probably no claims to a perfect plan, even an inferior one can be helpful in staff development if it is used constructively and continuously. Of major importance in this connection are the worker-supervisor relationship preceding the actual evaluation of the worker, the evaluation itself and its recording, and the relationship which continues between the worker and supervisor after the evaluation has been made.<sup>14</sup>

In observing some of the outlines for evaluation that are being used or developed by social case workers and in observing some of the qualities listed in rating scales designed to measure the performance of this group, several inherent dangers have been noted. In order to determine whether or not a worker possesses some of the qualities listed on the scale or outline and to what degree he possesses them, a close relationship between supervisor and worker would have to be established. The danger lies in the evaluation process becoming a therapeutic process beyond the ability of some supervisors to handle it and beyond the readiness of some workers to accept it. This potential danger raises questions related to professional education and recruitment but is noted here as a problem of administration. Even though service rating aims at staff development, there remains the real situation that a social case work agency exists to perform designated functions for individuals in the community. A plan of service rating which requires major attention on internal staff problems is likely to defeat the rendering of the services which the agency purports to render.

No process involving the observation of human behavior on a job can be performed on a given date semiannually or annually unless the supervisor of the worker is prepared for the rating process. Throughout his continuing relationship with the worker to be rated the informed and thoughtful supervisor makes continuous though informal notes on specific weaknesses and

<sup>14</sup> Cf. memo on "The Use of Staff Evaluations in a Staff Development Program," Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, Division on Technical Training, December, 1939.

strengths in a worker's performance; he discusses some aspects whenever the need for doing so arises. Before the time arrives for periodic recorded evaluations, the good administrator has discussed the use of the rating scale to be used with the supervisors who are to do the rating; he lets them do the talking and the deciding as to how they can best approach uniform rating standards. When the periodic evaluation is recorded and given to the worker it does not come as a surprise to him. A worker needs to know and wants to know on what qualities he is being rated. The conference between supervisor and worker following its receipt does not then produce a situation in which the supervisor is called on to justify the rating given. The worker, moreover, may be less likely to be defensive about a rating which is less than the best.

Close observation, note taking, and conference are of primary importance during the probationary period. New workers need to know what is expected of them. They have a right to expect help during their initial period of employment, and the supervisor is there to give it to them. The supervisor also has the obligation of protecting the agency from appointing to its permanent staff workers who seem to be incapable of growth. That is a radical diagnosis to make, and because it is the supervisor's responsibility during the probationary period, he must devote time and thought to supervising and rating new workers even if it means lessening his attention to workers who have become an established part of the organization. The use of a service-rating plan during the probationary period which is different from that used for permanent employees offers one aid to the kind of careful evaluation necessary during the beginning period.

Rating officers incline to work with greater accuracy when they realize they are rating actual performance in a particular position. An employee cannot properly be rated on his potential ability to do another job by the use of a rating scale which is designed to measure his ability to perform the duties of the position in which he is now. For example, if a social case worker achieves a rating of "excellent," it is not fair either to him or to the position to deduce that he will likewise perform as an excellent or

even a good case supervisor. Behavior which does not affect performance at work is not considered a ratable element but may be dealt with administratively. A salesman known to the rating officer may be able to get drunk every night, but his work performance is not affected; when his drunkenness becomes known to the community and reflects discredit on his employer, he can be dismissed for cause even though his work performance continues at the same level of efficiency as before his personal defec-tion became known.

The number of rating officers who evaluate performance and the ways in which ratings are reviewed depend on the kind of rating scale used, the size of the organization, and its administrative structure. In the earlier brief description of various kinds of rating scales this variation was indicated. In reviewing ratings in order to correct errors, statistical techniques are sometimes used in order to fit the ratings into a "normal curve." Rating officers are sometimes informed as to the proportion of employees who should be rated in each quality group.<sup>15</sup> One criticism of this procedure is that it is based on a concept taken from the field of psychology where it was functioning properly within its limitations and where groups being rated under experimental controls constituted random unselected samples. Employees selected because of certain minimum qualifications represent a selected group and not a random sampling.<sup>16</sup> In some positions the duties are of such a responsible nature and recruitment has been on such a high standard that a skewed distribution may be the only valid distribution possible.

In an organization where activities are pursued under high pressure and which is so large that the administrator and supervisors cannot handle all of the personnel work, it becomes important to have a personnel officer on the staff. This personnel officer, although he has no administrative authority, may be able to devote sufficient time to advise regarding service ratings and to work coöperatively with supervisors and workers.<sup>17</sup> The presence of a personnel officer in a large organization may also be helpful

<sup>15</sup> Belinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Pockrass, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Meriam, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

in establishing procedures whereby employees can appeal their ratings in the event that conferences with supervisors do not give satisfaction.

An attempt has been made in this discussion to indicate a few of the current practices in the use of formal rating plans. Those who have wrestled with methods of evaluation have seen that no worth-while rating plan can become an automatic system. Sources of errors may be reduced to a minimum, but there will always be the necessity of continuous improvement and close application if any plan is to be kept from becoming a superimposed "system." A summary of the stages of achievement in their development and use is given by H. S. Belinsky.<sup>18</sup> He suggests that personnel policy has been the creature of administrative expediency in the past but that

Service rating plans will not be abandoned, however. The primary concerns of personnel administration are effective management of human resources and fair treatment for each employee. Rating scales are by no means the only way much of the information necessary to implement these objectives can be obtained; it has been and is the easiest and simplest way. So long as its limitations are recognized it will remain the most satisfactory administrative device by which unsystematic and irregular standards and measures of success can be supplemented and important assistance given to the intelligent use and development of public service personnel.

Social case workers have assumed their responsibilities for staff development conscientiously. There is not much likelihood of their becoming discouraged at the difficulties inherent in working out any plan of evaluation. There seems to have been considerable resistance on the part of case workers to analyzing and defining the skills or qualities that make a good case worker and listing those qualities in terms that would lend themselves to rating. This resistance seems to be based on the interpretation of case work as an art rather than a science. There has been developed by case workers, however, a wealth of material that any social worker or research psychologist would be proud of. The answer to the question of "How do we evaluate social case work performance?" lies with those who are doing case work, who are willing to labor with

<sup>18</sup> Belinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

carefully controlled experiments, and who are willing to learn what the research psychologists and other researchers have to offer. There may never come a time when a formal rating plan will be developed which can measure the subtleties of human behavior and understanding with which some social case workers are concerned. It seems reasonable to believe, however, that continuing attempts to attain a highly desirable goal will bring the value that all worth-while struggle brings.



## VALUES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE EVALUATION PROCESS

### I: AS SEEN BY THE SUPERVISOR

*Frances Schmidt*

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EVALUATIONS OF CASE WORKERS' PERFORMANCE have been made for as long as social agencies have existed. Those early evaluations, or judgments, were an end in themselves, and served primarily the purpose of providing a basis for references, promotions or dismissals, and salary increases. The worker had no part in these judgments, and often they were made without her knowledge. It was only after supervision was defined as a process by such leaders as Miss Marcus and Dr. Robinson that the inherent values of evaluation as a dynamic factor in supervision were recognized.

Since how we supervise depends on how we practice case work, it follows that supervision has gone through the same developmental history as has case work itself. In an earlier period of case work, we felt that the client's problem could be solved only if he followed our advice and direction. The worker was expected to conform in the same way to the counsel of the supervisor. At this time both supervisor and case worker used the power implicit in their jobs, some because of overconfidence, and others as a way of compensating for their feelings of confusion and inadequacy. Supervision in this period was an authoritative process. In this kind of supervision an evaluation could have been made only in terms of the extent to which the worker did or did not conform to the supervisor's methods. This, in itself, tended to arouse more hostility in the worker and guilt in the supervisor than either could bear.

Later, we recognized the futility of this way of working and, as

we acquired increasing knowledge of allied fields, we began inquiring into the total personality of the client in an effort to understand his present attitudes. It was our honest belief that not only could we understand the total person, but that we could, and should, treat his problem in its entirety. The supervisory process was necessarily geared into this philosophy with the result that the supervisor attempted to accept the responsibility of handling the attitudes and feelings of the case worker as they were aroused and affected by this complex treatment process. Supervision at this time seems to have been primarily a therapeutic process. During this period in case work, the supervisor could only have evaluated the performance of the case worker in so far as it revealed her capacity to understand and alter her own total personality, since that was the focus of the supervisory relationship.

The next phase—and this is not to imply that it is the ultimate one—is that on which we are working at present. We feel now that our contribution to the client lies in helping him to handle that part of his present reality which he is bringing to us, as constructively as he can in the light of his previous experiences. If this is valid, the responsibility of the supervisor at this time lies in helping the case worker to understand as much of the client's personality as she can, to accept the full implication of the relationship with him, and at the same time to be aware of the purposes of the agency and the limitations within which she must operate.

Supervision in social case work is clearly and definitely a teaching process, the goal of which is to permit the individual worker to develop her professional understanding and skills to the limits of her capacity. The element that is peculiar to the learning process in case work, and which distinguishes it from other professions, is the degree to which the case worker's own feelings and attitudes are engaged. The distinguishing characteristic of the teaching process in case work is the fact that the supervisor must help the worker to be responsible for understanding and handling her attitudes as they relate to the job which she is learning.

When we consider supervision in this light, the evaluation becomes a form of educational measurement which offers to all

who have a stake in the development of the worker, a tangible method of measuring her progress, and one which, therefore, has a direct effect on the quality of service rendered to the client.

However, even in a supervisory relationship which is more clearly defined and which is based more specifically on job content, we can see that the process of evaluation is a difficult one and has certain limitations. There are, perhaps, always some elements of discomfort on the part of both the case worker and the supervisor during a conference planned for the purpose of evaluation. The assumption of this much authority on the part of the supervisor may create in her feelings of anxiety and, in turn, may produce anxiety and hostility in the worker. For the supervisor, these feelings can be reduced when her evaluation has been based on a thoughtful study of the total case load of the case worker, and when she is secure in her resulting analysis; and for the case worker, when she has a real concept of herself as a professional person and sees the evaluation process itself as a normal and desirable part of her learning experience.

The charge of subjectivity is one that has been hurled at all of us, supervisors and workers, many times in the past—and many times with justification. I think we must admit to ourselves that the element of subjectivity will always enter into the case work job, because one cannot rule it out where human personalities are the prime ingredient, so to speak. Any worker has a right to demand that the supervisor be as objective as possible, and it is with this in mind that I feel that a clearly defined evaluation outline is necessary in that it reduces subjectivity to a minimum. However, it is as impossible for the worker to demand complete objectivity of the supervisor as it is for the supervisor to demand complete objectivity of the case worker in her recordings of her interviews, her presentations of her work, etc. To my way of thinking, if there is to be a working relationship at all, there must be the basic assumption that these two people, worker and supervisor, are mutually responsible individuals who are discharging their professional and ethical responsibilities to the best of their capacities.

In spite of the intangibles involved in case work, we know that

it has a specific content. We cannot measure success or failure in the case work job by the volume of production, but we do know that some workers progress more rapidly than others, some fail to render a constructive service to the client, some seem able to function in one area and not in others. Every supervisor is aware of these differences in workers, but she must wonder how she knows these things, what scale she is using to judge by, whether another supervisor would see the same case worker in the same way. Conscientious though she may be, she can only continue to make these judgments to the best of her ability, in the light of her growing experience with a number of case workers. She must wish for some safe measure against which she can test her judgment of each case worker, and by the use of which she can, to some extent, lessen the anxiety which inevitably surrounds the making of any judgment. When, as a basis for evaluation, we provide some such kind of measurement, based on actual job content, it serves several purposes.

First, it provides the case worker with a definition of her job, and clarifies for her the total scope of her responsibilities. It not only permits her to see herself in terms of her own individual development, but it provides her with a picture of her progress as it relates to a well-established norm. That is, she knows that she is being measured, not only in relation to other case workers whom her supervisor has taught, the number of whom may be limited or extensive, typical or atypical, but also in relation to the standards which the agency has established for all workers in her range of experience. There is not only a security, but also a stimulation in this kind of measurement which is essential to the growth of any case worker. Aside from the benefits which she may derive from this knowledge in terms of using it for her professional growth, there is also the awareness of the degree to which she is meeting the terms of the implicitly understood contractual agreement which she made with her employer at the time of her hiring.

Secondly, the evaluation guide permits the supervisor to make a judgment based not only on her own experience, but on a standard of performance existing in the agency. She has a respon-

sibility to the agency to provide the case workers whom she is supervising with the best that she can give them. She can only be sure that she is giving this best if she has some way of measuring the results of her supervision in relation not only to her own district or her own case workers, but to the work of the agency as a whole.

Third, it has value to the agency since it is only as the agency knows the quality of its case work performance that it can meet its obligations to the clients coming to it. The agency can measure this only as the supervisor meets her responsibility for training and evaluating. In addition, the agency has a responsibility to the community which it is serving, and which is supporting it, to offer that community the best type of case work service which it can give.

There are, then, these different agents, each of whom has a stake in the performance of the case worker and each of whom has a right to know whether or not her performance is up to standard. This brings us to the pertinent question of what constitutes a standard. We talk a great deal in case work about this case worker's warmth, that case worker's ability to accept hostility, another case worker's skill in handling relief, but we have been very shy about setting down any criteria for what constitutes success or failure in the case work job.

With some of these questions in mind, the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities embarked this year on an effort to establish an objective norm which could be used within our own agency as a base for evaluating satisfactory performance. It appeared to us in reviewing previous evaluation outlines that our tendency had been to evaluate the personality of the case worker rather than the job she was doing. There have been, for instance, such criteria as "her capacity to be nonjudgmental—the way in which she relates herself to people—her sense of humor, etc." We thought that for an evaluation outline to have validity in terms of supervision, as I have defined it here, it must be made on the basis of job performance rather than interpretation of an individual personality.

We recognized that any standard of performance must change

as the case worker develops in experience, for the same criteria which we would establish for her at the end of her first year of case work would not be applicable to the case worker who had had, for example, three years of practice. We recognized too that any evaluation guide would have to be constantly revised so that it would continue to reflect actual agency practice. Our purpose was to reduce general content to its simplest and most specific form in order that it might have the same significance to all who used it.

A committee of executives and supervisors began to work on the subject last fall and has been meeting regularly throughout the year. We limited the committee in this way as we thought that this group had primary responsibility for defining the content of the case work job. As a base to start with, we undertook to outline the skills which we felt the worker should have developed at the end of her first year of experience. Those first discussions were rather theoretical and showed clearly the manner in which the experience of the individual supervisor necessarily colored her thinking on the subject. After having arrived at a tentative outline which was fairly satisfactory to those on the committee, we undertook to read record material submitted by case workers at that level of experience, that we might have a way of checking our theories with factual data.

The results of that process were revealing. We found in some instances that we had been expecting too much, that our thinking had been colored by the fact that we were also supervising more experienced workers or, perhaps, that our agency had not yet developed the standards which we had been hoping for. We found that in considering the content of the records as our norm, our outline in many ways needed revision. In other instances it was out of focus in the opposite direction; that is, our actual practice was proving that first year workers had developed certain skills which we had not expected of them but which they were apparently able to maintain.

By revising the original outline in the light of this record material, we evolved a guide which seemed to us to be representative of the average performance of our present first year staff and



therefore usable, at least experimentally. Before attempting to use the outline, the committee asked workers of various levels of experience, including first year workers, to meet with it, in order that we might get their reactions to the proposed outline and their suggestions. The suggestions of the case workers were incorporated into the final outline, and the result seems at this point to be a mutually acceptable tool with which we can begin to work.

In order to illustrate the kind of consideration which we attempted to give to the subject, it might be interesting here to trace the evolution of one point in the evaluation outline as it developed in our discussions and as it was subjected to the test of record material. The first point in the original outline was: "To have some awareness of the psychological make-up of the clients with whom she is dealing." In considering this further, we felt that it was too vague as well as badly phrased. In the second effort to define what we meant our phrasing was: "An awareness of as much of the total personality of the client as possible." That was perhaps clearer, but the words "total personality" seemed to imply a kind of complete diagnostic picture which would not be possible for the case worker with only one year of experience and implied also an assumption of responsibility for treatment which no case worker would undertake. The third definition was simplified to: "An awareness of what sort of person the client is." The reading of record material indicated that this degree of understanding was not revealed by the beginning case worker in her first interview with the client, although it did develop after several contacts with him. The final statement which emerged was: "To know, in a continuing contact, what sort of person the client is." This same kind of consideration was necessary for each point in the outline, and although it was a time-consuming process, we knew that the importance of the job justified such an expenditure.

Although the outline as it stands can be used for the present, we see it as an experimental tool which should be subject to constant revision if it is to remain representative of the average performance within our agency. This same procedure has been followed to develop an evaluation guide for the workers with three

years of professional experience, since we felt that growth was not definite enough to justify a complete outline for each year. The second year worker must necessarily be something of a stepchild and fall in between the other two classifications. We are planning to develop outlines in the future for the more experienced case workers and supervisors, as well as for the clerical staff.

I do not wish to seem to overlook the fact that evaluation is a constant part of supervision, in that in all supervisory conferences there is probably some measurement of progress. We must remember, too, that evaluation is only one aspect of supervision, and that the supervisory relationship cannot rest on this alone. It can, however, have real value to both case worker and supervisor in defining and focusing that relationship so that it may be a more effective tool in the development of both.

A joint "checking of the record," so to speak, such as occurs in the evaluation process, provides both case worker and supervisor with a kind of bird's-eye view of trends in the case worker's development, based on the study of the whole job. No matter how close the supervisory contact is, blind spots are bound to develop in both, and such a recapitulation would seem to provide each with a different perspective, in which strengths and weaknesses can take their proper place in relation to the whole.

The evaluation has another advantage in that it serves the double purpose of intensifying the worker's recognition of the professional responsibility involved in the job which she has undertaken and at the same time offering her the reassurance that she does not bear that responsibility alone. We recognize the importance of having the young case worker fully cognizant of all the implications of her job, both to the client and the community. We also know that such recognition can be completely overwhelming and too much for one person to bear without anxiety, but that one can be helped to accept it, and to handle it, if it can be shared with a supervisor during the learning period.

The formal evaluation conference, prepared for and participated in by both case worker and supervisor, has a value in that it redefines the supervisory relationship, putting it on a clearly professional base. We are all familiar with the easy informality of

district offices in which, throughout the year, the case worker and supervisor develop a friendly relationship which is in addition to their professional one. In most instances, this is desirable and pleasant, but it is often a burden for the case worker who must adjust herself to the fact that in one individual she must reconcile the positive feelings which she has toward a friend and the negative feelings which she must frequently have toward the person who also represents authority. The evaluation conference is an opportunity of redefining the relationship and clearing it of some of this confusion, to the advantage of both case worker and supervisor.

The evaluation process has value to the supervisor in that it helps her to clarify and define her own supervisory techniques and skills as they are related to the development of the worker. Through her study of the whole job, preceding the evaluation, the supervisor can determine the spots in which she has been of help to the worker as well as those in which she has not been giving the necessary assistance. The result of this is a constant re-evaluation of her own job, which is essential not only to her own professional development, but to that of the case workers whom she is supervising.

The supervisor can also make use of the evaluation process by using it to understand and clarify what amounts to her own diagnostic picture of the learning patterns of the individual case worker, the points at which the latter seems to have had difficulty in progressing, as well as the shifts in the way she has used the supervisory relationship itself. An understanding and review of these trends between the case worker and supervisor help both in redefining not only the basis of their past relationship to each other, but the ways in which they can use that relationship in their future work together.

Such a review serves as a method by which the supervisor can identify her own feelings toward the case worker. We have all had, in our supervisory experience, feelings of undefined anxiety about the progress of a certain case worker. We have attempted to localize these in our regular reading of the cases presented for conferences but have not felt satisfied that we understand the

real basis for our feelings. When we review the entire job of the case worker in preparation for the evaluation conference, we are usually able to locate the particular attitude or concept which has been reflected indirectly in individual pieces of work but which we have not been able to see clearly except in relation to the whole.

If the evaluation is a definite part of the supervisory process for which the case worker and the supervisor take mutual responsibility, and if it is based on an objective study of the total performance, it has value not only for both case worker and supervisor, but for the agency and the profession. More important still, it provides a means whereby the agency can know the quality of its service and points the way for its continuing development, so that it may render the most responsible kind of case work service to its clients.

## II: AS SEEN BY THE WORKER

*Martha Perry*

THIS PAPER IS BASED ON REPORTS by case workers in the Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York City chapters of the American Association of Social Workers. The participants, twenty-four in all, are practicing case workers under supervision in agencies requiring periodic written evaluations. None have had experience supervising either students or workers. The fields of family case work, child placement, public assistance, medical social work, and psychiatric social work, are all represented in one or more of the groups.

May I make clear that my references to what case workers think about evaluations are not meant to include all case workers everywhere, but for discussion this sampling of the case workers' attitudes is presented as a valid expression of the case workers' point of view.

The student finishing case work training in a school of social work and embarking upon his first case work job is aware that

a sizing up of performance is part of the training process. When he takes his first job, the beginning case worker today expects, I am sure, to have his performance judged periodically in some formal fashion, even though his ideas may be nebulous as to the values of it for him and how it will be done.

Experience of the chapters in selecting the personnel of these discussion groups shows that many such beginning case workers will find no provision in their agency for periodic written evaluations. Those who do will find great variation between agencies, even in the same field and the same community. In Chicago, in New York City, and in Philadelphia the following wide varieties of actual experience with the evaluation process were noted.

1. Types of evaluation range from numerical ratings to detailed expositions of performance.

2. Frequency of evaluation varies greatly. Some agencies have a definitely established interval, semiannual or annual; others relate periodicity to change of job, promotion, or questions concerning adequacy of performance. Still others leave time, frequency, and, to some extent, content, up to the initiative of the case worker.

3. The purpose of the written evaluation also appears to differ widely between agencies. At least, the case worker's understanding of its purpose varies all the way from considering it solely as an administrative tool for making decisions on salary increases to considering it a phase of the supervision process, the primary objective of which is furthering the worker's own professional development with little or no relation to the agency's standard of performance or decisions on salary or promotion. There may, of course, be less variation in the purposes of periodic written evaluations from the viewpoint of the agency, but it is significant that case workers see extreme variations in purpose.

4. The greatest variation occurs in evaluation method. Some case workers are given a verbal evaluation in a supervisory conference and are told that a written statement has been filed. Others are handed an evaluation to read in final form as a *fait accompli*. Others participate both in a preliminary conference and in the formulation of the final written statement.



All these differences in agency practice on evaluations—in content, in frequency, in purposes as understood by the evaluated, and in method—are significant in showing how new and experimental the process of case work evaluation is. Their special significance is that in spite of the wide range of experiences in being evaluated, the case workers participating in these discussions are in general agreement on the points they consider fundamental to the kind of dynamic evaluation which would contribute most fully to individual professional development.

It is essential from the viewpoint of the person evaluated that the term "evaluation" be as clearly defined as possible, and that certain of its characteristics be understood, including some of the things it is not, as well as some of the things it is. Inspection of performances by case worker and supervisor is a continuing process in the supervision of a worker; but supervision and evaluation, although related, are not synonymous. Evaluation is in a sense one aspect of supervision. To a greater degree than the continuous supervisory process, it is judgmental and authoritative because it is more specifically related to an agency's standards of performance, and because it is necessarily concerned not only with the individual worker's growth, but also with the total job for which he is paid. Although evaluation is a part of supervision, it is at the same time a summation of total job performance including use of supervision. A case worker's definition of evaluation would be: "An objective appraisal of a worker's total functioning on the job over a specified past period; an analysis of present performance; and a guide for future development."

The phrase "total functioning" provides for that important seeing of the woods as well as the trees, for a kind of perspective that is so valuable periodically when supervisory conferences are largely case discussions. It means also an appraisal of aspects of the case work job which are less concrete than the worker's handling of a specific problem in the Jones case—concepts of agency functioning and subtle attitudes toward clients which repeat themselves from case to case and need to be seen as a thread definitely related to the worker's professional development.



The qualifying phrase "on the job" indicates a strong conviction that personality traits are not a factor in evaluation except as personality affects job execution. This does not mean that personality is not an important part of a case worker's equipment, but it puts that quality into an objective relation to job performance by limiting its consideration in evaluation to professional use of personality.

"Over a specified past period" are also important words in their limitation of the period under consideration to encompass a discussable span of time, and neither to start over at the beginning of the worker's experience nor to project indefinitely into the future and thus indicate a static picture of the worker's capacity for growth.

Each of the three groups participating in these discussions spent some time on the content of evaluation, because a consideration of the qualities to be evaluated are a necessary preliminary to a consideration of how that evaluation is carried out. In reference to content *per se* the important points to note from the worker's point of view are, first, that content shall really cover job performance *in toto*; and second, that qualities unrelated to job performance, such as personality isolated from its effect on the job, shall not be part of the evaluation.

In discussions of values for the worker in a periodic written evaluation, it is inevitable and desirable that negative feelings about evaluations will come to the top. For these negative attitudes, wanting a better word, I shall use the ambiguous term "limitations." They seem to be of two kinds. There are those limitations which are, from the case workers' viewpoint, inherent in the evaluation process itself. Then there are those which seem to the case worker to be a direct result of the way the evaluation is handled by the agency or the supervisor.

The inherent limitations warrant only cursory mention because they are fairly self-evident. The unknown always creates a certain amount of insecurity until the experience is repeated to the point of becoming familiar. Evaluations for every case worker are at first a new experience and will initially cause some insecurity. Any learning process which involves facing one's failures

or inadequacies carries with it a certain amount of inner discomfort. This may decrease with the worker's increased security but will probably be present whenever evaluation is a developmental process. The presence of some discomfort has definitely constructive aspects, and it need not be a deterrent if the attitude of the supervisor is not punitive nor that of the worker defensive. There is also a limitation inherent in the supervisor-worker relationship. No matter how much confidence the worker has in his supervisor, the supervisor's position of responsibility to the agency will inevitably inject a limitation into the evaluation process.

From the worker's point of view the second kind of limitation is not inherent in the evaluation process per se but rather stems directly from the way evaluation is handled as to content, method, or both. These limitations can therefore be considered remediable, and as such warrant special attention. The case worker sees them as gaps or inadequacies in the evaluation process as he has experienced it, which prevent evaluation from being the kind of dynamic developmental experience which he believes it can be.

I shall discuss these limitations in relation to what the case worker sees as desirable evaluation practices and methods, pointing out the negative reactions that may occur when they are found to be insufficient or lacking.

A sense of insecurity is recognized by the case worker as a basic factor in the limitations of evaluations as he sees them. He places feelings of security, therefore, first among the values to him in written evaluations, recognizing not only their importance in his own professional development, but also their direct relation to quality of case work service rendered: insecurity in a worker cannot but be reflected in client relationships.

An established policy of written evaluations adds to a worker's sense of security in his job from several angles. It gives him a more definite idea of where he stands with the agency than he will probably get from regular supervisory conferences which are not so focused. It gives him an opportunity to take stock of his total performance in the light of a perspective which reaches beyond individual cases. It gives him a sense of direction in rela-

tion to his strengths and weaknesses. It also gives him a feeling of confidence in the objectivity of the judgments that must necessarily be made from time to time about his performance.

Is it necessary that evaluations shall be written in order to have these values for the worker? Undoubtedly there are case workers who have gained all of these through an oral evaluation, some probably through regular supervision without even an evaluation conference as such. From the case worker's viewpoint, however, the exceptions do not prove the rule. The conference or conferences where the evaluation is discussed may be of immeasurable value to him in thinking through his attitudes and in understanding his capacities. In fact, they often are the most important aspect of evaluation in terms of professional development. But the recording of the results in black and white fulfills additional purposes. It assures a degree of objectivity on the part of the supervisor because of the necessity for substantiating impressions with evidence. It assures that administrative decisions in regard to salary, promotion, etc., which are often made quite apart from the evaluation process, are related to a known and carefully formulated analysis of performance and not to a hurried, subjective judgment. Moreover, it assures that references for a new job or other uses made of the worker's personnel record are also based upon a fair statement of performance; this is especially important as a safeguard against changing supervisory staff. From the worker's point of view, therefore, agencies have a clear obligation to their case work staff to provide written evaluations of job performance.

What is the extent of that obligation in terms of frequency? Actual practice differs widely and the case worker sees valid reasons for variation. He believes that agency function, size of staff, and length of service may properly affect an agency's policy in determining how frequently written evaluations are made. Although no specific recommendation comes from these discussion groups as to the interval between evaluations, it seems agreed that a desirable general policy calls for a written evaluation after the first six months, and annually thereafter with some flexibility in relation to a worker's stage of development and rate of prog-

ress. This, of course, assumes that additional evaluations may be made in relation to promotions, questions about performance, etc., upon the initiative of either supervisor or worker. Whatever the interval, it is very important to the worker that periodic written evaluations be established in the agency policy, and that the period covered be reasonably limited, as mentioned in reference to definition.

Of more importance to the worker than the length of time between evaluations is the fact that the policy in regard to frequency be known and understood by the worker. The experience of suddenly being told to come to the next supervisory conference prepared for a critical discussion of his job performance is disconcerting. It creates unnecessary anxiety and may substantially limit the use a worker can make of the evaluation conference for his professional development. If a worker does not know that periodic written evaluations are an established agency policy, he may quite naturally think that he is being evaluated at a given point because of serious questions about his performance. It is reassuring to him to know that he is not being singled out as a problem but is participating in an established personnel practice.

It is not only in relation to the frequency aspect of the evaluation policy that advance knowledge on the worker's part is important. A worker may be told at the time of employment that he will be evaluated after the first six months and once a year thereafter. He may not know who is responsible for evaluating him, what the purpose is, how much participation will be expected of him, or what factors will be covered. If these points remain mysterious, as much if not more thwarting anxiety can be built up as when the evaluation comes as a total surprise.

It is probable that today few agencies make it a point to see that new staff members early in their employment understand exactly what the agency's policy is in regard to evaluation. Case workers would like to see the importance of this recognized. They can and have in some instances taken the initiative in finding out why the agency evaluates them periodically, what the content of the evaluation is to be, what use will be made of

it beyond themselves and the supervisor, and how the process will be carried out. But this should not be entirely the worker's responsibility. Where all these points have become part of established agency policy, the worker has a right to know them. Probably in many instances the reason why workers have not understood, or have misunderstood, agency evaluation policy is due to a lack of clarity on the part of the agency administration itself as to purposes, content, and method.

If periodic written evaluations are made an established part of agency policy and are fully understood by the staff, at what time does the case worker think such evaluations should be made? In some agencies annual evaluations are based on date of employment. In others, all evaluations of staff are made at the same time of year. From the worker's viewpoint the first policy seems to be preferred for several reasons although no very strong opinion is expressed on this phase of evaluation method. If the annual interval is directly related to the time the worker came to the agency, the primary focus becomes professional development. Although he knows that the appraisal of his performance will be used administratively for decisions as to advancement, this takes on a lesser emphasis than it does when the whole staff is evaluated at the same time. It also removes a possible element of competitiveness. In instances where simultaneous evaluation of all the staff occurs close to the time of agency budget-making, there may be a tendency for the worker to think more of the administrative uses to which his evaluation may be put than if it were done at another time of year, with a resultant lessening of the developmental uses he makes of it; or the worker may feel that administrative considerations are primary in the supervisor's mind. For these reasons the case worker who looks upon evaluation primarily as a tool in professional development seems to prefer that each worker be evaluated in relation to when he came to the agency, rather than at one fixed time of year.

All the references I have made to evaluation as a constructive, dynamic process in the development of professional skill are evidence of a conviction that such is their purpose and value. For emphasis I have left until last the most essential single compo-



ment, in the opinion of the case worker, in the evaluation process. Whether evaluation is written, whether it is periodic, whether it is understood in advance, or when it is made, are relatively minor considerations in comparison with this point to which all three groups give emphasis: participation on the part of the worker.

No one factor so influences the values for the worker's professional development as the kind and degree of sharing that takes place. Without any participation on the worker's part, evaluation is bound to have authoritative connotations and to arouse negative feelings if only because he has not had an opportunity to take part in a process in which he considers his stake great. This negative reaction may occur even when all of the factors previously mentioned are provided for.

Various types of worker participation are possible, and varying degrees of participation are provided in actual practice. Since the values of an evaluation are considered directly proportional to the kind and extent of participation, the worker's concept of the steps involved in adequate participation is important. It is assumed, of course, that the evaluation process outlined here is based upon a good supervisory relationship and that supervision has included continuous discussion of strengths and weaknesses as they have appeared from day to day.

The first part of the evaluation should consist of an informal preliminary oral discussion between worker and supervisor of those factors in job performance which will be covered in the evaluation. (It is not thought to be important whether the worker has a written outline to follow or even whether the agency uses a formal written form.) This conference should serve to review strengths and weaknesses which have been indicated earlier in the supervisory process and should give the worker an opportunity to point out the areas in which he feels the need of further supervisory help. It should represent a real seeking on the part of both participants for an objective analysis of work performed, including the supervisor's contribution to the case worker's development, and for future direction on the part of both.

In putting the results of such discussion into writing, the supervisor will draw on the worker's thinking, as it developed



in the conference, as well as her own. But since the evaluation is in fact the supervisor's evaluation of the worker, it is important that the worker be given an opportunity to discuss it again after it is written. This, of course, raises the perennial question of whether a worker should read his evaluation in its final written form. Case workers do not agree on this point. Some think that reading the evaluation is the logical final step in full participation and that it should always be part of the process. Others consider that the greatest value to the worker lies in the oral discussion and that therefore reading of the written statement is an unimportant step. There is unqualified agreement, however, that the content of the evaluation in its final form should be discussed fully with the worker and that the worker should be free to read the evaluation, if he wishes, without any sense of inappropriateness in so doing.

Case workers believe "that evaluations cannot have dynamic value unless the philosophy of agency, supervisor, and worker is based on the concept which recognizes evaluation as a process unifying, mutually participating, and jointly beneficial." Their specific recommendations to these ends are: Agencies should provide periodic written evaluations for case workers. Workers should know early in their employment what the agency's evaluation practices are in relation to purpose, use, content, and method. Above all, there should be provision for genuine participation on the part of the worker in the evaluation process.



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A: PROGRAM

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### GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 26—The President's Address: Social Work at the Turn of the Decade.

Grace L. Coyle, Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and President, National Conference of Social Work. Page 3.

Monday, May 27—The Essentials of an Adequate Relief Program.

C. M. Bookman, Executive Vice-Chairman, the Community Chest, Cincinnati. Page 158.

Tuesday, May 28—The Dynamics of Human Progress.

Barclay Acheson, Associate Editor, *Reader's Digest*, New York City. The Challenge of the Forties for American Childhood and Youth.

1. American Childhood Challenges American Democracy.

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 27.

2. The Aspiration of Young America.

Jack R. McMichael, Jr., student, Union Theological Seminary; Chairman, American Youth Congress, New York City. Page 84.

3. The Youth Problem—A Challenge to Democracy.

Floyd W. Reeves, Director, American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C. Page 71.

Wednesday, May 29—

"Up to Now," the 1940 Conference Follies. Produced by the Social Work Publicity Council.

Reception to the President and the Conference.

Thursday, May 30—

Annual business session.

The Outlook for America.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, the Temple, Cleveland. Page 38.

Friday, May 31—Implications of the European Situation for the United States.

Vera Micheles Dean, Director, Research Department, Foreign Policy Association, New York City. Page 50.

Saturday, June 1—Making a Democracy Work.

Max Lerner, Professor of Political Science, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. Page 61.

### THE SECTIONS

#### SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, May 27—The Conflict between Serving the Interests of Society and the Interests of the Individual.

1. The Distinctive Responsibility of the Social Worker in this Conflict.

Grace F. Marcus, Assistant Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 574.

2. Evidence of the Conflict in Case Work Practice.

Ruth Smalley, Associate Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

Tuesday, May 28—Education for Case Work.

1. Implications for Professional Training Revealed by the Performance of a Group of First Year Workers.

Florence Hollis, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

2. What the Agency Expects in the Performance of the First Year Worker.

Lucia Clow, Associate Secretary, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee, Wis.

3. What the Case Worker Expects from His Professional Education and the Agency Program on His First Job.

Report of Study Committee of First Year Workers, St. Louis.

*Group Meeting 1.* Case Work Services in Institutions Caring for Children.

1. Value to the Child of Case Work Service.

Lillian Johnson, Executive Secretary, Ryther Child Center, Seattle. Page 335.

2. Effect of Administrative Procedures on Case Work Services.

Lili E. Peller, School of Education, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 2.* Case Work Services in a Public Welfare Agency.

1. Value to the Client of Case Work Services.

Margaret L. De Witt, Assistant Director, Division of Field Administration, Home Relief Bureau, Department of Welfare, New York City.



2. Effect of Administrative Procedures on Case Work Services.  
Ruth Karlson, District Supervisor, Bureau of Social Work,  
Holton, Maine.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 3.* Influence of the Medical Setting on Social Case Work Services.

1. In Relation to Work with the Individual Patient.  
Elizabeth Payne, head worker, Surgical Service, Washington University clinics and allied hospitals, St. Louis.
2. In Relation to the Whole Case Work Job.  
Harriett Bartlett, Educational Director, Social Service Department, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston. Page 258.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 4.* Case Work Services in the Public School.

1. Value to the Child of Case Work Services.  
Edith Everett, Director, White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia.
2. The Effect of Administrative Procedures on Case Work Services.  
Myra Thomas, visiting teacher, Highland Park High School, Highland Park, Ill.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 5.* (Joint session with the National Probation Association.) Case Work Services in the Court.

1. Value to the Probationer.  
Robert Taber, Chief Probation Officer, Municipal Court, Philadelphia. Page 389.
2. Effect of Administrative Procedures on Case Work Services.  
Elmer W. Reeves, Supervisor of Case Work, Probation Department, Court of General Sessions, New York City.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 6.* Generalized Case Work in a Rural Setting.

1. Problems of Practicing Case Work in a Rural Setting.  
Bernice Scroggie, State Department of Welfare, Olympia, Wash.
2. Effect of Administrative Procedures on Case Work Services in a Rural Setting.  
Benjamin Youngdahl, Associate Professor of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis. Page 280.

Open discussion.

Wednesday, May 29—The Community's Stake in Social Case Work.

1. Quantitative Measurement of the Community's Needs and Services.

Kenneth L. M. Pray, Professor of Social Planning and Administration, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia. Page 436.

2. Qualitative Evaluation of Social Case Work's Contributions to the Community.

Jeanette Regensburg, Professor of Social Case Work, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 1.* Methods of Evaluating the Performance of the Case Worker.

1. Use of Service Ratings in the Evaluation of Performance.

Elizabeth Cosgrove, Senior Examiner, Federal Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. Page 616.

2. Methods Used by the Professional School in the Evaluation of Field Work Performance.

Leah Feder, Associate Professor of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 2.* The Role of the Evaluation Process in the Professional Development of the Case Worker.

1. Values and Limitations of the Evaluation Process as Seen by the Supervisor.

Frances Schmidt, District Secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y. Page 629.

2. Values and Limitations of Evaluation Process as Seen by the Worker. Reports of study committees on evaluation of Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York chapters of the American Association of Social Workers.

Martha Perry, Executive Secretary, New York City Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 638.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 3.* Interpretation of Case Work Programs.

1. Public Relations and Methods of Interpretation in Social Work.

Clare M. Tousley, Director, Department of Public Interest, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

2. Methods of Interpretation as Seen by a Board Member.

Barklie Henry, President, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

3. Methods of Interpretation as Seen by a Case Worker.

Robert Wilson, Executive Secretary, Family Service Society of St. Louis County, Clayton, Mo. Page 528.

*Group Meeting 4.* Factors Determining Length of Case Work Service.

1. Some Factors Determining Length of Treatment in Private Family Agencies.

Mary Zender, District Secretary, Family Society, Philadelphia.

2. What Factors Determine Length of Service in Work with Old People?

Helen Brunot, Director, Bureau for the Aged, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

Open discussion.

Thursday, May 30—Case Work in Practice.

Helen L. Palmeter, visiting teacher, Rochester, N. Y.

Rebecca Turteltaub, member, Travelers Aid Society, New York City.

Frances Parson Simsarian, Assistant Consultant in Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Discussant:

Gordon Hamilton, faculty, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Business session.

Friday, May 31—Medical Social Work.

1. Coöperative and Consultative Services in Medical Social Work.

Mary Antoinette Cannon, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

2. Case Work Contributions in a Coöperative Project to the Child with Rheumatic Heart Disease.

Virginia B. Ebert, the Children's Mission to Children, Boston.

Discussant:

Mary S. Speight, senior medical social worker, New York State Department of Social Welfare, New York City.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 1.* Standards of Eligibility for Services of the Child Placing Agency.

1. How the Agency Determines the Parents' Financial Responsibility.

Margaret Barbee, Assistant General Director, Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore.

2. Case Work Implications in the Use of Money.

Dorothy Hutchinson, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 344.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 2. Financial Relief in the Home from Public Sources.*

1. The Effect on the Family of Shifting Eligibility Standards Resulting from Limited Funds.

George Nickel, Chairman, Los Angeles County Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, Los Angeles.

2. Effect on the Family When More than One Form of Public Assistance Goes into the Home.

John Sidney Cowgill, child welfare worker, Wexford County, Cadillac, Mich.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 3. Standards Used by the Private Family Agency in Giving Financial Assistance.*

1. What Is the Distinguishing Role of the Private Family Agency in Relief Giving?

Jane Judge, District Secretary, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

2. Principles Underlying the Use of Relief in a Family Agency.

Herbert Aptekar, District Secretary, Jewish Family Welfare Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Open discussion.

Saturday, June 1—How the Joint Administration of Services Affects the Practice of Case Work.

1. The Effect of Joint Administration on Case Work Practice as Seen by the Private Agency. (A report prepared by a committee of workers in agencies where services have been combined under one administration.)

Margaret Rich, Executive Secretary, Family Society of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh. Page 517.

2. Case Work in a Public Agency Administering Multiple Services. Elizabeth McCord de Schweinitz, Case Consultant, State Department of Welfare of Maryland, Baltimore.

## Discussant:

Herschel Alt, Secretary and General Manager, Children's Aid Society, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis.

## Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 1. Generic Aspects of Professional Training for Case Work and Group Work.*

1. Generic Aspects of Professional Training for Case Work and Group Work from the Point of View of a Teacher of Case Work.

Ruth Gartland, Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh. Page 598.

2. Generic Aspects of Professional Training for Case Work and Group Work from the Point of View of a Teacher of Group Work.

Clara A. Kaiser, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 606.

## Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 2. The Challenge to Case Work of Problems Presented by Refugees.*

1. Some Psychological Factors Affecting the Adjustment of the Refugee.

Evelyn W. Hersey, Service Executive, the American Committee for Christian Refugees, New York City.

2. Case Work Implications in the Adjustment of the Refugee Girl.

Grace Grossman, Executive Director, Brooklyn Section, National Council of Jewish Women, Brooklyn, N. Y.

*Group Meeting 3. Research and Case Work.*

1. Place of Research in Education for Case Work.

Charlotte Towle, Associate Professor of Psychiatric Social Work, University of Chicago.

2. Place of Research in Development of Case Work.

Edith M. Tufts, Director of Research, Associated Charities, Cincinnati.

## Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 4. Housekeeping Service.*

1. Family Relations that Indicate Probability of Success or Failure in the Use of Homemaker-Housekeeper Service.

Elinore Woldman, Supervisor of Housekeeper Service, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Cleveland.

2. How Housekeeper Service Is Integrated with the Case Work Service.

Gretchen Bode, Family Consultation Service, Associated Charities, Cincinnati.

Open discussion.

#### SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, May 27—What We Say and What We Do.

1. A Review of and Summary of Group Work's Affirmations.  
Charles E. Hendry, Director of Personnel and Program, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City. Page 539.
2. A Critical Examination of Evidence about Group Work's Practices.  
Ray Johns, program services staff, National Council, Y.M.C.A., Chicago. Page 552.

Tuesday, May 28—

*Group Discussion 1.* Personnel Standards.

Discussion Leader: Dorothea F. Sullivan, Adviser on Professional Work, Personnel Division, Girl Scouts, New York City.

*Group Discussion 2.* Group Work Records.

Discussion Leader: Emily West, Bethlehem Community Center, Chicago.

*Group Discussion 3.* Leadership Training and Supervision.

Discussion Leader: Harleigh Trecker, George Williams College, Chicago.

*Group Discussion 4.* Individualization of Program, Including Case Work Group Work Relations.

Discussion Leader: Margaret T. Svendsen, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

*Group Discussion 5.* Co-Recreation.

Discussion Leader: Chester L. Bower, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

*Group Discussion 6.* Differentiation of Private Functions, Including Neighborhood Relations.

Discussion Leader: Robert M. Heininger, Director, Union Settlement, Hartford, Conn.

*Group Discussion 7.* Public Recreation.

Discussion Leader: W. G. Robinson, National Recreation Association, Ann Arbor, Mich.



*Group Discussion 8.* Administrative and Community Organizational Obstacles Which Retard Improvement of Practice.

Discussion Leader: Neva R. Deardorff, Director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

*Group Discussion 9.* Program for Unemployed Young People.

Discussion Leader: Annetta Dieckmann, Industrial Secretary, Y.W.C.A., Chicago.

*Group Discussion 10.* Criteria and Standards.

Discussion Leader: W. T. McCullough, Group Work Council Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

Wednesday, May 29—Lay and Professional Relations.

Lillian Gilbreth, consulting engineer, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

Business session.

Thursday, May 30—

*Group Meeting 1.* (Panel discussion.) Adaptations of the Group Work Process to Various Nationality Groups.

Panel Participants:

Florence G. Cassidy, Secretary, Nationality Committee, Council of Social Agencies, Detroit, Mich.

Robert C. Jones, Research Director, Pan American Council, Chicago.

Archie Phinney, field agent, Office of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Minneapolis.

Annie Clo Watson, Executive Secretary, International Institute, San Francisco.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 2.* Methods of Integrating Problem Children in Groups.

S. R. Slavson, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 3.* Review and Criticism of Group Work Literature.

S. M. Keeny, Director, Association Press, National Council, Y.M.C.A., New York City. Page 564.

Open discussion.

*Group Meeting 4.* (Panel discussion.) Problems of Group Work and Recreation among the Physically Handicapped.

Panel Participants:

Josef G. Cauffman, Superintendent, Michigan School for the Blind, Lansing, Mich.

Dorothy Ketcham, Director, Social Service Department, University Hospital, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Jeannette Gilbert, Mary Free Bed Guild Convalescent Home, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Wanda Przyluska, Director, Junior League Training Cottage for Blind Children, Detroit, Mich.

Friday, May 31—The Formulation and Use of Criteria and Standards of Group Education.

1. A Critical Review of Existing Formulations of Criteria and Standards.

Hedley S. Dimock, Dean, George Williams College, Chicago.

2. The Use of Beginnings of Criteria in Agency Studies in Philadelphia Is Described.

Joe Hoffer, Secretary, Education and Recreation Department, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia.

Saturday, June 1—The chairmen of Tuesday's Round Table Discussions, and selected other persons discuss in panel manner the major conclusions of the week and suggest next steps in bringing group work practices more in line with group work declarations.

Panel Participants:

Dorothea F. Sullivan, Adviser on Professional Work, Personnel Division, Girl Scouts, New York City.

Emily West, Bethlehem Community Center, Chicago.

Harleigh Trecker, George Williams College, Chicago.

Margaret T. Svendsen, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

Chester L. Bower, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

Robert M. Heininger, Director, Union Settlement, Hartford, Conn.

W. G. Robinson, National Recreation Association, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Neva R. Deardorff, Director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

Annetta Dieckmann, Industrial Secretary, Y.W.C.A., Chicago.

W. T. McCullough, Group Work Council Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

Hedley S. Dimock, Dean, George Williams College, Chicago.

Charles E. Hendry, Director of Personnel and Program, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City.

Ray Johns, program services staff, National Council, Y.M.C.A., Chicago.

#### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, May 27—The Content of Community Organization Work.

1. The Range of Community Organization.

Russell H. Kurtz, Editor, *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 400.

2. The Literature of Community Organization—What We Have and What We Need.

Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. Page 411.

Open discussion.

Tuesday, May 28—

*Group Discussion* 1. Advantages and Limitations of Neighborhood Councils.

Discussion Leader: Kathryn Farra, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City. Page 447.

*Group Discussion* 2. Record Keeping in Community Organization.

Discussion Leader: Ruth Jennings, Executive Secretary, Volunteer Bureau of Rhode Island, Providence, R. I.

*Group Discussion* 3. State Promotion of Community Organization in Smaller Communities.

Discussion Leader: Alvin R. Guyler, Program Director, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

*Group Discussion* 4. Job Qualifications for Community Organization Practice.

Discussion Leader: Wilbur Newstetter, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

*Group Meeting* 5. (Joint Session with the Social Service Exchange Committee.) Regional and State-Wide Exchanges.

Ruth O. Blakeslee, Chief, Division of Standards and Procedures, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C. Page 474.

Phillip C. Hamblet, special assistant, Office of Government Reports, Washington, D. C.

Discussants:

Laura G. Woodberry, Director, Social Service Exchange, Boston.

Vivian E. La Voy, Executive Secretary, Social Service Exchange, Syracuse, N. Y.

Edwina Lewis, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago.

Mary Irish, Executive Secretary, Social Service Exchange, Providence, R. I.

Tuesday, May 28—Local Government and Social Work.

1. Can Social Workers Influence Municipal Administration of Relief?

Charlotte Carr, Head Resident, Hull House, Chicago.

2. How Lay Citizens Can Influence the Administration of Local Health Services.

Carmen McFarland, Director of Health Education, Central Branch, Y.W.C.A., Chicago. Page 508.

Open discussion.

Wednesday, May 29—Federal Legislation and Social Progress.

1. Labor and Social Security.

Ralph Hetzel, Jr., Director, Unemployment Division, C.I.O., Washington, D. C. Page 312.

2. What State Legislation Does a National Health Program Demand?

Michael M. Davis, Chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics, New York City. Page 223.

Open discussion.

Business meeting.

Thursday, May 30—The Economics of Rural Dependency.

1. The Cutover area of Northern Michigan.

George F. Granger, Deputy Director, Department of Social Welfare, Lansing, Mich.

2. Rural Dependency in California.

Carey McWilliams, Chief, Division of Immigration and Housing, Department of Industrial Relations, State of California, Sacramento, Calif. Page 319.

3. The Citizen Looks at the Migrant.

Helen Gahagan, member, Citizens' Committee on the Agricultural Worker, Hollywood, Calif.

Open discussion.

Friday, May 31—Methods of Social Action in Social Work.

1. From the View Point of the Trade Union.

Joseph H. Levy, Midwestern representative, Social Service Division, United Office and Professional Workers of America, Chicago.

2. From the View Point of Professional Organizations.

Dorothy C. Kahn, Assistant Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 498.

3. From the View Point of the Social Agencies.

Raymond W. Starr, member, Board of Directors, D. A. Blodgett Home for Children, Michigan Children's Aid Society, Michigan Conference of Social Work, and attorney, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Open discussion.

Wednesday, May 29—Overcoming Obstacles to Local Social Planning.

1. Bad Structure and Poor Finance.

Elwood Street, Director, Richmond Community Council and Community Fund, Richmond, Va.

2. Limited Participation and Community-Wide Action.

Arlien Johnson, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Page 425.

Open discussion.

Business session.

Thursday, May 30—Broad Advancement in Local Community Planning over Twenty Years.

1. In Cincinnati.

Otto W. Davis, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies Department, the Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Cincinnati.

2. In Denver.

Guy T. Justis, Executive Secretary, Denver Community Chest.

Open discussion.

Saturday, June 1—The Problem of Defining the Field of Community Organization Work.

Report of Progress of Study Groups by the Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City. Page 456.

Open discussion.

### SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, May 27—The Social Consequences of Changing Production Methods.

Mary van Kleeck, Director, Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 297.

Discussants:

Stephen Du Brul, General Motors Corporation, Detroit, Mich.

Harold J. Ruttenberg, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Pittsburgh.

Questions from the floor.

Saturday, June 1—The Problem of Defining the Field of Social Action.

A Report of Progress of Study Groups.

John A. Fitch, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Page 485.

Open discussion.

#### PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, May 27—Problems of Public Welfare Administration and Possible Remedies.

1. Problems Created by Assistance Categories.

Ruth Taylor, Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, Westchester County, Valhalla, N. Y. Page 199.

2. Principles Which Should Underlie Public Welfare Organization.

Robert W. Kelso, Director, Curriculum in Social Work, University of Michigan, Detroit, Mich.

Open discussion.

Tuesday, May 28—Merit Systems and Public Welfare Administration.

1. Merit System Administration in Public Welfare: Standards and Special Problems.

Elizabeth Cosgrove, Senior Examiner, United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.

2. Social Work and Civil Service.

Dorothy C. Kahn, Assistant Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City.

Open discussion.

Discussion Leader: Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, Institute of Public and Social Administration, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Wednesday, May 29—Areas of Conflict and Special Interest within the Field of Public Welfare Which Jeopardize Security.

1. Categorical Rivalries: A Hazard to Public Welfare.

William J. Ellis, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J.

2. General Relief: Another Category or a Basic Foundation for Public Welfare Administration?

Harry Greenstein, Executive Director, Associated Jewish Charities, Baltimore. Page 177.



Open discussion.

Discussion Leader: George F. Granger, Deputy Director, Department of Social Welfare, Lansing, Mich.

Business session.

Thursday, May 30—

*Group Discussion 1. Family Responsibility.*

Discussion Leader: Ruth Coleman, Director, Court Service Division, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago.

Associate: Mildred Tate, Family Service Bureau, United Charities, Chicago.

*Group Discussion 2. Administrative Costs in Public Welfare Administration.*

Discussion Leader: Donald S. Howard, Research Assistant, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 206.

Associate: Joel Gordon, Chief, Financial Research, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

*Group Discussion 3. (For field staff members, supervisors, and consultants.) State Field Supervision.*

Discussion Leader: Josephine C. Brown, Instructor in Public Welfare, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Associate: Helen Dart, field representative, Board of Public Assistance, Minneapolis.

*Group Discussion 4. Problems in Administration in the Field of Medical Care as They Relate to the Public Welfare Service.*

Discussion Leader: Thomas J. S. Waxter, Director of Public Welfare, Baltimore.

Associate: Gertrude Sturges, M.D., Consultant on Medical Care, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.

Discussants:

Joseph E. Alloway, Executive Director, New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians, Trenton, N. J. Page 241.

Marian Lowe, Director, Social Service Department, Bell Memorial Hospital, University of Kansas, Kansas City, Kans.

Clarence M. Pierce, Executive Director of Public Assistance, Erie County Department of Social Welfare, Buffalo. Page 251.

*Group Discussion 5. Staff Development.*

Discussion Leader: Agnes Van Driel, Chief, Technical Training Division, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Associate: Arlien Johnson, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Friday, May 31—A Consideration of the Programs of Assistance, Work, and Other Devices in Relation to Relief.

Relief, the No-Man's Land, and How to Reclaim It.

Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Page 187.

Open discussion.

Discussion Leader: Philip Flanner, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.

Saturday, June 1—Security for Public Welfare Programs. How Shall This Be Attained?

1. The Role of the Political Party System in Relation to Public Welfare.

Niles Carpenter, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Buffalo, and J. Murdock Dawley, Assistant Professor of Government and Public Administration, University of Buffalo.

2. Interpreting Public Welfare to Its Public.

Howard L. Russell, Secretary, Department of Public Assistance of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg.

Open discussion.

### *SPECIAL COMMITTEES*

#### COMMITTEE ON DELINQUENCY

Friday, May 31—The Prevention of Delinquency.

1. Techniques of Case Finding as Developed in Three Area Projects.

- a) The Tremont Area, Cleveland.

W. T. McCullough, Tremont Center Field Worker, Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

- b) The Lawrence Street and East Side Areas, Hartford, Conn.

Margaret Rehrig, case work consultant, Mitchell House, Hartford, Conn.

- c) The Community Service for Children, St. Paul, Minn.

Harold B. Hanson, M.D., Consultant in Psychiatry, United States Children's Bureau, St. Paul, Minn.

2. Cleveland, Hartford, and St. Paul: A Summary and Evaluation.

Leonard W. Mayo, Associate Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

Open discussion.

Discussion Leader: Leonard W. Mayo, Associate Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

Saturday, June 1—An Analysis and Criticism of the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.

1. Contributions and Limitations of:

a) Psychiatry.

Max Winsor, M.D., psychiatrist, Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education, New York City.

b) Case Work.

Cordelia Trimble, Training Supervisor, Division of Child Welfare, State Department of Public Welfare, Madison, Wis.

c) Group Work.

Helen Rowe, group worker, United States Children's Bureau, St. Paul, Minn.

d) Law-Enforcement Agencies.

Don L. Kooker, Supervising Lieutenant, Division of Education, Indiana State Police, Indianapolis.

e) Schools.

Edward H. Stullken, Principal, Montefiore Special School, Chicago.

2. Summary and Critique.

Helen Leland Witmer, Editor, "Smith College Studies in Social Work," Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.

Open discussion.

Discussion Leader: Helen Leland Witmer, Editor, "Smith College Studies in Social Work," Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

Monday, May 27—The School's Place in the Education of the Public Assistance Worker.

1. Report of the Study of Education for Public Social Services Made by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Marion Hathway, Executive Secretary, American Association of Schools of Social Work, Pittsburgh. Page 585.

2. What Can the Public Agency Offer in Field Work Experience in Rural Areas?

James J. Sullivan, Case Supervisor, Warren County Department of Welfare, Warrensburg, N. Y.

3. Report of a Project Set Up to Discover Differences in Social Case Work Procedures Introduced by Public Assistance.

Frank J. Bruno, Director, George Warren Brown Department of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis.

Wednesday, May 29—Staff Development for Workers in Public Assistance Agencies.

*Group Discussion 1.* Some Immediate Needs in Preparing Workers for the Public Assistance Field and How They Can Be Met.

Discussion Leader: Agnes Van Driel, Chief, Technical Training Division, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

*Group Discussion 2.* Supervision as a Means of Development for the Untrained Worker in Urban Areas.

Discussion Leader: Dorothy Bird, Training Supervisor, Department of Public Welfare, New York City.

*Group Discussion 3.* Supervision as a Means of Development for the Untrained Worker in Non-urban Areas.

Discussion Leader: Amaretta Jones, Supervisor of In-Service Training, State Department of Social Welfare of Kansas, Topeka.

*Group Discussion 4.* Appraising the Staff through Group Participation, in the Fundamental Philosophies and Techniques in Public Assistance.

Discussion Leader: Arthur W. Nebel, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

*Group Discussion 5.* Extramural Courses as a Means of Bringing School Facilities to New Areas.

Discussion Leader: Karl de Schweinitz, Director, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia.

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Monday, May 27—Current and Predictable Migration Problems.

1. Highlights of the Migrant Problem Today.

Nels Anderson, Director of Labor Relations, Work Projects Administration, Washington, D. C. Page 109.

2. Migration Problems of the Near Future.

T. J. Woofter, Jr., Economic Adviser, Farm Security Administration, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Page 118.

Open discussion.

Tuesday, May 28—Doing Something about Migration Problems.

1. Migration Problems and the Federal Government.

Bertha McCall, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York City. Page 130.

2. State and Local Organization for Meeting the Problems of Interstate Migration.

Philip E. Ryan, special representative, Insular and Foreign Operations, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Page 140.

Open discussion.

#### COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Tuesday, May 28—The Present Status of Medical Care Programs.

1. Health and Medical Services under Existing Federal Programs.  
George St. J. Perrott, Chief, Division of Public Health Methods, National Institute of Health, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C. Page 213.
2. Public Medical Service as It Is Now at State and Local Levels.  
Gertrude Sturges, M.D., Consultant on Medical Care, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.
3. Programs Which Can Be Developed without New Federal Legislation.

Kingsley Roberts, M.D., Medical Director, Bureau of Coöperative Medicine, New York City. Page 232.

Wednesday, May 29—Legislation for the Extension of Health and Medical Care.

1. Pending Proposals for Legislation.

James E. Murray, Senator from Montana, Chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Washington, D. C.

2. What Is the Attitude of Various Groups toward This Legislation?

- a) Of the Consumer.

Mary Dublin, General Secretary, National Consumers League, New York City.

- b) Of Labor.

Richard T. Leonard, member, International Executive Board, U. A. W.-C. I. O.

- c) Of the Farmer.

Mrs. Charles W. Sewell, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago.

- d) Of the Social Workers.

Elizabeth Wisner, Director, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans.

## COMMITTEE ON OLDER CHILDREN

Monday, May 27—Therapy with Older Children.

1. Problems and Limitations of Therapy with Older Children as Seen by the Psychiatrist.

George J. Mohr, M.D., Chicago. Page 352.

2. The Role of the Social Case Worker in General Therapy with Older Children.

Margaret Millar, Director of Case Work, Cleveland Humane Society.

3. What Institutional or Foster Family Placement Has to Contribute to Therapy with Older Children.

George T. Swartzott, Children's Aid Association, Boston.

4. Problems and Needs of Older Children Living in Rural Areas.

Mary Ethel Tucker, Regional Child Welfare Worker, State Department of Welfare, Jackson, Tenn.

Tuesday, May 28—Educational and Vocational Opportunities for Older Children.

1. Educational and Vocational Planning for Older Children. A review of needs, resources, and services, emphasizing vocational and employment guidance.

Floyd W. Reeves, Director, American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C. Page 91.

2. Trends in Developing Services for Vocational and Employment Guidance of Older Children. A review and appraisal of specific programs of consultation and guidance.

Hazel M. Lewis, Director, Vocational Guidance Department, Y.W.C.A., Boston. Page 99.

3. The Responsibility of a Social Agency to Its Clients for Vocational Guidance.

Walter A. Lurie, Supervisor, Psychology Department, Jewish Vocational Service and Employment Center, Chicago.

Open discussion.

## COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

Wednesday, May 29—The Refugee: A World Problem.

Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia.

Discussant:

Cecilia Razovsky, Director, Migration Department, National Refugee Service, New York City.



Thursday, May 30—The Plight of Refugees in a Preoccupied World.  
The Countess Tolstoy.

Hertha Kraus, Associate Professor of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Page 150.

Discussants:

Stephanie Herz, Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany, New York City.

Samuel C. Kohs, Refugee Committee, Los Angeles.

Adena Miller Rich, Director, Immigrant Protective League, Chicago.

Hanna Ziegler, National Refugee Service, New York City.

Mary Hurlbutt, International Migration Service, New York City.

Lotte Marcuse, German Jewish Children's Aid, New York City.

Open discussion.

#### COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING

Thursday, May 30—Effects of New Housing Projects on Social Planning in the Community as a Whole.

##### 1. Racial Policy in Public Housing.

Robert Weaver, Adviser on Racial Relations, United States Housing Authority, Washington, D. C. Page 289.

##### 2. Neighborhood Coöperation with the Housing Authority.

Helen Phelan, Head Resident, Merrick House, Cleveland.

Discussant:

Joseph P. Anderson, Tenant Selection Supervisor, Pittsburgh Housing Authority.

Open discussion.

Friday, May 31—The Relationships between Housing and Assistance Programs.

##### 1. Welfare and Housing Officials Work toward Common Goals.

Jean Coman, Informational Service Division, United States Housing Authority, Washington, D. C.

##### 2. How Can a Department of Assistance Secure Improved Housing for Client Families?

Benjamin Glassberg, Superintendent, Department of Public Assistance, Milwaukee, Wis.

Discussant:

Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Better Housing League of Cincinnati.

Open discussion.

Saturday, June 1—The Stake of Social Workers in the Housing Program.

Housing Management Calls in the Case Worker.

Helen Shuford, case worker, Family Service Association, Washington, D. C.

Open discussion.

Round Table Discussion which will cover housing training courses, community relations in housing projects, citizen housing organizations, social work, and housing in rural areas, and other questions from the floor.

What Should Social Workers Know about Housing?

What Should Housing Officials Know about Social Work?

Members of the Round Table.

Elizabeth Hughes, Board of Public Welfare Commissioners, Chicago.

John Ihlder, executive officer, Alley Dwelling Authority, Washington, D. C.

D. E. Mackelman, Metropolitan Housing Council, Chicago.

Sydney Maslen, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

George Schermer, Supervisor of Tenant Selection, Jane Addams Houses, Chicago.

Calvin Yuill, Executive Director, Metropolitan Housing Association, Boston.

Katherine Radke, School of Social Work, Loyola University, Chicago.

Open discussion.

#### COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Tuesday, May 28—The Rural Community.

The Relation of the Rural Community to Social Work.

Walter A. Terpenning, head, Department of Economics and Sociology, Albion College, Albion, Mich.

Discussants:

Lorena Scherer, Regional Supervisor, Child Welfare Services, State Social Security Commission, Jefferson City, Mo.

Julia M. Taylor, field representative, Louisiana State Department of Social Welfare, Lake Charles, La.

Thursday, May 30—Rural Resources.

1. What and Where Are Rural Resources?

Raymond C. Smith, Chief Program Analyst, Bureau of Agricul-

tural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Page 270.

2. How Can We Use Resources Available?

Esther Twente, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

Friday, May 31—The Rural Worker.

1. What Worker Do We Want?

Louis Towley, head, Bureau of Procedures and Systems, Minnesota Division of Social Welfare, St. Paul, Minn.

2. What Does the Worker Need to Be?

Rethea Bond, Director, Cleveland County Welfare Department, Norman, Okla.

3. How Should We Prepare Rural Workers?

Grace Browning, Instructor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON UNMARRIED PARENTHOOD

Wednesday, May 29—The Unmarried Father.

Establishment of Paternity.

Maud Morlock, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 363.

Discussants:

Marjorie Wallace Lentz, Director, Juvenile Division, Erie County Probation Department, Buffalo.

Jessica Lowry, Catholic Welfare Bureau, Minneapolis.

Thursday, May 30—The Unmarried Father.

Attitudes toward Unmarried Fathers.

Marguerite M. Marsh, Executive Secretary, Youth Consultation Service, New York City. Page 377.

Discussants:

Frances Higgins, Supervisor, Referral Center for Unmarried Mothers, Chicago.

## APPENDIX B: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1940

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### OFFICERS

*President*, Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland  
*First Vice President*, Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles  
*Second Vice President*, Sidney Hollander, Baltimore  
*Third Vice President*, Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck, New York City  
*Treasurer*, Arch Mandel, New York City  
*General Secretary*, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*Ex officio*: Grace L. Coyle, President; Arlien Johnson, First Vice President; Sidney Hollander, Second Vice President; Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck, Third Vice President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer; Elwood Street, Membership Chairman. *Term expiring 1940*: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; David H. Holbrook, New York City; Betsy Libbey, Philadelphia; Bertha McCall, New York City; Roy Sorenson, Chicago; George S. Stevenson, New York City; Alfred F. Whitman, Boston. *Term expiring 1941*: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Wash.; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Clara Paul Paige, Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1942*: Helen Cody Baker, Chicago; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; the Very Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, N. J.

### CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

#### COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

*Ex officio*: Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland, Chairman; Paul Kellogg, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1940*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D. C.; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1941*: Frederick J. Moran, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph P. Tufts, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942*: Ben M. Selekman, Boston; Margaret Rich, Pittsburgh. Section Chairmen: Elizabeth H. Dexter, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Roy Sorenson, Chicago; Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, N. J.

## COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

George Warren, New York City, Chairman; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Harrison A. Dobbs, Chicago; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Marcella Farrar, Cleveland; Richard R. Foster, New Orleans; A. A. Heckman, St. Paul, Minn.; Maurice Karpf, New York City; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh.

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Jacob Kepecs, Chicago, Chairman; Harriet Parsons, Newtonville, Mass.; Philip E. Ryan, New York City.

## COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Orville Robertson, Seattle, Chairman. *Term expiring 1940*: Margaret Barbee, Baltimore; Helen Currier, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Henry Feinberg, Detroit; Katharine D. Hardwick, Boston; Audrey M. Hayden, Chicago; J. S. Jackson, Chicago; Orville Robertson, Seattle. *Term expiring 1941*: Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Florence M. Mason, Cleveland; Louise McGuire, Washington, D.C.; George W. Rabinoff, New York City; Reuben B. Resnik, Dallas, Texas; C. C. Ridge, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Howard M. Slutes, Englewood, N. J. *Term expiring 1942*: Ralph Blanchard, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Marian Lowe, Kansas City, Kans.; Louise A. Root, Milwaukee; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; T. E. Wintersteen, Chattanooga, Tenn.

COMMITTEE ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF  
SOCIAL WORK

Joanna C. Colcord, New York City, Chairman; M. J. Karpf, New York City, Vice Chairman; David C. Adie, Albany; Sanford Bates, New York City; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Michael M. Davis, New York City; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; James L. Fieser, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City; George Haynes, New York City; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Jane Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Mary E. Hurlbutt, Glenbrook, Conn.; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles; Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia; Paul Kellogg, New York City; Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Leifur Magnusson, Washington, D.C.; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, N. J.; William F. Snow, New York City; Elwood Street, Richmond, Va.; Linton B. Swift, New York City; Frances Tausig, New York City; Gertrude Vaile, Minneapolis; Mary van Kleeck,

New York City; George L. Warren, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

### ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

#### SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

*Chairman:* Elizabeth H. Dexter, Brooklyn, N. Y.

*Vice Chairman:* Aleta Brownlee, San Francisco.

*Term expiring 1940:* Edith M. Baker, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth G. Gardiner, New York City; Florence Hollis, Cleveland; Margaret Steel Moss, Harrisburg, Pa. *Term expiring 1941:* Catherine Bliss, Los Angeles; Susan Burlingham, Philadelphia; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Ruth Smalley, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942:* Herchel Alt, St. Louis; Lillian Johnson, Seattle; Rosemary R. Reynolds, Cleveland; Clare M. Tousley, New York City; Grace White, New Orleans.

#### SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

*Chairman:* Roy Sorenson, Chicago

*Vice Chairman:* Dorothea F. Sullivan, New York City

*Term expiring 1940:* R. K. Atkinson, New York City; Neva L. Boyd, Evanston, Ill.; Ella F. Harris, Philadelphia; James H. Hubert, New York City; Roy Sorenson, Chicago. *Term expiring 1941:* Joseph P. Anderson, Pittsburgh; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Glenford W. Lawrence, Chicago; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Helen Rowe, St. Paul, Minn. *Term expiring 1942:* Sanford Bates, New York City; Louis H. Blumenthal, San Francisco; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Harold D. Meyer, Chapel Hill, N. C.

#### SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Chairman:* Pierce Atwater, Chicago

*Vice Chairman:* Paul L. Benjamin, Buffalo

*Term expiring 1940:* Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Hill, New York City; Russell H. Kurtz, New York City; George W. Rabinoff, New York City; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago. *Term expiring 1941:* C. Raymond Chase, Boston; David Liggett, Minneapolis; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Mo.; Orville Robertson, Seattle; Florence M. Warner, New London, Conn. *Term expiring 1942:* George F. Davidson, Victoria, B.C., Canada; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Arch Mandel, New York City; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles.

#### SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

*Chairman:* Wayne McMillen, Chicago

*Vice Chairman:* Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.



*Term expiring 1940:* Roger N. Baldwin, New York City; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta, Ga.; Ralph J. Reed, Portland, Oreg. *Term expiring 1941:* Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Conrad Van Hyning, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Mary van Kleeck, New York City. *Term expiring 1942:* J. P. Chamberlain, New York City; Michael M. Davis, New York City; the Right Reverend Francis J. Haas, Washington, D.C.; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.

#### SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

*Chairman:* Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, N. J.

*Vice Chairman:* Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago

*Term expiring 1940:* Frank Bane, Chicago; Wayne Coy, Washington, D.C.; William J. Ellis, Trenton, N. J.; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Joseph L. Moss, Chicago. *Term expiring 1941:* C. W. Areson, New York City; Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D.C.; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Josephine C. Brown, Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1942:* David C. Adie, Albany; the Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Taylor, Valhalla, N. Y.; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans.

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEES

##### COMMITTEE ON DELINQUENCY

*Chairman:* Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D.C.

H. E. Chamberlain, Sacramento, Calif.; Harold B. Hanson, St. Paul, Minn.; Robert N. Heininger, Hartford, Conn.; Heriot Clifton Hutchins, Washington, D.C.; Winthrop D. Lane, Baltimore; Randel Shake, Indianapolis; Robert C. Taber, Philadelphia; Miriam Van Waters, Framingham, Mass.; Herbert D. Williams, Orange County, N. Y.; Harvey W. Zorbaugh, New York City

##### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

*Chairman:* Caroline Bedford, Jefferson City, Mo.

Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Norris Class, Portland, Oreg.; Charlotte C. Donnell, Baton Rouge, La.; Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles; Arthur W. Nebel, Columbia, Mo.; Louise Odenkrantz, New York City; Ella W. Reed, Chicago; Bertha Reynolds, New York City; Pearl Salsberry, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D.C.

##### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

*Chairman:* Philip Schafer, Washington, D.C.

*Vice Chairman:* Philip E. Ryan, Washington, D.C.

Charles Alspach, Boston; Alberta S. Baumberger, Palo Alto, Calif.; Charles F. Blankenship, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Chester R. Brown, Boston; Dorothy B. de la Pole, New York City; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.; H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D., New York City; Paul Landis, Pullman, Wash.; Edith E. Lowry, New York City; Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles; Homer Morganthaler, Columbus, Ohio; Henry Redkey, Orlando, Fla.; Antonio A. Sorieri, Syracuse, N. Y.; Mary E. Switzer, Washington, D.C.; Conrad Taeuber, Washington, D.C.; Rupert B. Vance, Chapel Hill, N. C.; John N. Webb, Washington, D.C.

#### COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

*Chairman:* Helen Crosby, New York City

Dorothy Bellanca, New York City; Zdenka Buben, Los Angeles; Helen L. Burke, Denver; Michael M. Davis, New York City; Dorothy Deming, New York City; Edward S. Godfrey, M.D., Albany, N. Y.; H. E. Hilleboe, M.D., St. Paul, Minn.; Ira Hiscock, M.D., New Haven, Conn.; Dorothy Kahn, New York City; Elizabeth Magee, Cleveland; Joseph W. Mountain, M.D., Washington, D.C.; John P. Peters, M.D., New Haven, Conn.; Alexander Ropchan, Chicago; C. Rufus Rorem, M.D., Chicago; Lucille Smith, Washington, D.C.; Gertrude Sturges, M.D., Chicago; Nathan B. Van Etten, M.D., New York City; Ruth Wadman, New York City

#### COMMITTEE ON OLDER CHILDREN

*Chairman:* Verna Smith, Pittsburgh

Margaret Barbee, Baltimore; Edith Baylor, Boston; Norris Class, Portland, Oreg.; Merrill Conover, Philadelphia; Lucille Corbett, Boston; Genrose Gehri, Chicago; Mary Hayes, Washington, D.C.; Venita Lewis, Washington, D.C.; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Mrs. Vallie Smith Miller, Nashville, Tenn.; C. F. Ramsay, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Fritz Redl, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.; Floyd W. Reeves, Washington, D.C.; John A. Russell, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Florence Sullivan, Washington, D.C.; Margaret Svendsen, Chicago; Doris Sylvester, Boston

#### COMMITTEE OF REFUGEES

*Chairman:* Evelyn W. Hersey, New York City

John Lovejoy Elliott, New York City; Samuel Goldsmith, Chicago; William Haber, New York City; Mary Hurlbutt, New York City; Joseph C. Hyman, New York City; Marian Kenworthy, New York City; Samuel C. Kohs, Los Angeles; Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; the Reverend Joseph D. Ostermann, New York City; Clarence E. Pickett, Philadelphia; Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, Chicago; Emma S.

Schreiber, New York City; Walter W. Van Kirk, New York City; George Warren, New York City

#### COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING

*Chairman:* Joseph P. Tufts, Pittsburgh

Harold S. Buttenheim, New York City; Jean Coman, Washington, D.C.; Abraham Goldfeld, New York City; Elizabeth Hughes, Chicago; John Ihlder, Washington, D.C.; Loula Lasker, New York City; D. E. Mackelman, Chicago; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati; Sydney Maslen, New York City; Katherine Radke, Chicago; George Schermer, Chicago; Florence Stewart, New York City; Calvin Yuill, Boston

#### COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

*Chairman:* Marian Lowe, Kansas City, Kans.

*Vice Chairman:* Benjamin Youngdahl, St. Louis

Elizabeth R. Barnwell, Columbia, S. C.; Craig Berke, St. Louis; Grace Browning, Chicago; Reba Choate, Jefferson City, Mo.; Eva Duthie, Ithaca, N. Y.; Ella Gardner, Washington, D.C.; Frank Z. Glick, Lincoln, Nebr.; Zuleika B. Hicks, Austin, Texas; Clara C. Hjerpe, Bismarck, N. Dak.; Christiana Lohrmann, Colby, Kans.; Elsie Parker, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Clara Willman, Annapolis, Md.

#### COMMITTEE ON UNMARRIED PARENTHOOD

*Chairman:* Mary Brisley, Newark, N. J.

Edith Balmford, New York City; Ruth F. Brenner, St. Louis; Sybil Foster, New York City; Genrose Gehri, Chicago; Adele D. Henritze, New York City; Charlotte Henry, Houston, Texas; Frances Higgins, Chicago; Marguerite Marsh, New York City; Maud Morlock, Washington, D.C.; Mary Palevsky, New York City; Eileen Ward, St. Louis; Agnes Wesoloske, St. Paul, Minn.

## APPENDIX C: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1941

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### OFFICERS

*President*, Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.  
*First Vice President*, Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J.  
*Second Vice President*, Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago  
*Third Vice President*, John T. Clark, St. Louis  
*Treasurer*, Arch Mandel, New York City  
*General Secretary*, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*Ex officio*: Jane M. Hoey, President; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., First Vice President; Fred K. Hoehler, Second Vice President; John T. Clark, Third Vice President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer; Elwood Street, Membership Chairman. *Term expiring 1941*: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Wash.; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Clara Paul Paige, Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1942*: Helen Cody Baker, Chicago; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; the Right Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J. *Term expiring 1943*: Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Denver

### CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

#### COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

*Ex officio*: Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C., Chairman; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Howard R. Knight, Columbus. *Term expiring 1941*: Frederick J. Moran, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph Tufts, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942*: Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Ben M. Selekman, Boston. *Term expiring 1943*: Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Chester Bowles, Essex, Conn. Section Chairmen: Leah Feder, St. Louis; Helen Hall, New York City; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City

## COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Leonord W. Mayo, New York City, Chairman; Maud T. Barrett, Washington, D.C.; Louis E. Evans, Indianapolis; Virginia Howlett, New York City; Reverend John R. Mulroy, Denver; Lillian A. Quinn, White Plains, N. Y.; Helen Rowe, St. Paul, Minn.; Alice Williams, Buffalo; Reverend L. Foster Wood, New York City

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Earl N. Parker, New York City, Chairman; Ira V. Hiscock, New Haven, Conn.; Phoebe Matthews, San Francisco

## COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Florence M. Mason, Cleveland, Chairman. *Term expiring 1941:* Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Louise McGuire, Washington, D.C.; George W. Rabinoff, New York City; Reuben B. Resnik, Dallas, Texas; C. C. Ridge, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Howard M. Slutes, Englewood, N. J. *Term expiring 1942:* Ralph Blanchard, New York City; John S. Bradley, Durham, N. C.; Marian Lowe, Kansas City, Kans.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Louise A. Root, Milwaukee, Wis.; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; T. E. Wintersteen, Chattanooga, Tenn. *Term expiring 1943:* C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Charles I. Schottland, Los Angeles; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas

## ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

## SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

*Chairman:* Leah Feder, St. Louis

*Vice Chairman:* Lucille Nickel Austin, New York City

*Term expiring 1941:* Catherine Bliss, Los Angeles; Susan Burlingham, Philadelphia; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Ruth Smalley, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942:* Herschel Alt, St. Louis; Lillian Johnson, Seattle; Rosemary R. Reynolds, Cleveland; Clare M. Tousley, New York City; Grace White, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943:* Marcella Farrar, Cleveland; Alta Hoover, Portland, Oreg.; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Mary E. Lucas, New York City; Louise Silbert, Boston

## SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

*Chairman:* Helen Hall, New York City

*Vice Chairman:* Clara A. Kaiser, New York City

*Term expiring 1941:* Joseph P. Anderson, Pittsburgh; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Glenford W. Lawrence, Chicago; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Helen Rowe, St. Paul, Minn. *Term expiring*

1942: Sanford Bates, New York City; Louis H. Blumenthal, San Francisco; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Harold D. Meyer, Chapel Hill, N. C. *Term expiring 1943*: Harrison S. Elliott, New York City; Charles E. Hendry, New York City; Mary Ellen Hubbard, Philadelphia; Annie Clo Watson, San Francisco; Margaret Williamson, New York City

### SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Chairman*: Robert P. Lane, New York City

*Vice Chairman*: Russell H. Kurtz, New York City

*Term expiring 1941*: C. Raymond Chase, Boston; David C. Liggett, Minneapolis; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Mo.; Orville Robertson, Seattle; Florence M. Warner, New London, Conn. *Term expiring 1942*: George F. Davidson, Victoria, B. C., Canada; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Arch Mandel, New York City; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1943*: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City; Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Josephine Strode, Ithaca, N. Y.; Martha Wood, Washington, D.C.

### SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

*Chairman*: Lea D. Taylor, Chicago

*Vice Chairman*: George E. Bigge, Washington, D.C.

*Term expiring 1941*: Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Conrad Van Hyning, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Mary van Kleeck, New York City. *Term expiring 1942*: J. P. Chamberlain, New York City; Michael M. Davis, New York City; the Right Reverend Francis J. Haas, Washington, D.C.; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1943*: Mary Anderson, Washington, D.C.; Roger N. Baldwin, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago

### SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

*Chairman*: Robert T. Lansdale, New York City

*Vice Chairman*: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis

*Term expiring 1941*: C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D.C.; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Josephine C. Brown, Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1942*: David C. Adie, Albany, N. Y.; the Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady, Washington, D.C.; Ruth Taylor, Valhalla, N. Y.; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943*: Charles H. Alspach, Boston; Robert W. Beasley, San Francisco; William Haber, New York City; Florence L. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle



## APPENDIX D: BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE MINUTES

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### *Thursday, May 30, 4:00 P.M.—Annual Business Meeting*

Between two and three hundred members of the Conference were present. The President called the meeting to order and called for the Treasurer's report, which, in the absence of the Treasurer, was presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer having approved the report in advance.

A report from your treasurer at this time in the fiscal year of the Conference can be only an interim report and show the financial status at the moment. The statements attached herewith show the financial transactions for the first four months of the year January 1 to April 30, 1940. They may be summarized as follows:

1. The total income received including the cash balance as of January 1 has been \$21,404.17. The total expenditures, including \$2443.13 of 1939 bills not paid until into this fiscal year, have been \$19,523.48, leaving a cash balance on April 30 of \$1880.69. All operating bills are paid to date, and the balance from last year's deficit is provided for.

2. Considering 1940 operations alone, of the \$43,500 estimated income, \$19,663.87 has been received. The estimated expenditures for the year are \$39,690.00. Of this, \$15,784.47 has been expended, leaving estimated expenditures for the balance of the year of \$23,905.53.

3. It is impossible to report on the annual meeting accounts until the meeting is held. However, there is every indication that the estimated income will be realized and the expenditures will be within the estimates made in January.

4. A forecast at this date shows that if all estimated income for the year is realized and the expenditures do not have to exceed the estimates made, the Conference will close its fiscal year on December 30 with all bills paid. This, however, is dependent on continued membership support.

Six detailed statements are submitted herewith: (1) all cash income and expenditures from January 1 to April 30, 1940; (2) all cash income and expenditures on the annual meeting account from January 1 to April 30, 1940; (3) the 1940 operating budget, both income and expenditures, showing the status as of April 30, 1940, namely, the estimates adopted as of January 1, the actual income and expenditures for the period January 1-April 30, and the estimated income and expenditures for the balance of the year; (4) a statement similar to No. 3 for the annual meeting budget; (5) a recapitulation and forecast for all financial affairs of the Conference for the year 1940; and (6) the status of membership as of April 30, 1940.

May we again take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the loyal support of the Conference membership and ask for its continuance.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL, *Treasurer*

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

### *Operating Fund*

January 1-April 30, 1940

Operating Balance, January 1..... \$ 1,686.57

### Receipts (Budget):

Memberships.....	\$19,288.10
Contributions.....	150.00
Sales, <i>Bulletins</i> .....	27.25
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i> .....	68.30
Refunds.....	124.34
Miscellaneous.....	5.88

Total Budget Receipts, Operating Fund..... \$19,663.87

Total Budget Receipts, Annual Meeting Fund.. 53.73

Total Receipts..... \$19,717.60

Total Receipts and Balance..... \$21,404.17

### Expenditures (Budget):

Salaries.....	\$ 7,811.64
Travel.....	1,969.37
Printing.....	3,727.96
Postage.....	888.68
Supplies.....	118.89
Telephone and telegraph.....	152.06
Rent.....	400.00
Equipment and repairs.....	127.88
Refunds.....	....
Miscellaneous.....	337.33

Total Budget Expenditures..... \$15,533.81

Annual Meeting Fund Expenditures..... 1,546.54

1939 Deficit..... 2,443.13

Total Expenditures..... \$19,523.48

Balance..... \$ 1,880.69

### Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration.....	\$ 6,494.47
Membership and publicity.....	81.50
Program Committee.....	724.90
<i>Proceedings</i> .....	....
<i>Bulletins</i> .....	3,100.86
Office operation.....	4,794.75
Other.....	337.33

Total..... \$15,533.81

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK  
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

*Annual Meeting Fund*

January 1–April 30, 1940

Operating Balance, January 1..... ..

Receipts (Budget):

Attendance fees.....	\$	3.00
Booths.....		50.00
Printing.....		.73
Miscellaneous.....		....

Total Budget Receipts.....	\$	53.73
Transferred from Operating Fund, March.....		581.09
Transferred from Operating Fund, April.....		911.72

Total Receipts, Balance, and Transfer..... \$ 1,546.54

Expenditures (Budget):

Salaries.....		....
Travel.....	\$	650.00
Printing.....		601.82
Postage.....		64.45
Supplies.....		....
Telephone and telegraph.....		....
Miscellaneous.....		230.27

Total Budget Expenditures..... \$ 1,546.54

Balance..... ..

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration.....	\$	780.27
Publicity and press service.....		766.27
Booths.....		....
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i> .....		....

Total Budget Distribution..... \$ 1,546.54

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

## BUDGET STATEMENT

*Operating Account*

January 1-April 30, 1940

	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures Jan. 1-April 30 1940</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Memberships.....	\$39,000.00	\$19,288.10	\$19,711.90
Attendance Fees.....	2,500.00	....	2,500.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,000.00	375.77	1,624.23
Total.....	\$43,500.00	\$19,663.87	\$23,836.13
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$20,390.00	\$ 8,186.64	\$12,203.36
Travel.....	4,200.00	1,845.03	2,354.97
Printing.....	9,800.00	3,727.96	6,072.04
Postage.....	2,000.00	888.68	1,111.32
Supplies.....	500.00	118.89	381.11
Telephone and telegraph.....	400.00	152.06	247.94
Rent.....	1,200.00	400.00	800.00
Equipment and repairs.....	400.00	127.88	272.12
Miscellaneous.....	800.00	337.33	462.67
Refunds.....	....	....	....
Total.....	\$39,690.00	\$15,784.47	\$23,905.53
General administration.....	\$14,900.00	\$ 6,825.07	\$ 8,074.93
Membership and publicity.....	550.00	81.50	468.50
Program Committee.....	1,200.00	644.96	555.04
Proceedings.....	5,350.00	....	5,350.00
Bulletin.....	4,150.00	3,100.86	1,049.14
Office operation.....	12,740.00	4,794.75	7,945.25
Other.....	800.00	337.33	462.67
Total.....	\$39,690.00	\$15,784.47	\$23,905.53

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK  
BUDGET STATEMENT

*Annual Meeting Account*

January 1-April 30, 1940

	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures Jan. 1-April 30 1940</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Attendance fees.....	\$6,000.00	\$ 3.00	\$5,997.00
Booth.....	2,000.00	50.00	1,950.00
Printing.....	1,200.00	.73	1,199.27
Miscellaneous.....	300.00	....	300.00
Total.....	\$9,500.00	\$ 53.73	\$9,446.27
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$1,075.00	....	\$1,075.00
Travel.....	2,100.00	\$ 650.00	1,450.00
Printing.....	2,800.00	601.82	2,198.18
Postage.....	300.00	64.45	235.55
Supplies.....	1,400.00	....	1,400.00
Telephone and telegraph.....	150.00	....	150.00
Miscellaneous.....	800.00	230.27	569.73
Total.....	\$8,625.00	\$1,546.54	\$7,078.46
General administration.....	\$3,700.00	\$ 780.27	\$2,919.73
Publicity and press service.....	2,325.00	766.27	1,558.73
Booths.....	800.00	....	800.00
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i> .....	1,800.00	....	1,800.00
Total.....	\$8,625.00	\$1,546.54	\$7,078.46

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK  
RECAPITULATION

*Income*

Operating Account

Receipts and balances, January 1 to April 30, 1940.....	\$21,404.17
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 30, 1940 .....	23,836.13
	<hr/>
Total Actual and Estimated Income.....	\$45,240.30

Annual Meeting Account

Receipts, January 1 to April 30, 1940.....	\$ 53.73
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 30, 1940.....	9,446.27
	<hr/>
Total Actual and Estimated Income.....	\$ 9,500.00
	<hr/>
Grand Total.....	\$54,740.30

*Expenditures*

Operating Account

Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1940.....	\$17,976.94
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 30, 1940.....	26,664.88
	<hr/>
Total Actual and Estimated Expenditures.....	\$44,641.82

Annual Meeting Account

Actual expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1940.....	\$ 1,546.54
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 30, 1940.....	7,078.46
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$ 8,625.00
	<hr/>
Grand Total.....	\$53,266.82



## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

*Status of Membership Report*

April 30, 1940

<i>Members</i>	<i>\$3.00</i>	<i>\$5.00</i>	<i>\$10.00</i>	<i>\$25.00</i>	<i>Total</i>
Active:					
First quarter.....	275	376	225	187	1,063
Second quarter.....	736	1,010	170	110	2,026
Third quarter.....	52	110	34	30	226
Fourth quarter.....	58	142	146	97	443
Total.....	1,121	1,638	575	424	3,758
Delinquent:					
First quarter.....	66	57	16	18	157
Second quarter.....	1,192	1,399	93	29	2,713
Total.....	1,258	1,456	109	47	2,870
Grand Total.....	2,379	3,094	684	471	6,628
New Members:					
First quarter.....	122	65	7	25	219
Second quarter.....	197	82	5	5	289

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

The President called for the report of the Committee on Time and Place, Mr. Orville Robertson, Chairman. Mr. Robertson presented the report as follows:

The Time and Place Committee, by unanimous vote, recommends to the membership of the National Conference of Social Work that the Conference accept the invitation of Atlantic City to hold its 1941 meeting there, June 1 to 7, 1941.

Before making its decision the committee discussed fully and considered carefully the many considerations to be weighed in connection with the two invitations which met the requirements as to guarantees. The number of people who might be expected to attend and benefit from the Conference, based on the record of previous experience as to the area from which most of the attendance is drawn, the adequacy and convenience of facilities for housing and meetings, the possible effects upon the community in which the Conference is held—these and other considerations all entered into the decision of the committee. At the close of the meeting on Monday it was

decided to postpone a decision until Tuesday afternoon in order that the committee members might have a further opportunity to canvass Conference opinion before voting upon the question. The results of this canvass undoubtedly had a considerable influence upon the final action of the committee.

As for 1942, no acceptable invitations have been received by the Conference up to this time. Under the present plan of area rotation of meetings, the 1942 Conference should be held in the South. One Southern city with suitable facilities for entertaining the Conference has shown substantial interest in extending an invitation, if through further negotiation certain complications now existing can be cleared up. In view of the fact that no invitations for 1942 have been received, your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the incoming Time and Place Committee for further effort and negotiations, with instructions to report to the Executive Committee of the Conference at its January, 1941 meeting.

The report of the Time and Place Committee as submitted herewith has been approved unanimously by the Executive Committee of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

ORVILLE ROBERTSON

*Chairman, Time and Place Committee*

After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted unanimously to adopt the report of the Time and Place Committee. At this point it was announced that the dates for the 1941 meeting would be June 1 to 7.

Mr. John Fitch was recognized by the chair and called attention to the fact that for quite a number of years the Nominating Committee of the Conference has seen fit to present only one name in nomination for the presidency and other officers of the Conference. He felt that this did not make possible a real election. He therefore moved that the Conference instruct the Nominating Committee hereafter to bring in at least two nominees for president and other officers of the Conference. During the discussion it was pointed out that there is already a special committee of the Executive Committee studying the whole nominating procedure of the Conference and expecting to bring in definite recommendations for action at the next annual meeting. Several amendments to the original motion or rewordings thereof were presented, but no formal action was taken. Finally, the question being called for, the vote was taken and the motion declared lost.

There being no further business, upon motion being duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

*Friday, May 31, 8:00 P.M.*

At the close of the General Session the President called the Conference to order to hear the reports of the Committee on Nominations and the Committee on Tellers.

In the absence of the chairman, the Secretary presented the report of the Committee on Nominations as follows:

The Nominating Committee respectfully submits the following nominations for office in the National Conference of Social Work for 1942:

*President:* Shelby Harrison, General Director, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; *First Vice President:* Wilfred S. Reynolds, Director, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago; *Second Vice President:* Michael M. Davis, Chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics, New York City; *Third Vice President:* Betsey Libbey, Executive Director, Family Society of Philadelphia.

*Members of the Executive Committee:* Fourteen persons are nominated from whom seven are to be elected to office:

Reverend John J. Butler, President, Catholic Charities, and Executive Secretary, Society of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Louis; Martha Chickering, Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau of Employment Service, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.; Evelyn K. Davis, Assistant Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City; John A. Eisenhower, Superintendent, Cleveland Boys' Farm School, Hudson, Ohio; Benjamin Glassberg, Superintendent, Department of Public Assistance, Milwaukee, Wis.; Gordon Hamilton, faculty, New York School of Social Work, New York City; Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, Director, Division of Children, Catholic Charities, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Professor of Social Work, University of Chicago; Mary E. Murphy, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago; George W. Rabinoff, Associate Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City; Charles I. Schottland, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, Los Angeles; Agnes Van Driel, Chief, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.; Gertrude Wilson, Associate Professor and Assistant Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE L. WARREN

*Chairman, Committee on Nominations*

At the close of the report it was announced that further nominations could be made by petition of any twenty-five bona fide members of the Conference submitted to the Conference office prior to December 31, 1940.

In the absence of the chairman, the Secretary presented the report of the Committee on Tellers as follows:

*President:* Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; *First Vice President:* Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J.; *Second Vice President:* Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; *Third Vice President:* John T. Clark, St. Louis.

Those candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Char-

lotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Washington, D.C.

The results of the election for section officers and committee members are published in Appendix C.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARK L. MOCK

*Chairman, Committee on Tellers*

The results of the Section elections are printed in the July *Bulletin* and will be found in the business organization of the Conference printed in the *Proceedings*.

Miss Jane Hoey, the new president, was called to the platform and spoke briefly.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

*Saturday, June 1, 1:00 P.M.*

The President called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Joseph Moss, Chicago, Chairman, presented the following report:

The sixty-seventh meeting of the National Conference of Social Work proceeded under the shadow of a war which threatens the very existence of our modern civilization. It has been difficult to think clearly or to plan hopefully in an atmosphere of impending disaster. Throughout the Conference sessions, however, there was the insistence that democracy was the only true way of life and that we must hold its hard-fought gains in civil liberties, in the protection of the unfortunate, and in living standards in America.

To the city of Grand Rapids we express our deep appreciation. The physical arrangements for the Conference in terms of meeting places and housing accommodations have been ideal. The spirit of the community which showed itself in such cordial hospitality will long be remembered.

The Conference is indebted to the Grand Rapids Convention Bureau for unprecedented coöperation in every phase of the Conference; to Mr. Rodney Schopps and his associates in the Convention Bureau for the alert response to every request; to the Grand Rapids committee on arrangements with Judge Clark E. Higbee as its chairman and Mr. C. C. Ridge as its secretary; to Mrs. W. B. Daley and her committee on promotion of membership and attendance; to the Grand Rapids *Herald* and the Grand Rapids *Press* for their excellent and full reporting of Conference papers and discussion; to the King-Trendle Broadcasting Company for time on the air contributed for the discussion of Conference interests; to the Grand Rapids Passenger Car Dealers Association for its great assistance to delegates in seeing that they got safely and quickly to their residence accommodations on their arrival; to the citizens of Grand Rapids who opened their homes for the accommodation of guests; to the public officials of Grand Rapids including Mayor George W. Welsh, Superintendent Frank J. O'Malley and members of the police force; and Fire Marshal Fred P. Higgins and his assistants who looked after our safety in meeting halls. The Conference expresses its thanks to the National Youth Administration for its assistance in furnishing ushers

and guides. The pleasure of Conference members was heightened by music of the WPA band and orchestra at its evening sessions; by the lovely concert given by the Creston High School Choir; and by the colorful presentation of the Grand Rapids Camp Fire Girls and the Grand Rapids Council, Boy Scouts of America.

We thank them all.

The National Conference of Social Work is an open forum of social work for the discussion of matters of interest to its members. Through its Section and Special Committees, which are elected by the members of the Conference, and through the Associate and Special Groups the whole field of social work interest is presented for discussion. One may not agree with the philosophy or the purported truths offered, but he recognizes the desirability of freedom of speech in a democratic society. To the committee members who planned the programs and to the speakers whose thought and effort went into the making of a highly successful Conference the membership expresses its gratitude.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH L. MOSS

*Chairman, Committee on Resolutions*

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted unanimously to approve the report.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 4,888.

There being no further business the President adjourned the Conference to reassemble in Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 1 to 7, 1941.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT

*General Secretary*

# APPENDIX E: CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

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## CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

### PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

### MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members, to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships, or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

### OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

### COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents and the Treasurer ex officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in



like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex officio chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

#### ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

#### AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

#### BY-LAWS

##### I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5.00; without the *Proceedings*, \$3.00; for sustaining members, \$10.00; for institutional members, \$25.00 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25.00 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25.00 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members

shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

## II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such banks as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

## III. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

## IV. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) There shall be a Committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years, seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each annual meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such annual meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

c) A nominating committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various section, special topic, and associate group committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program:

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to section and special topic committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the section and special topic committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the conference topic committees. Where such commitments are made for section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the section involved or with its hearty coöperation and consent, and for not more than one third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of associate groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such committees on special topics as may be desirable. When establishing such committees on special topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting, and so forth as may be desirable.

## V. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.<sup>1</sup>

b) Other sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All sections shall be re-

<sup>1</sup> This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

considered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or section committee members should so far as possible be members of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one section committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on section committees.

d) Each other section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the section and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Their chairman may be re-elected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all section committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

## VI. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive



Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

#### VII. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

#### VIII. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) that he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) that he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of nonpayment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

#### IX. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

#### X. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of sections shall preside at the meetings of their sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

#### XI. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, except official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.



## XII. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

## XIII. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, and Third Vice President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1.00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1, preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the an-

nounced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in Section 7 of By-Law XIII. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said Section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by a majority of the ballots cast.

## INDEXES



## INDEX TO CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

---

- Abbott, Edith, Dean, School of Social Administration, University of Chicago, 187
- Alloway, Joseph E., Executive Director, New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians, Trenton, N. J., 241
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